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West & East

Edited by
Gocha R. Tsetskhladze



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WEST AND EAST

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GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE (ED.)

ANCIENT GREEKS
WEST AND EAST



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GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE



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INTRODUCTION

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

In recent years the problem of the relationship between Greece and the other parts of the ancient world has become a more popular subject for investigation than ever before. Most publications concentrate on the Dark Age and the Orientalising period (for the latest see: Langdon 1997). Maybe the Dark Age has, step by step, come into the light (Snodgrass 1998, 12–39), but the question of Greek–Near Eastern interactions continues under the shadow of hot debate. We can list Near Eastern objects found in Greece, but the mechanics of this cultural exchange remain largely a closed book to modern scholarship (Popham 1994; Morris 1997; *cf.* Snodgrass 1998, 40–66). The appearance of M.L. West's fine book (1997) sheds some light on West Asiatic elements in Greek poetry and myth. It must be noted that linguists are paying increased attention to these problems (Woodard 1997; Bernal 1997), helping to place a few more bricks in the foundations of our understanding of cultural interactions in the Dark Age and Archaic period. Thanks to Greek colonisation, and enormous efforts by classicists to understand this phenomenon, we are in a better position to make sense of cultural interactions in this period than in the Dark Age (*cf.* Guralnick 1997), although many gaps remain in our knowledge. There are several questions to which scholars cannot agree on the answers. For example, we still have too little rounded investigation of the reasons for Greek colonisation (*cf.* Snodgrass 1994, 1; Miller 1997, 12–30). Another unsolved problem is who transported Euboean pottery. Does the presence of the pottery necessarily mean that the Euboeans themselves were present (Morris 1998; Papadopoulos 1996; 1997; 1998; Boardman 1996; Boardman and Popham 1997; Snodgrass 1994a; *cf.* Morel 1997; Ridgway 1997; 1999; Crielaard 1999; *Euboica* 1998)? Many further examples could be given. The contradictions arising between archaeologists and historians are another problem (Graham 1990, 52–4; Boardman 1991; 1998; Tsetskhladze 1994, 111–2; 1998, 19).

This book is not intended to present a catalogue of Greek objects found outside Greece and foreign objects found within Greece. Nor is it concerned exclusively with Greek colonisation. Rather, it seeks

to demonstrate the concepts of 'West' and 'East' as held by ancient Greeks (*cf.* Fischer-Hansen 1988). Cultural exchange in Archaic and Classical Greece through the establishment of Hellenic colonies around the ancient world was no simple phenomenon. Cultural exchange was always a two-way process. To achieve a proper understanding of it requires study from every angle. Practically all papers in this volume try to combine the different types of evidence, discussing them from every perspective. One notable feature of this is that events are also examined from the point of view of the locals, not just from that of the Greeks. It is for readers and reviewers to judge how successfully this has been achieved. I have tried hard to assemble contributors who provide new evidence and new interpretations for every region of the ancient world in which Greeks settled. I would like to believe that this volume contains an accurate portrayal of the way of life of Greeks outside Greece, whilst local societies and peoples are not forgotten: without them the concept of 'Ancient Greeks West and East' is impossible to interpret.

The first paper is by G.M. Bongard-Levin on M.I. Rostovtzeff in England. It may at first glance seem an odd paper to be included here. There are several justifications: Rostovtzeff was one of the first to pay attention to the problems discussed in this volume, and interest in him and his work has been rekindled of recent years, not least thanks to the efforts of Bongard-Levin and the work of his Moscow-based Centre for Comparative Studies of Ancient Civilisations. For many years our colleagues have wondered why such an eminent scholar as Rostovtzeff, having come to Oxford, had to leave it. Bongard-Levin found the answer in archives in the United States and Great Britain. It is nothing new to find personal experience and political trends influencing what we write and research. Bongard-Levin's paper is a true demonstration of one extremely fine scholar's sad personal experience of West and East in Oxford. But for this experience many of Rostovtzeff's books would not have made such a huge impact on modern scholarship.

C. Tuplin's article is important for understanding the Greek view of 'Others' and the opposition of West and East within the Greek world. We have mainly Greek accounts of local societies, called 'barbarian'; we are just beginning to pay attention to Near Eastern sources reflecting their own history, but for the colonial world there are no local written records. It is extremely important for us to understand how Greeks themselves viewed other people and why

their attitude towards them is usually unfavourable. Is the negative information given by Greeks accurate, or is it a deliberate undermining of 'barbarians' by Greeks, to underline Hellenic superiority and to satisfy themselves, for example, that Athens was the very centre of the civilised universe? I favour the latter view, and Tuplin encapsulates the nature of Greek racism. This paper is the best introduction to much of what follows (*cf.* Coleman 1997; Lefkowitz 1997; Holst-Warhaft 1997).

Written sources about colonisation and the establishment of colonies are very often sparse and difficult to use. Usually we have no contemporary written narratives for the establishment of colonies. J. Hind deals with Pomponius Mela's information on colonies in the West and East, which can be better trusted for the West, of which Pomponius Mela was a native, than for the East.

J. Vanschoonwinkel discusses the starting point of cultural contacts between West and East as is reflected in the culture of the Philistines, showing that the red herring of investigating their supposed Aegean origins has been pursued to the detriment of a proper appreciation of their culture.

Two papers deal with Al Mina. Recently, a large collection of pottery from this site has been catalogued by the British Museum, and thus is open to study by these two specialists. At the same time there has been the publication of Near Eastern Iron Age pottery from this site. R. Kearsley examines Levels 10–8, discussing Euboeans at Al Mina and Assyrian attitudes towards this site. She re-examines early interpretations of Al Mina and offers a new one. She makes a very welcome study of the Greek and Near Eastern literary tradition to reconstruct the political situation in the 8th century B.C. with reference to this site. J. Boardman examines all available evidence from Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Al Mina. He has studied thoroughly Woolley's records of the excavation and the characteristics of various deposits. These detailed investigations bring him to some crucial conclusions, linking levels to historical events in Greece and the Near East. Once again he has given a clear and convincing picture of the development of Al Mina and its character.

Several articles deal with the western Mediterranean. L. Moscati-Castelnuovo and C.J. Smith discuss the role of myths and mythological traditions as well as trade in the study of the colonial world: how to extract reality and where to draw the line between it and Greek embellishment and invention. The article by B. d'Agostino

presents new material on Euboean colonisation in the Gulf of Naples from his own excavation. At the same time, he provides a comparison between Cumae and Pithekoussai, discussing difficulties in the interpretation of these two sites. R. Frederiksen's highly intelligent study concentrates on the cemetery of Fusco at Syracuse. Although in some places speculative, this paper has a much wider importance than for the one site, showing how to interpret burial customs, grave goods, and patterns of correlation, with reference to Greek colonisation. Intermarriage in the western Greek colonies is the subject of G. Shepherd's paper. She underlines the limitations of written sources for this very important theme, seeking answers from archaeological data, principally from cemeteries. Her study is crucial not only for western Greek colonies but, methodologically, for the whole colonial area.

Three articles discuss Iberian culture and its interaction with the Greek world. A. Domínguez discusses the crucial and much debated problem of Hellenisation, which itself is a modern conception. How should it be applied to concrete archaeological material. Examining sculpture, Iberian script, pottery and bronze objects, funeral rituals, tombs etc., he concludes that only in sculpture and writing was there direct Greek intervention. In other spheres of material culture, if Iberians accepted Greek elements, these were superficial and were adapted to their own beliefs and way of life. Domínguez asks the question: was Iberian culture Hellenised? He rightly answers no. S. Aguilar continues this theme, studying the famous sculpture, the Lady of Elche and its importance for Iberian culture and Greek-Iberian interactions. As an Appendix, there is a review article by R. Olmos and T. Tortosa. They present various different interpretations of the Lady of Elche, many of which are subjective or mistaken (for example, that it is a fake).

Anatolia was one of the most important and interesting regions for cultural interaction between Greeks and locals. It was a crossroads where many ethnic groups met, and influenced and enriched each others' culture. T. Robinson again raises the question of the Ionian and local, Lycian elements in the monument from Xanthus. This is discussed within the much broader context of Lycian culture. A.D.H. Bivar offers a new interpretation of a Persian gold phiale from the perspective of Plato's family connections with Iran.

The Black Sea area, like Anatolia, saw the movements of many ethnic groups. With the arrival of the Greeks the situation more or

less stabilised, and there was the establishment of local kingdoms in the east, north and west. S. Ebbinghaus examines relations between Thrace, Persia and Greece. Thrace is indeed a unique cultural phenomenon. What we know is the élite culture. Although Greek colonies existed on the Thracian Black Sea coast, the Thracian ruling class was more Persianised than Hellenised. These very complex issues are pursued by the author through study of rhyta in Thrace. She gives a very useful spread of evidence, not only rhyta, and her conclusions are very convincing. Thracian cult practice is one of the most heavily debated subjects. Z.H. Archibald addresses the following issues in her paper: "How far did Thracians personalise their deities? How did their divine personalities express what was beyond the human sphere?" These questions are answered from two points of view: the Greek, which is the Hellenic view found in written sources and hard to trust; and reality, the archaeological material from Thrace itself and iconographical evidence.

Local Pontic cultures reveal Anatolian features in their roots. This may explain why local people preferred Achaemenian or Achaemenian-type objects and ideas and Greek influence looks superficial, although the whole Black Sea was colonised by Greeks (G.R. Tsetskhladze). A. Ivantchik examines Scythian penetration of Anatolia and their domination of the Near East for nearly half a century. He discusses the written sources. His complex investigation demonstrates that what was written by ancient authors and in Near Eastern sources does indeed largely reflect fact. D. Braund examines the image of the Scythians in Greek literature, the 'negative' view Greeks had of Scythians and seeks out the true character of these people. V. Kuznetsov's study discusses the first dwellings of Greek colonists: the dugouts and semi-dugouts discovered in the earliest levels of Greek colonies in the northern Pontus. Of recent decades Russian literature has offered various interpretations of these dwellings: were they inhabited by Greeks or locals? The answer is vital for identifying the character and ethnic composition of the earliest Greek colonies. M. Treister undertakes a detailed study of Sarmatian *phalerae*. Since Rostovtzeff, no one has examined these objects in detail. Their origin is unclear: some scholars link them to Asia Minor, others to Seleucid traditions or Parthian origin. The author favours a Graeco-Bactrian origin, but does not exclude some production in Parthia. Sarmatians who settled in the Kuban region imitated *phalerae* of Parthian origin. From the late 2nd century B.C. there is a large series of *phalerae* manufactured

either by the Sarmatians themselves or in the workshops of the Bosporean cities. (In the Hellenistic period cultural interaction became more complex than before—Rotroff 1997.) N. Gigolashvili's article republishes a silver aryballos from Vani in Colchis, whose origins are Greek-Anatolian but influenced by Achaemenian metalwork.

Some papers in this volume were presented to a seminar entitled 'West and East' held during 1995–96 at the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London. The seminar attracted great interest from specialists and students well beyond the University of London. It became obvious that the papers should be published. For this reason several other people were invited to participate in this volume in order to provide a more complete picture of the subject. I am extremely grateful to the Institute of Classical Studies, especially its Secretary, Miss Margaret Packer, for help in organising this seminar. The assistance of Prof. Sir John Boardman, Dr John Hind and Dr James Hargrave in editing the papers was invaluable. I would like to thank warmly Job Lisman of Brill for agreeing to publish this volume and providing encouragement during its gestation and organising the translation of J. Vanschoonwinkel's paper from French. Ms N. Gueorguieva translated the papers of G.M. Bongard-Levin and V.D. Kuznetsov from Russian.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
AAA	<i>Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía.</i>
AAntHung	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
AAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes.</i>
AASOR	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique.</i>
ACSS	<i>Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia.</i>
ActArch/ActaArch	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i> , Copenhagen.
ActaHyp	<i>Acta Hyperborea</i> , Copenhagen.
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique.</i>
AEA/AEspA	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología.</i>
AIEC	<i>Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans.</i>
AION	<i>Annali Instituto Orientale Napoli: Archaeologia e Storia Antica.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
AK	<i>Antike Kunst.</i>
Akten 1996	<i>Die Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums "Interactions in the Iron Age: Phoenicians, Greeks and the Indigenous Peoples of the Western Mediterranean"</i> , Amsterdam am 26. und 27. März 1992. <i>Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie</i> 19/20 [1992/93], Mainz.
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen.</i>
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies.</i>
Ancient Bulgaria	Poulter, A. (ed.) 1983: <i>Ancient Bulgaria. Papers Presented to the First Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria</i> (Nottingham).
AnnArchStorAnt	<i>Annali del Dipartimento di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Napoli.</i>
AO	<i>Arkheologicheskie Otkrytiya</i> (Archaeological Discoveries), Moscow (in Russian).
AOR	<i>Arkheologicheski Otkrytiya i Razkopki</i> (archaeological Discoveries and Excavations), Sofia (in Bulgarian).
APAM	<i>Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología de Murcia.</i>

- Apoikia* d'Agostino, B. and Ridgway, D. (eds.) 1994: *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (*Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica*, NS No. 1) (Naples).
- AR* *Archaeological Reports*.
- ArchEph* *Archaiologike Ephemeris*.
- Archibald, Odrysian Kingdom* Archibald, Z.H. 1998: *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace. Orpheus Unmasked* (Oxford).
- AS/ASGE* *Archeologicheskii Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* (Archaeological Collection of the State Hermitage), Leningrad (in Russian, with summaries in English).
- ASAtene* *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*.
- ASMG* *Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia, Rome*.
- ASNP* *Annali della Scuola normale di Pisa*.
- ATL* Merit, B.D., Wade-Gery, H.T. and McGregor, M.F. 1939–1953: *The Athenian Tribute Lists I–IV* (Cambridge and Princeton).
- Atti Taranto* *Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto*.
- BABesch* *Bulletin antieke Beschaving*.
- BAEAA* *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología*.
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
- BayVgbl* *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*.
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.
- BICS* *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London*.
- BPI* *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana*.
- BS* *Bosporskii Sbornik* (Bosporan Collection), Moscow (in Russian).
- BSA/ABS* *Annual of the British School at Athens*.
- BT CGI* Nenci, G. and Vallet, G. (eds.) 1977–: *Bibliografia Topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche I–* (Pisa-Rome).
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*.
- CCCA* Vermaseren, M.J. 1977–1989: *Corpus Cultus Cybe-lae Attisque I–VIII* (Leiden).
- Chelis* *Chelis, Sofia* (in English, French and Bulgarian): Vol. 1 (1992) *Getic Lands in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Vol. 2 (1992) *Sboryanovo—Studies and Prospects* (Proceedings of the Conference in Ispirih, 8 December 1988).

- Vol. 3.1 (1994) *Culture and Religion in North-Eastern Thrace*.
- CIRB* *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1965).
- CP/CPh* *Classical Philology*.
- CQ* *Classical Quarterly*.
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.
- CRDAC* *Centro ricerche e documentazione sull' antichità classica*.
- CR St Petersburg* *Comptes rendus de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, St Petersburg.
- CuPAG* *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de Granada*.
- CuPAUM* *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*.
- CVA* *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.
- Darch* *Dialoghi di Archaeologia*.
- DHA* *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*.
- Diels/Kranz* Diels, H. and Kranz, H. 1951: *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶ (Berlin).
- EA* *Epigraphica Anatolica*.
- EaW* *East and West*.
- ErIsr* *Eretz-Israel*.
- FAC* Edmonds, J.M. (ed.) 1957–1961: *The Fragments of Attic Comedy I–III* (Leiden).
- FGrHist* Jacoby, F. 1923–: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker I–III* (Berlin – Leiden – New York – Cologne).
- G&R* *Greece and Rome*.
- GGR* Nilsson, M.P. 1961–1967: *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I³ and II²* (Munich).
- GNAMP* *Godishnik na Narodniya Arkhaeoloicheski Muzei v Plovdiv* (Annual of the National Archaeological Museum in Plovdiv), Plovdiv (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French).
- GöttMisz* *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*.
- Harq* *Huelva Arqueológica*.
- HBA* *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*.
- IAK* *Izvestiya Arkheologicheskoi Komissii* (Bulletin of the Archaeological Commission), St Petersburg (in Russian).
- IBAI* *Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arkheologicheski Institut* (Journal of the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology), Sofia (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French or German).

<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
<i>IGBR</i>	Mihailov, G. (ed.) 1958–1970: <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae</i> I–IV (Sofia).
<i>IMYIB</i>	<i>Izvestiya na Muzeite v Yogo-Iztochna Bulgariya</i> (Journal of the Museums in South-Eastern Bulgaria) (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French or German).
<i>INMV</i>	<i>Izvestiya na Narodniya Muzei v Varna</i> (Journal of the National Museum in Varna), Varna (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French and German).
<i>In the Land of the Gryphons</i>	Invernizzi, A. (ed.) 1995: <i>In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity</i> (Florence).
<i>IOSPE</i>	Latyshev, B. 1890–1916: <i>Inscriptiones antiqua orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> (St Petersburg).
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua.</i>
<i>IsrExplJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal.</i>
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen.</i>
<i>JberInstVgFrankf</i>	<i>Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vogeschichte der Universität Frankfurt am Main.</i>
<i>JbRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.</i>
<i>JDAI/Jdl</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
<i>JfieldA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology.</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
<i>Kazarow, Beiträge</i>	Kazarow, G. 1916: <i>Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker. Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel I–III</i> (Sarajevo).
<i>Kirk/Raven</i>	Kirk, G.S. and Raven, J.E. 1957: <i>The Presocratic Philosophers. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts</i> (Cambridge).
<i>KSIA</i>	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Short Bulletins of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Moscow (in Russian).
<i>KSIMK</i>	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury</i>

	<i>Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Short Bulletins of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Leningrad (in Russian).
<i>LGN I</i>	Fraser, P.M. and Matthews, E. (eds.) 1987: <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I</i> (Oxford).
<i>LGN II</i>	Osborn, M.J. and Byrne, S.G. (eds.) 1994: <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II</i> (Oxford).
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> .
<i>MA</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i> .
<i>MadrBeitr</i>	<i>Madriider Beiträge</i> .
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i> , Paris.
<i>MDAI (M)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Abt. Madrid).
<i>MDAI (R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Römischer Abteilung).
<i>MEFRA</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité</i> .
<i>MHJ</i>	<i>Medizin-Historisches Journal</i> .
<i>MLA</i>	<i>Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR</i> (Materials and Investigations on the Archaeology of the USSR), Moscow (in Russian).
<i>MM</i>	<i>Madriider Mitteilungen</i> .
<i>MonAL</i>	<i>Monumenti antichi pubblicati dall' Accademia dei Lincei</i> .
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi</i> .
<i>Numizmatika</i>	<i>Numizmatika</i> (Numismatics), Sofia (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French).
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i> .
<i>OpArch</i>	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i> .
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i> .
<i>PAV</i>	<i>Peterburgskii Arkheologicheskii Vestnik</i> (St Petersburg Archaeological Herald), St Petersburg (in Russian, with summaries in English).
<i>PCPS/PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> .
<i>PG</i>	Migne, J.-P. (ed.) 1857-: <i>Patrologie cursus completus</i> . Series graeca (Paris).
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i> .
<i>Pulpudeva</i>	<i>Pulpudeva</i> . Semaines Philippopolitaines de l'histoire et de la culture thrace (Sofia).
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> .

<i>Rbibl</i>	<i>Revue biblique.</i>
<i>RBPhh</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.</i>
<i>RE</i>	Pauly, A., Wissowa, G. and Kroll, W. 1894—: <i>Real Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart).
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes.</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques.</i>
<i>REIb</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Ibéricos.</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> , Frankfurt am Main.
<i>RLAC</i>	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum.</i>
<i>RosA</i>	<i>Rossiiskaya Arkheologiya</i> (Russian Archaeology), Moscow (in Russian, with summaries in English).
<i>RStLig</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Liguri.</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Sovetskaya Arkheologiya</i> (Soviet Archaeology), Moscow (in Russian, with summaries in English and French).
<i>Sbornik Kazanluk</i>	Chichikova, M. (ed.) 1991: <i>Sbornik. Trakiyskata Kultura prez Elinisticheskata Epoha v Kazanlashkiya kray</i> (Essays on Thracian Culture in the Hellenistic Period), Kazanluk (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French and German).
<i>Sevtopolis I</i>	Dimitrov, D.P., Chichikova, M., Balkanska, A. and Ognenova-Marinova, L. 1984: <i>Sevtopolis I</i> (Sofia) (in Bulgarian, with summaries in French).
<i>SGE</i>	<i>Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha</i> (Bulletins of the State Hermitage Museum), Leningrad (in Russian, with summaries in English).
<i>SGMII</i>	<i>Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv im. A.S. Pushkina</i> (Bulletins of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts), Moscow (in Russian, with summaries in English).
<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology.</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.</i>
<i>StAltägKul</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur.</i>
<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi Etruschi.</i>
<i>TAB</i>	<i>Terra Antiqua Balcanica</i> , Sofia.
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association.</i>
<i>TGE</i>	<i>Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha</i> (Proceedings of the State Hermitage Museum), Leningrad (in Russian, summaries in English).

Tomaschek, <i>Die Alten Thraker</i>	Tomaschek, W. 1893–1894: <i>Die Alten Thraker. Eine Ethnologische Untersuchung</i> (Vienna).
<i>TP</i>	<i>Trabajos de Prehistoria</i> .
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> (Journal of Ancient History), Moscow (in Russian, with summaries in English).
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .

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1. M.I. ROSTOVITZEFF IN ENGLAND: A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF WEST AND EAST*

G.M. Bongard-Levin

In June 1918 M. Rostovtzeff left St Petersburg to go on an academic trip abroad. But fate decided that he should never return to Russia. He spent almost two years in England actively engaged in scholarship and politics. Until recently, very little was known about this time; his biographers had only scarce information about this period in the life of the Russian scholar. Even in the very informative book by M. Wes (Wes 1990, ch. IV) the English period in Rostovtzeff's life is illustrated in general by the story of the Russian scholar's participation in the Paris Peace Conference and by some data on the foundation of the "Russian Liberation Committee" in London presided over by him. For archive evidence Wes had at his disposal only the American archives of New York and partly of Madison: Rostovtzeff's letters to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams¹ from the archive of Columbia University in New York (Butler Library, Bakhtmetev's archive of Russian and East European History and Culture) and the university files of Rostovtzeff and the W.L. Westermann, American historian and papyrologist from the archive of the University of Wisconsin.²

* *Editorial Note.* The present article is a shortened and slightly reworked version of Prof. G.M. Bongard-Levin's chapter "An Academic Mission or Emigration? Two Years in Great Britain" published in the book *Skifskii Roman (Scythian Novel)*, pp. 124–144. Since 1990 the Centre for Comparative Studies of Ancient Civilisations, Russian Academy of Sciences, under the supervision of Prof. Bongard-Levin, has carried out an international project studying the life of M.I. Rostovtzeff and his contribution in the study of ancient civilisations. The final result of this project is the fine book *Scythian Novel*. Even more materials on Rostovtzeff have been published in *VDI* (cf. Bibliography) and by *Historia* (Rostowzew 1993). I would like to thank Prof. Bongard-Levin for his assent to publish his work in the present collection of articles. I have to admit that, besides the academic value of this article, I had a personal goal: I myself have spent four years in Oxford and can testify from my own experience that since Rostovtzeff nothing has changed.

¹ A.V. Tyrkova-Williams (1869–1962), a public figure, writer, publicist, Rostovtzeff's friend.

² For more details see: Bongard-Levin and Litvinenko 1996, 166–183.

However, familiarity with the archives in England (London, Oxford, Cambridge) and with Rostovtzeff's personal archives in Duke University (Special Collections Department of the W.R. Perkins library) in the USA allows us to throw some more light on Rostovtzeff's life and activities in England from the end of August 1918 to mid-August 1920. Rich evidence is given by Rostovtzeff's letters to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams and H. Williams from H. Williams' archive in the British Library (London), in the material on the Russian Liberation Committee from the same archive, the letters to E.H. Minns from the archives of the University of Cambridge,³ and from the archives of Oxford University Press.

A very interesting document is kept in Rostovtzeff's personal archive (Duke University)—a copy of his report sent to the Russian Academy of Sciences about his trip abroad from July 1918 to July 1919.⁴ This text, which has not been published so far, is important not only for concrete information about the scholarly and organisational activity of Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff in this decisive period of his life. His report, which was sent on 6 July 1919 from Paris to St Petersburg, adds some facts to his biography and also specifies some dates connected with a theme, much debated by scholars "M.I. Rostovtzeff's emigration", and gives a more detailed picture of his life during his stay in England.

Before turning to other archive material, I cite the text of the report:⁵

To the Russian Academy of Sciences

I am obliged to report to the Russian Academy of Sciences about my activities during my trip abroad which began in July 1918.

In Sweden, where I spent about two months, waiting for a possibility to depart for England, I was in constant contact with local scholars, mainly archaeologists and historians, for the most part O. Montelius

³ Ellis Hovell Minns (1874–1953) and Rostovtzeff knew each other from 1901, when they met for the first time in St Petersburg (E.H. Minns Correspondence, Cambridge University Library, Mss. Department, Add. 7222, Box 2, Folder R.)

⁴ M. Rostovtzeff Papers, Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Box 3, Autobiographical materials. I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. J. Oates for his help in my work on the material from Rostovtzeff's archive and the right to publish. Later, when referring to the archive, I will only cite the box and folder number. I should also like to express my deep thanks to Prof. G.W. Bowersock for his immense help on M. Rostovtzeff project during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton).

⁵ The report is in Russian.

and T. Arne. I was most cordially welcomed. My personal work in the Royal Library and Museum was facilitated in every possible way. The question about the need for closer scholarly links with Russia is recognised as a question of paramount importance. The movement in favour of such links is growing. I have no doubt that, once communication with Russia is restored, the matter of scholarly collaboration will be arranged without any effort. The question of exchanging scholarly publications is very important. During discussions with colleagues, both in Sweden and in Norway, I insisted on the necessity of establishing a special committee consisting of a few people, who would take upon themselves the task: 1) to create a library of Russian books in one of the academic institutions and to supervise the supply of Russian books for the large scholarly libraries in the country; 2) to organise a system of supplying information about Russia to the institutions of higher education; 3) to organise a system of reciprocal information about the results of academic activities in particular periods by editing periodical scholarly reviews in special publications.

After my arrival in England (very much facilitated thanks to the efforts of Academician P.G. Vinogradov)⁶ I settled in Oxford. Here again, I was most heartily welcomed, with most kindly affection, which I attribute not at all to myself but to Russia and Russian scholarship. More specifically this affection found its expression in the following: 1) Oxford University conferred on me the title of Honorary Doctor (D.Litt.);⁷ 2) Christ Church asked me to accept 200 pounds⁸ to facilitate my scholarly work in Oxford; 3) Corpus Christi College accepted me among its members; 4) the university asked me to teach a course on ancient economic history during the next term (October–November 1919).⁹

My academic work in Oxford consisted of: a) my continued study of the South Russia, preparing for publication the three volume history

⁶ P.G. Vinogradov (1854–1925)—a law historian. About Vinogradov's role in Rostovtseff's scholarly career see: Bongard-Levin, Vakhtel and Zuev 1993, 218.

⁷ In the archive there is kept a letter sent by the Registry of Oxford University to M.I. Rostovtseff on 12 December 1918, in which he is asked to give formal information for publication in the University Gazette in connection with the conferment of the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. (Box 3. Awards). For more details see below.

⁸ In Rostovtseff's archive in Duke University, there is a certificate, signed by the Dean of the College, which certifies that M.I. Rostovtseff, who stayed in England in 1918, was given financial support "for carrying out important scholarly work on ancient history and archaeology" (Box 3. Autobiographical materials).

⁹ In Rostovtseff's archive in Duke University (Box 3. Autobiographical materials) a letter is kept, which was given to Rostovtseff on 1 July 1920 on behalf of the administration of Oxford University about the fact that in 1919 he taught a course of lectures on "Economic history of Hellenism and Rome", being invited by the university. Rostovtseff asked for this document, obviously in connection with his invitation to the USA as a professor of ancient history at Wisconsin University.

which I had begun in Russia.¹⁰ One of the specially prepared works (about the find in Astrabad of objects of the 3rd millennium B.C.) will be published in "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology";¹¹ b) together with Professor Grenfell I worked on the preparation of the third volume of papyri from Tebtunis;¹² I was asked to compile the commentary on a number of papyri from this most interesting series; c) I delivered two papers to two Oxford academic societies: The Oxford Society of Archaeology, a paper on the evolution of decorative wall painting, and the Oxford Society of Classical Philology, a paper on the economic and social structure of Ptolemaic Egypt. Both papers will be published—the first in "Journal of Hellenic Studies",¹³ and the second in "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology";¹⁴ d) I published two articles: "Queen Dynamis" in "Journal of Hellenic Studies",¹⁵ and "Caesar and South Russia" in "Journal of Roman Studies".¹⁶

Moreover, together with Acad. P.G. Vinogradov, we worked on the task of informing England about Russia as a whole, and about Russian scholarship in particular. This activity found its expression in the following:

a) In the Society for Russian-British Brotherhood periodical discussions about Russia took place, both for English and Russian audiences.

b) The same society organised a congress of lecturers in Russian language, at which, besides, were discussed questions about establishing in England a special English Institute for the study of Russia. Initiator of all this was Prof. W. Sedgefield. With the co-operation of the Royal Literary Society, it is getting near to fruition.

c) The same Society organises in August and September short courses on Russia, mainly with an economic orientation.

d) At the invitation of the University of Manchester, I read there one of my lectures devoted to Russia. My lecture was dedicated to Russian scholarship and will be published in *Quarterly Review* in October 1919.¹⁷

e) Parallel with this, I worked on informing England about what is happening in Russia now. For that purpose I founded the "Russian

¹⁰ Obviously this is about his book, part of which he had finished in Russia and was published in 1925, titled (by the publishers) "Scythia and Bosphorus". To this work belong also the chapters recently discovered in M.I. Rostovtzeff's archive (in St Petersburg) and published in *VDI* (1989–1991). See also: Rostowzew 1993.

¹¹ M. Rostovtzeff, The Sumerian Treasure of Astrabad. *JEA* 1920 (IV), 4–28.

¹² A.S. Hunt, J.G. Smyly, B.P. Grenfell, E. Lobel, and M. Rostovtzeff, *Tebtunis Papyri*. Vol. III (London 1933), Part 1, Nos. 690–825.

¹³ M. Rostovtzeff, Ancient Decorative Wall-Painting. *JHS* 1919 (39), 144–163.

¹⁴ M. Rostovtzeff, The Foundation of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic Times. *JEA* 1920 (6), 161–178.

¹⁵ M. Rostovtzeff, Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus. *JHS* 1919 (39), 88–109.

¹⁶ M. Rostovtzeff, Caesar and the South of Russia. *JRS* 1927 (7), 27–44.

¹⁷ The lecture was published much later, see: M. Rostovtzeff, The Contribution of Russia to Learning. *The Quarterly Review* 1920 (223), 272–287.

Liberation Committee"¹⁸ based on private resources. In its activities a number of Russian public men took a lively part. This committee issues its own bulletin,¹⁹ organises a press office and publishes a number of books and brochures. I must say that the matter of rapprochement with Russia finds most lively sympathy in England. Most urgently, it is necessary at the earliest opportunity to try and collaborate in organising in London a Russian Institute which would take on all these activities. The ground for it is prepared and England will not be late to answer in establishing an English Institute for Russia.²⁰ I personally will continue, to the best of my ability, the work which has been started.

At the end of 1919 I was invited to Paris by the Director of the French Institute in St Petersburg Prof. J. Patouillet.²¹ The Parisian Committee "La France et l'Effort des Allies" organised together with Prof. Patouillet visits to the universities of the South of France, aiming to inform the general public, as well as university staff, about what is happening in Russia. At the same time, one of the aims of these visits was to establish contact with the universities of France, in order to organise large scale academic rapprochement and to prepare the ground for the activities of a Russian Institute in Paris.²²

¹⁸ The Russian Liberation Committee was created in February 1919 and promoted active political work.

¹⁹ The weekly *The New Russia* started coming out in January 1919. As well as Rostovtzeff, an active role was played in its preparation by the well known writer and activist of the cadet party Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, her husband, the English journalist H. Williams, and also P.N. Milyukov, V.D. Nabokov, P.B. Struve, K.D. Nabokov.

²⁰ Thus in the original.

²¹ J. Patouillet (1862–1942), one of the greatest French Slavists, Honorary Doctor of the University of London. In 1913 he was appointed Director of the French Institute in St Petersburg and kept this post until 1919; for more details see Patouillet's obituary, written by M. Ehrhard in *Revue des Études Slaves*, 1944 (21), Fasc. 1–4, 179–183. I would like to take this opportunity to thank S.G. Aslanov (the Institute for Slavonic Studies, Paris) for his help in my work on this subject.

²² The question about the establishment of a Russian Institute in Paris came up as early as 1917. On 7 October 1917 Acad. M.A. Dyakonov (1855–1919) reported at a meeting of the Russian Academy: "Among the academic circles of St Petersburg and Paris appeared the idea of establishing of a Russian Institute in Paris, and about the need for greater rapprochement between Russian and French scholarly circles. In order to meet this request, the Minister of National Education requests you to recommend the election of one representative to the meeting called by the Ministry . . . to hear reports about the Russian Institute in Paris and the sending of a delegation of Russian scholars in Paris to develop *in situ* the question of the Russian Institute. It is recommended to ask that the following should be the representatives of the Academy the Academicians A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii, S.F. Oldenburg and M.I. Rostovtzeff, as they have already taken part in preliminary work on this matter" (St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Fund 1. Inventory 1a—1917. File 164. General meeting. XIII session, 7 October 1917, pp. 257–258). I would like to express my deep gratitude to I.V. Tunkina for

The above mentioned Committee asked me to participate in these visits, which I did. I have just returned from the trip, during which we visited: Lyons, Aix, Marseilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Poitiers, and I have to say that my speeches about Russia and about academic rapprochement were greeted everywhere with complete compassion and warm sympathy towards Russia and Russian scholarship.²³ I think that, if the will is there, and with energetic work here too, the matter can be arranged and move ahead. During my stay in England I found out that the Paris Academy [thus in the Russian original] had taken the initiative to establish a new Union of Academies, members of which should be, first of all, the Academies of the Allied countries. This Union is divided in two sections: the so-called exact sciences and humanities (lettres, sciences, morales et politiques). The preparatory Congress of the first section took place as early as the winter, and the second in July. Russia was not invited to either of them. As soon as I found out about this, I made inquiries of the Permanent Secretary of the Paris Institute,²⁴ R. Cagnat, and was convinced that the fact that Russia was not invited was a mere misunderstanding. After that, I spoke to the secretary of the Congress of the Academies, the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Th. Homolle and received from him an official letter inviting me to the next Congress of the Academies in Brussels in October 1919. I accepted this invitation, thinking that I was acting in the spirit of our Academy. I will, of course, represent the Russian Academy not officially but semi-officially.²⁵ In Paris I met Prof. Henry,²⁶ who told me about the will of the Academy to lay the foundations of a Russian Institute in Paris.

her help in using the archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Academician A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii (1863–1918), Professor of St Petersburg University; Academician S.F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), Orientalist, Indologist, the Permanent Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

²³ In February 1920 the first meeting of the Russian academic group took place, at which were present French Slavists and Russian scholars, including the eminent philologist P. Boyer, Director of the School for living Eastern Languages, now Institut National des langues et civilisations orientales, Prof. Patouillet, professor in Russian in the Sorbonne, E. Oman, M.I. Rostovtzeff, P.P. Tronskii, E.V. Anichkov (for details see: P.E. Kovalevskii, *Russia Abroad* (Paris 1971), 82–83 (in Russian).

²⁴ L'Institut de France, i.e. the French Academy.

²⁵ Rostovtzeff took part in this conference. It is interesting that, despite his statement, Rostovtzeff, judging by the published works of the conference, "represented officially the Russian Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg". See: *Compte Rendu de la seconde Conférence Académique tenue à Paris les 16–18 Octobre 1919* (Paris 1919), 2. The meeting took place not in Brussels, but in Paris. Rostovtzeff also participated as the official delegate of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the session which took place in Brussels on 26–28 May, 1920. See: *Compte Rendu de la Première session annuelle du Comité* (Brussels) 1920, 3.

²⁶ Victor Henry, a professor in the University of Brussels, who did a lot for the establishment of the Russian Institute in Paris; he went to Paris many times, collaborated with Rostovtzeff on work for the establishment of the Russian Liberation Committee, and often visited Russia.

In this respect, we are now going to take measures to try to accomplish this, if we can manage to secure premises for the Institute and also the money needed for to start it. We hope to have a discussion about this with our Parisian colleagues in the very near future.

I hope that, in spite of difficult material and moral conditions, my work has been useful and in accordance with the outlines of the Academy. There is one thing I can say with confidence: here I did not encounter any hostility to a sound Russia, on the contrary, I met complete compassion and sympathy. The Russian Academy can rest assured that all its enterprises will meet the warmest response in France, and, probably, in Italy.

Member, Russian Academy of Sciences
Paris,
6 July, 1919.

Following Rostovtzeff's report and from other archive material, it is possible to reconstruct the life and activity of the Russian scholar in England.

In Rostovtzeff's personal archive in Duke University two certificates are kept, received by Rostovtzeff in connection with a supposed academic trip to Europe—from the University of St Petersburg No. 861 (18 April, 1918)²⁷ and from the Russian Academy of Sciences No. 584 (15 June, 1918).²⁸ Judging from his schedule, the question of the trip was put forward as early as December 1917.²⁹ Initially

²⁷ The original document is in Rostovtzeff's personal archive in Duke University (Box 3. Autobiographical Materials). The text is in French. In St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences a certified (by the secretary of the Council of the University of St Petersburg) copy of the document. The text is in French. Fond 1054. Inventory 1. File 30. Page 14. On the form (the original and the copy) *Impériale* (Imperial) is crossed out in ink.

²⁸ The original document is in Rostovtzeff's personal archive in Duke University (box 3. Autobiographical Materials). The text is in French. In Rostovtzeff's personal file (St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fund. 2. Inventory 17. File 134. Page 29) the text of this document is kept, on which the previous dates, 4 April (22 March) 1918, are corrected in ink, in the previous text "Denmark" was also added. In the initial text, as well as the document from the university, Denmark is not mentioned. In Rostovtzeff's archive (*Ibid.* Fond 1054. Inventory 1. File 30. Page 13) a copy of the certificate is kept, written out (obviously, sent out) on 4 April (22 March). The authenticity of the copy is certified by the head clerk S. Ryshkova (1874–1942), one of the closest helpers of S.F. Oldenburg, head clerk of the Conference of the Academy. What is interesting is that on the form is written *Académie Impériale*, although in May 1917 The Imperial Academy was renamed Russian Academy. On the form, issued on 15 June, *Impériale* is blacked out in ink.

²⁹ Report about the state of activity of the University of St Petersburg for 1917, Pg., 1918. Proceedings, No. 64.

the period of the visit was defined as 6 months, starting on 1 April 1918, "for scholarly studies in the museums and the libraries of Sweden and England".³⁰ Judging from the archive, on 17th April he sent a letter to the Embassy of Norway, requesting for himself (and his wife) visas for two months in order to work in the museums and libraries of Norway on the problems of the early and later history of the Scythians on the territory of Russia.³¹ On 18th April, relying, obviously, on the quick provision of the visas, he received in the university an official letter about his trip, in which, besides Sweden and England, Norway was also included.

On the 16th April 1918 he sent a letter to the Swedish scholar O. Montelius asking for co-operation in speeding up the arrangement of visas for Sweden.³² The letter arrived from St Petersburg in Stockholm on 26th May and the very next day Montelius sent an answer to Rostovtzeff (unfortunately, this letter still has not been found and it is not known whether it reached the Russian scholar or not): if the letter from Sweden to Russia took as long as it did from St Petersburg to Stockholm, Rostovtzeff apparently could not have received it—at that time he had already left Russia.

In his book, M. Wes (1990, 14–17) pays detailed attention to the timing of Rostovtzeff's departure, but the lack of precise information did not allow him to give a firm answer to this question. The archive allows us to establish this date more precisely. During the session of the Division of History and Philology, Russian Academy of Sciences on 6 June 1918, Rostovtzeff declared that he had not so far been able to materialise his trip, owing to the impossibility of travelling abroad, and asked the Conference of the Russian Academy of Sciences "to start counting the days of his trip from the day on which he would actually be able to go abroad". His request was granted.³³ Judging from the official letter issued by the Academy, Rostovtzeff left St Petersburg after 15th June. It is possible to assume that he had received his visa by 15th June and went to the office asking for a new form for his trip, as he was hoping to leave for

³⁰ St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 1054. Inventory 1. File 30. Page 50 b. Division of History and Philology 1—Session, 17 January 1918. Paragraph 30. Page 362.

³¹ *Ibid.* Fund 1954. Inventory 1. File 30. Pages 11–12.

³² On this letter see: Wes 1990, 15–17.

³³ Division of History and Philology. IX session, 6 June 1918, paragraph 230. Page 429 b.

Sweden very soon. This must be the explanation why the dates in the previous text were changed. By his own account, Rostovtzeff left St Petersburg at the end of June. In his letter to his teacher, the eminent historian N.P. Kondakov (1844–1925) who was in Odessa, Rostovtzeff reports on 2nd March 1919 from Oxford: "I personally, after collecting a few crumbs, left Russia, together with Sofia Mikhailovna³⁴ at the end of June 1918, then spent some time in Sweden and Norway, and now live in Oxford." (Letter No. 1. Kondakov collection is now in the Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague. Further down only the letter number is given).

Wes also notes the way the scholar hurriedly left St Petersburg (Wes 1990, 16–18). According to his own words, Rostovtzeff left for Sweden on a steamship.³⁵ Based on the evidence by M.K. Kuprina-Iordanskaya,³⁶ V.Y. Zuev (1991, 145) comes, in my opinion, to the right conclusion: the Rostovtzeffs, leaving for Sweden in the summer of 1918, "at the moment of their departure had not only no intention to leave Russia, but did not even expect it to be so soon". This agrees with Rostovtzeff's report to the Russian Academy of Sciences and his letters from Sweden, sent to England and Russia, although in his later autobiographical notes he wrote that leaving Russia in 1918, he had no intention of coming back.³⁷

The letters which Rostovtzeff sent to Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, in London from Sweden are particularly interesting. The first letter is dated 3 June 1918 and was sent from Stockholm:

After I was sent from pillar to post, I finally got to Sweden where, so far, I am in Stockholm. The matters in Russia have changed just a bit, and I would not say for the better. To write about it would take long and would be difficult.

For people like me, it is impossible to work either in the sphere of politics or in the field of culture.

We are doing a little, but, anyway, it is very small compared to what is being done by way of destruction.

³⁴ Rostovtzeff's wife (née Kulchitskaya), 1880–1962.

³⁵ About this Rostovtzeff talks in his note "Adventures of a College Professor", which is kept in Rostovtzeff's archive in Duke University (Box 3. Autobiographical Materials): "Bright day in July 1918. I am sitting on a steamship, sailing to Sweden".

³⁶ M.K. Kuprina-Iordanskaya, *The Years of my Youth* (Moscow 1966), 354 (in Russian).

³⁷ The Academic Career of Professor M.I. Rostovtzeff, 7 July 1940 (Rostovtzeff's archive in Duke University. Card 3. Autobiographical notes).

Now I am at the cross-roads. There are two options in front of me: to stay in a neutral country and work in my field of scholarship, or to go to England and do the same but also try and be useful to the common cause. I would like to hear from you and your husband which one is preferable and advisable. It is very important for me to know about the attitude to Russians in England. Are they willing to accept some collaboration, or are they hostile to it and decline any co-habitation? This is a cardinal point on which depends how I am going to build my entire personal life in the future. I can work in the field of scholarship here as well as in Denmark. As for money, I am provided for two years, although I have no intentions of staying away from Russia for so long.

If something changes in Russia, I will, of course, go back and do my best to be useful to my homeland . . .

I will be expecting Your reply and instructions with great impatience. I have got used to your instinct for reality. Tell me also, please, is it possible to settle down in London or Oxford without spending too much money. With my wife, we can afford to spend 50 pounds a month, but hardly anything more than that.

Our needs are, as you know, Russian, *i.e.* limited. We know life in English *boarding-houses* and, at that time, it was completely satisfactory for us. . . .³⁸

The letter was sent with recorded delivery on the name of H. Williams in the Editor's office of *Daily Chronicle* for Ariadna Williams (Tyrkova). The stamp on the envelope is dated 16 July 1918.

In the archive of the Institute of History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, a letter is kept, which Rostovtzeff sent through diplomatic channels on 1 August 1918 from Borensberg to Prof. B.V. Farmakovskii in St Petersburg.³⁹ He went there from Stockholm with the Swedish scholar T.Y. Arne. I cite a few passages from this letter:

I have two requests to you. The first, to send to the addresses the attached letters. The second one, not to refuse Your co-operation so that I and Dr Arne can receive some books. Dr Arne attaches the list of books he needs. As for me, I would need to have [follows a list of books and magazines – *G.B.-L.*].

³⁸ The British Library. Harold Williams Papers. Add. MS. 54436. P. 1–3. Further down, when referring to the letters, only the sheet number is given. The letter is in Russian.

³⁹ Archive of the Institute of History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 23. B.V. Farmakovskii (1870–1928), an ancient historian, archaeologist and art historian, corresponding member of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. I would like to thank V.Y. Zuev who kindly showed me this letter.

As for payment for the books, everything I am asking for is due to me; apart from Latyshev [B.B. Latyshev, *Ποινικά. Collection of the scientific and critical articles on the history, archaeology, geography and epigraphy of Scythia, Caucasus and Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast*. St Petersburg 1909 (in Russian).], for which I will pay when I come back . . . Please excuse me for troubling you in these difficult times, but I think that we must not break off our relations with the West and we must show that we are still alive and working. At the same time I would like very much to hear from you how you are living and how all our mutual friends are living.

One more request. In a special article, I would like to throw some light on recent cultural life in Russia. For that reason I need some material. . . .

Judging from Tyrkova-Williams' archive, his next letter to her Rostovtzeff sent on 15 August from Bergen (Sweden):⁴⁰

My deepest gratitude to you and your husband for your kind letters. The arrangements for my departure are getting settled and we intend to leave Bergen in ten days time. Thank you very much for your assistance in finding accommodation for us for two days in London. P.G. Vinogradov insists on our immediate departure for Oxford after our arrival, where we can stay with him for two weeks, until we find accommodation or a boarding-house in Oxford, where I hope to settle, as there I will have the possibility to find some paid academic job.

I will not write in detail about my life in Stockholm. It is not worth it. If it was not for my academic work, it would have been better to think about going back to St Petersburg . . . Thanks God, I found a few nice Swedish colleagues with whom I indulge my soul in scholarly discussions, something I managed to grow out of in Russia.

I am going to England with great pleasure. I don't know, but I somehow want to fight a little with the Germans, even if not directly, but indirectly . . .

In the personal archive of the Finnish archaeologist A.M. Tallgren (1885–1945), a letter is kept sent by Rostovtzeff to Helsinki from Stockholm on 17 August 1918.⁴¹ It shows that, while he was in Sweden, Rostovtzeff continued working on his book about Scythia and the Bosphorus and was not going to England for long; no thoughts of emigration crossed his mind—he invited Tallgren to take part in

⁴⁰ The British Library. H. Williams Papers. Add. MS. 54436. Pages 4–5. The letter is in Russian.

⁴¹ Rostovtzeff's letters are kept in the archive of A.M. Tallgren in the Library of the University of Helsinki. Only the date of the cited letters from this collection is given below. A.M. Tallgren collaborated closely with Rostovtzeff.

the activities of the reformed Archaeological Institute in St Petersburg. This is from his letter:

At this very moment I am in Sweden and intend to go even further away. I am at this time publishing my book about Scythia and the Bosporean kingdom and, being here, I am polishing the chapter on the animal style. For this reason I badly need your book, which you were so kind to give me. But I had to leave it in Russia and I cannot find it here. I think I will not be able to find it in London either, where I am going in a short time. Could you possibly send me a second copy? ... In St Petersburg recently we were occupied with reforming the Archaeological Institute, of which I am also a member, ...; we were thinking about the possibility of inviting you to teach prehistoric archaeology once a fortnight ... I would be most grateful if you hurried with your reply, as in a week's time I am leaving.

Obviously Rostovtzeff made his way to England at the very end of August 1918 and settled down in Oxford. Judging from the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostovtzeff soon addressed the Academy with a request for extension of his academic trip abroad for six months, but it was turned down, although his salary was being paid up to April 1919.⁴² Rostovtzeff did not break his close

⁴² During the meeting of Division of History and Philology, Russian Academy of Sciences, on 18 (5) September 1918 was discussed Rostovtzeff's request "to prolong his trip for six more months beginning on 1 January 1919 to 1 July 1919, in view of the impossibility for him to return on time". The Division decided that it was not possible to prolong the trip after 1 January 1919 and put the question forward for discussion at the General meeting of the Academy. On 5 October (22 September) 1918, after the report by S.F. Oldenburg, the General meeting decided to inform the Academicians on academic trips abroad that they have to come back to their working places not later than 1 January 1919 "after which date, the leave of those who had not returned would be terminated" (St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 1. Inventory 1a—1918. File 165. General Meeting XII session on 5 October 1918, paragraph 246. Page 94 b; Division of History and Philology IX session 18 (5) September 1918, paragraph 269. Page 447). Rostovtzeff's name was included in the list of the full members of the Academy who had not returned by 1 January 1919 from their leaves and trips, and it is also stated that his pay was suspended (St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 4. Inventory 2—1919. File 35. Page 51). It is true that the Academy kept paying Rostovtzeff's salary up till 1 April 1919. From the archive of the Academy, it was collected by the paymaster of the Academy V.A. Ryshkov, who signed "by right" (see *Ibid.* Fond 7. Inventory 1. File 40. Page 1). His pay in the university was collected by S.A. Zhebelev. In a letter to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams (dated by its content in November 1918) Rostovtzeff wrote: "I am writing urgently through Sweden, so that they would give my pay to my brother-in-law and other friends: it will be of some use. By the way, I am not really paid any more". The British Library. Page 86.

relations with the Russian Academy and the St Petersburg University, nor with Russian scholars. Clear testimony to it is his report, which was sent to the Russian Academy in July 1919.

In his very informative article, B. Funk (1992) cited interesting reasons as to why Rostovtzeff, who was held in scholarly respect in Germany, preferred to go to England. Indeed, for him as a true patriot, it was impossible to go to a country which had very recently made war on Russia. Even much earlier—in January 1916—Rostovtzeff wrote to E.H. Minns:

I am working a little on my book about Scythia and the Bosphorus. The second volume I had written in German and it is now in Germany, but, of course, after what happened [the war with Germany. — G.B.-L.] it will never come out in German and I would just like, in one way or another, to get my manuscript back.

Towards the beginning of 1916 the question of collaboration with German scholars was practically taken off the agenda. Much earlier, from the very beginning of the war, Rostovtzeff took a radical anti-German position and by all possible means sought consolidation of relations with the allies, with English and French scholars. In his article "National and World State", talking about the connection of the European countries with the inheritance of the ancient Greek civilisation and civic spirit, Rostovtzeff commented:

Germany is walking at the tail-end, with difficulty the basics of ancient civic spirit and culture of which she has always been an enemy and destroyer, just as she has always been the bearer of the ideal for revival of the world state, an ideal which has always foundered on the ever stronger national selfconsciousness of the peoples of Europe.⁴³

When in 1915 the eminent German scholar E. Meyer,⁴⁴ who had very recently recommended the Russian historian as a corresponding member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, adopted an anti-English position, Rostovtzeff attacked him angrily. In his letter to Minns (16 January 1916) he wrote:

I disliked very much the book of E. Meyer, with whom I used to have a great friendship. But I felt obliged to give a just evaluation of it.

⁴³ M. Rostovtzeff, *National and World State. Russkaya misl'* (Russian Thought) 1915 (X), 31 (in Russian).

⁴⁴ E. Meyer, *England. Seine staatliche und politische Entwicklung und der Krieg gegen Deutschland* (Stuttgart-Berlin 1915).

In *Rech'* (Speech) newspaper he published an article: "An Ancient Historian and the Great War",⁴⁵ where he wrote:

E. Meyer's book is highly disappointing. In front of us is a ponderous and quite crude, offensive and malicious lampoon on England, which is notable neither for true knowledge, nor for breadth of outlook. England—in the eyes of the author—is a backward nation which is slow in its cultural and governmental development, left far behind by Germany, and which has no right to fight this one and only progressive, one and only genuine state . . . What is instructive in E. Meyer is not this lampoon on England, but that juvenescence of political ideology, shown so clearly when he talks about Germany and its irreproachable perfection. On this question, the eminent historian proved to be an ordinary German, in no way different from the mass of German burgers, who was brought up with the ideas common to the whole of Germany, and who believed in them as in an only and immutable truth. His god and idol—the state, all-absorbing, keeping the individual in subjection; the ideal for a statesmanship—German, or, to be more precise, Prussian monarchy, the only monarchy in this world by the grace of God. This absorption of the great historian and thinker by the German model is interesting and scary. If the height of the intelligentsia was seized in this way by this idea, if for them the mission of being German was an eternal truth, how must other strata of German society have believed in this simplified formula? . . . Even more sad is that complete ignorance and misunderstanding of the third participant in this great drama, Russia, shown by Meyer and which is obviously characteristic of the whole of modern Germany. Decades of academic, cultural and economic contacts with Russia disappeared completely for Germany. The vision of Russia remained the same as when it was formed a century or two ago. All the achievements of the Russian historical scholarship, which explained Russia's following the same path as that which had been followed by the Western European nations, were left out of the vision of German historians and German higher and secondary schools—places where the ordinary intellectuals and even scholars-specialists, whose fields are not connected with the Slavonic Studies and Russia *ex professe*, make their acquaintance with Russia. For Meyer and most of his compatriots, Russia is a scarecrow, destroyer of culture, which does not belong to the family of European nations . . . Victory for Germany and its hegemony would really halt the movement forward, and after a while lead to the beginning of a regression.

In his article "International academic rapprochement" Rostovtzeff wrote: "The ugly war made us forget about many things and remem-

⁴⁵ *Rech'*, St Petersburg No. 10 (3393), 11 (24) January 1916, 2 (in Russian).

ber only about one thing, itself".⁴⁶ At the same time he outlined measures for rapprochement with academic and social circles in England and France, and in doing this, he allotted the leading role to the Russian Academy of Sciences. A lot of what he wrote about in this article, he tried to put into effect subsequently when he was in England. After these anti-German statements, after his collision with the leader of German classical scholarship, it was impossible for him to go to Germany, although his academic prestige there was very high. Rostovtzeff chose England and, moreover, he wanted, as he himself told A.V. Tyrkova-Williams, "to fight a little with the Germans, even if not directly, but indirectly". The well known Hungarian scholar Andreas Alföldi, whose note is cited by B. Funk in his article, thought that Rostovtzeff expected to find in England "humanism with a more liberal orientation", that "England is open to first class scholars just as much as German universities are". It is possible that these arguments had their importance, but we must remember that at the beginning of 1919 Rostovtzeff, by his own words, was at the cross-roads and had to choose, "to settle in a neutral country and work in his scholarly field or to go to England and to try at the same time to be useful to the common cause". This common cause for Rostovtzeff and A.V. Tyrkova—a well known activist of the cadet party—was the struggle with the new rule in Russia.

Neither in December 1917, when he first turned to the university with a request for a trip abroad, nor in April 1918 when he received the approval letter from the university, nor in the middle of June 1918 when he left St Petersburg and went to Sweden, had Rostovtzeff in his mind to emigrate or any intention to live abroad for good. Leaving St Petersburg, the Rostovtzeffs took only what was necessary for a short trip, the archive,⁴⁷ the books, basic things were left in their home ("I personally, after collecting a few crumbs, together with Sofya Mikhailovna [Rostovtzeff's wife – G.B.-L.], left Russia at the end of June 1918"—from the letter to N.P. Kondakov). For the

⁴⁶ Rostovtzeff, M. 1916. International Academic Rapprochement. *Russkaya misl'* (Russian Thought) (III), 74.

⁴⁷ In a letter to Th. Wiegand (1864–1936) dated 4 March 1926, Rostovtzeff wrote: "Unfortunately, I cannot tell you anything positive about the plans etc. of the Athenian villa. The material is, most probably, in St Petersburg, where I left all my papers. And nobody else would be able to find it in the chaos of my archive..." Archive of the German Archaeological Institute, Berlin. Papers of Th. Wiegand.

completion of his serious academic work—his book on the Scythians and the Bosphorus—he took only extracts from books, notes, drawings, separate off-prints of recent articles, several copies of his own books (*Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia; Greeks and Iranians in South Russia; The Birth of the Roman Empire*),⁴⁸ from his belongings, only the bare necessities.

The situation in St Petersburg and Russia, which at the end of June 1918 was not very easy, was rapidly getting more complicated. At the beginning of July in the letter sent to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams in London from Sweden, the cardinal question is about the attitude in England towards Russians, what he wants—to stay for a while in England to work on his academic studies and to lead a political fight against the rule of the Bolsheviks. But Rostovtzeff did not want to stay in the West for long: "With money I am provided for two years, although I have no intention of staying away from Russia for so long. If something changes in Russia, I will, of course, go back and do my best to be useful to my homeland". In August the main reason to stay in the West is still the same, his academic work. "If it was not for my scholarly work, it would have been better to think about going back to St Petersburg". The spirit is the same in the letter to A. Tallgren of 17 August 1918.

In England Rostovtzeff met many old friends, in London A.V. Tyrkova-Williams and her husband, the journalist H. Williams; his colleagues in the political struggle P.N. Milyukov, K.D. Nabokov, with whose family he was close in St Petersburg; in Oxford, P.G. Vinogradov; in Cambridge, E.H. Minns; and a number of eminent English scholars whom Rostovtzeff knew as long ago as his first visit to England in 1898. Thanks to P.G. Vinogradov's help, Rostovtzeff "settled" in Oxford: Corpus Christi College, as Rostovtzeff wrote in his report, accepted him among its members and, together with his wife, they rented a place in the very centre of the town, not far

⁴⁸ In Rostovtzeff's collection (archive of Yale University) have survived notes from the book of the beginning of the 20th century, notes on the archaeology of the Kuban region, on history and archaeology of the Scythians, on the decorative painting of South Russia; some of the notes are put in envelopes with Rostovtzeff's address "Morskaya 34, St Petersburg-Petrograd"; there are also kept notebooks with sketches, made in 1905, 1907–1908, see: Rostovtzeff Papers. Collection N 1133. Series I. Box 15, Folder 148, 150, 154; Box 8. Folder 77, 78, 79, 81. In a letter to Minns (27 January 1919) Rostovtzeff wrote that he is sending him a few of his recent articles. "Unfortunately, this is not all I have written, but I could take with me out of Russia only a limited number of things".

from the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum—it is in this library and in this museum that Rostovtzeff worked first of all. His letters to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams, E.H. Minns and his teacher N.P. Kondakov testify to his intense research, as also does Rostovtzeff's report to the Russian Academy of Sciences at the end of the first year of his trip abroad.

At the beginning, Rostovtzeff was trying to continue his studies on his primary interest, on Scythia and the Bosphorus, or, as he called it, "the three volume history of South Russia". He wrote an article about the find at Astrabad, which was published in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*,⁴⁹ and another about the Bosporan queen.⁵⁰ Judging by his report to the Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostovtzeff delivered a paper about the evolution of decorative wall-painting to the Oxford Archaeological Society.⁵¹ But Rostovtzeff soon realised that, being out of Russia and lacking fresh archaeological and epigraphic material and the necessary Russian publications, it would be impossible to work profoundly on the ancient history and archaeology of South Russia. In his letter of 6 November 1918 from Oxford, he wrote to A.M. Tallgren:

Thank you very much for sending me your recent and most interesting book and your articles . . . Now, unfortunately, I can not continue my work on the history and archaeology of South Russia, as I cannot here find virtually any of the books I need and, which is even more important, there is no material. I am used to working holding the objects in my hands, as I know that it is difficult to rely on publications. It is very bad that I do not have the last issues of the *Izvestiya* of our Academy of Sciences.⁵²

Without abandoning his favourite subject (Scythia and the Bosphorus), Rostovtzeff began paying more attention to papyrology and history of the ancient world. The problems of economic development became particularly interesting. Together with the English papyrologist B.P. Grenfell, Rostovtzeff was preparing the volume of papyri from Oxyrynchus, and together with F.J. Haverfield, he took part in the next volume of Roman inscriptions in Britain. In his letter to E.H. Minns

⁴⁹ See note n. 11.

⁵⁰ See note n. 15.

⁵¹ See note n. 13.

⁵² He has in mind *Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

in Cambridge (21 July 1919) Rostovtzeff wrote: "Tomorrow I am leaving for the North of England for a month, together with Haverfield and Anderson, to check Latin inscriptions". After Haverfield's death in 1919, Rostovtzeff continued this research with Anderson and G. MacDonald.⁵³

Rostovtzeff was most cordially welcome in Oxford, as he wrote in his report. In a letter to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams, he wrote: "My arrival here was met with great kindness and heartiness. I am hoping that it will continue in the future." In his letter to N.P. Kondakov from 2 March 1919 from Oxford Rostovtzeff stresses: "I cannot complain about the English. Honours and sympathy as much as you please". He made friends especially with J.G. Anderson and R.B. Mowat; the latter was, like Rostovtzeff, a member of Corpus Christi College. He was close to Anderson because of their mutual scholarly interests, but he became close to Mowat not only because of their love of history, but also their similar political views. Later on Rostovtzeff dedicated to Anderson his book *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* which was published in Oxford in 1926.⁵⁴ He remained in friendly relations with Anderson throughout his life (Anderson's letters, which are kept in Rostovtzeff's archive in Duke University show this). Anderson supported Rostovtzeff in many ways during his stay in England, he helped to edit his books for the Oxford University Press.⁵⁵ Rostovtzeff met Mowat not only in College, but fate brought them together, although in different delegations, during the Paris Peace Conference in June 1919. In 1925 in a letter to his friend and eminent Russian Byzantinist A.A. Vasiliev (1867–1953), who intended to visit Oxford before going to Wisconsin, Rostovtzeff wrote:

In Oxford do not forget to see my friend J.G. Anderson—Christ Church and Mowat—Corpus Christi, and also Vinogradov. Mowat will be in Madison too teaching the history of contemporary Europe and, may

⁵³ Later Rostovtzeff wrote a review of Haverfield's book, which came out under G. MacDonald. Haverfield, F. 1924. *The Roman Occupation of Britain* revised by G. MacDonald (Oxford). Review in *American Historical Review* 1924–1925 (30), 337–339.

⁵⁴ "To my friend J.G. Anderson with gratitude for his co-operation". In the introduction to the book (p. XV) Rostovtzeff wrote that Anderson not only reviewed the text of the book and made his English "readable", but also checked all citations, preventing him from making a number of hasty and wrong conclusions.

⁵⁵ To this testify Anderson's letters to Oxford University Press. I would like to use this occasion to thank P. Foden, the archivist to the publishing house, who acquainted me with all the materials connected with the publication of Rostovtzeff's books, and gave me the right to publish these documents.

be, you will even be on the same steamship. He is a very kind and nice person.⁵⁶

Rostovtzeff's name was held in high esteem within academic circles in Oxford and it was natural that at the beginning of 1919 the Oxford University conferred on the Russian scholar the Honorary Degree of D.Litt., although the beginning of this long procedure was set as early as the end of 1918. Judging by the official documents of the university, the Council voted for the conferment of the honorary degree (of D.Litt.) on Professor of the University of St Petersburg Rostovtzeff.⁵⁷ On 12 December 1918 Rostovtzeff received a letter from the governing body of the university informing him that Convocation, in which the conferment of the degree would be officially announced, would take place on a Thursday between 28 January and 11 March 1919 and that for the announcement in *Oxford University Gazette* "it is necessary to give in full your Christian names and all titles".⁵⁸ And indeed, on Thursday 18 February the Convocation took place, when it was decided to confer an Honorary Degree of D.Litt., *honoris causa*, on Mikhail Rostovtzeff, Doctor of the University of St Petersburg.⁵⁹ *Oxford University Gazette*, when talking about the conferment of a Honorary Degree of D.Litt., described him as "Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of Russia and Professor of Latin Literature in the University of Petrograd". It is no small gain for us to have among us, as a temporary visitor, a scholar of such eminence and capacity.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, these words about "temporary visitor" turned out to be prophetic. In connection with the conferment of the degree, Rostovtzeff gave a paper to the Ancient History Society and, judging by the communication in *The Oxford Magazine*, it was devoted to decorative painting in South Russia.⁶¹ In a letter to Tyrkova-Williams (of 27 February 1919) Rostovtzeff says:

Yesterday, with quinine in my ears and with trembling legs (because of fever, and not because I was nervous, nervousness for me *tempi*

⁵⁶ University of Wisconsin. Division of Archives. College of Letters and Sciences. Department of History. General Correspondence A.A. Vasiliev. Series N7/16/16. Box 1. Letter from 10 June 1925.

⁵⁷ Hebdomadal Council Papers. Private. The Registrar No. 111. October 11–December 13. 1918. P.LXXIX.

⁵⁸ The letter is kept in Rostovtzeff's archive in Duke University. Card 3. Awards.

⁵⁹ *Oxford University Gazette* 19 February 1919, and also *Oxford University Calendar* 1920, 299.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *The Oxford Magazine* 1918–1919, Vol. 37, 28 February, 1919, 201.

passati), I gave my first lecture in Oxford. It went well, although my English misses the mark. But the public was well disposed and indulgent to my "pronan-senshen".⁶²

In May 1919, at the Council meeting of the Faculty of Literae Humaniores with the participation of representatives from the Departments of Ancient History, Classics and Philosophy, Haverfield recommended to the Council of the University to invite Prof. Rostovtzeff, already an Honorary D.Litt. of the university, to read a course of lectures in the winter term (Michaelmas Term) of 1919 on *The Economic History of Hellenism and Rome*.⁶³ Haverfield's recommendation was accepted and Rostovtzeff was invited to give six lectures. The first took place on 25 October 1919 in the Ashmolean Museum.⁶⁴ The lectures were very successful, although, as was stated in the local press:

Dr Rostovtzeff's first lectures were worthy of the subject, and of the lecturer. It is no easy task for a foreign scholar to address an Oxford audience on a central period in those classical studies which occupy so large a place in our teaching; but our traditional methods, as Dr Rostovtzeff frankly and rightly insisted, have led many of us to specialize on earlier and later topics, and on aspects of all our "periods" which are being readjusted by current discovery to a larger and truer perspective of the whole. To have these wider bearings presented by a scholar untrammelled by local cults and tabu is a privilege which will be appreciated more fully as this course of lectures goes on; and for the benefit of those who were not at the first lecture, we draw attention to the handling and delivery, as well as to the matter.⁶⁵

With the characteristic English irony not only for foreign scholars, but themselves as well, it was said that

In spite of the peculiarities both of the English language and of the Ashmolean lecture-room, Dr Rostovtzeff may rest assured that he was both heard and understood; which is more than can be said for some of our own prophets.⁶⁶

Much later H.M. Last, whose relationship with Rostovtzeff was quite complicated, had to admit that a memorable series of lectures on

⁶² The British Library. P. 12.

⁶³ Oxford University Archive. FA 4/7/1/3. P. 136. I would like to thank the archivist of Oxford University Simon Bailey for his help on my work in the archive.

⁶⁴ See *Oxford University Gazette* 9 October 1919.

⁶⁵ *The Oxford Magazine* 1919-1920, Vol. 39, 7 November 1919, 57.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

the Hellenistic Age marked a stage in the glory of his greatest work.⁶⁷

Despite the lack of a permanent job and the difficult life style,⁶⁸ it was Oxford, with its wonderful library and atmosphere of academic collaboration, that offered Rostovtzeff ideal conditions for his studies. Rostovtzeff went rarely to London, where political life was boiling, where the Russian colony was seething and where he was always expected by his Cadet party associates. In a letter to Tyrkova-Williams (September—the beginning of October 1918) he wrote: "I never intended to live in London. I was attracted and am attracted by the possibility of living in the backwoods and not in the commotion of the Russian colony".⁶⁹ On 12 January 1919 Rostovtzeff wrote to E.H. Minns, even if twisting the truth a little,⁷⁰ that he refrains from "any sort of writing, except for the purely scholarly". But he admitted that Minns' book is always on his desk in the Bodleian Library.⁷¹ Even when he became President of the Russian Liberation Committee and he was engaged by political matters, Rostovtzeff went to London seldom, and dedicated himself mainly or even entirely to academic work.

In England Rostovtzeff began preparing his book on South Russia for publication in English, which appeared in 1922 in Oxford at the Clarendon Press.⁷² As the author notes in the preface, which was written when he was already in Madison, some chapters were prepared in England, others in France, where he went a few times during his two years' stay in England. As a base, of course, he used his book, published in Russia, *Greeks and Iranians in South Russia*,⁷³ but it was not a translation from the Russian original. Rostovtzeff wrote

⁶⁷ H.M. Last, Obituary. Professor M.I. Rostovtzeff. *JRS* 1953 (43), 133.

⁶⁸ In a letter to N.P. Kondakov (2 March 1919, Letter No. 1) Rostovtzeff admitted: "Here I live a beggarly, but in any way, cultured life". In his letter to E.H. Minns (4 March 1919) Rostovtzeff wrote: "You think that the life of an emigrant is sweet, being in the air, taking shelter in furnished rooms etc., etc.". In a letter to Tyrkova-Williams Rostovtzeff admits: "I have very little money and dare not spend it" (26 October 1918).

⁶⁹ The British Library. P. 61. The letter is dated by the content.

⁷⁰ At the end of 1918 Rostovtzeff already published in England political articles.

⁷¹ The British Library. P. 79. In the letter to A.V. Tyrkova-Williams, V.I. Isaev, one of the most active collaborators of the Committee, wrote that "Rostovtzeff comes only once a week". The British Library. Mss. Fund. H. Williams Papers. Add. 54438. P. 171.

⁷² M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford 1922).

⁷³ M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (St Petersburg 1918), Preface (in Russian).

a number of chapters in English, others in French, and then Prof. J.D. Beazley, professor in Oxford University, translated the French chapters into English and edited the English text. Rostovtzeff dedicated this book to his friends and teachers Count A.A. Bobrinskii, N.P. Kondakov and E.H. Minns, and also in *memoriam* N.I. Veselovskii (died in 1918), V.V. Latyshev (died in 1919), Y.I. Smirnov (died in 1918) and V.V. Shkorpil (died in 1919). Judging by his letter to Minns dated 21 July 1919, at the beginning the publication of the book ran into great difficulties. Rostovtzeff suggested that *Greeks and Iranians in South Russia* should just be translated. He approached only the publishers Chatto and Windus:

Nothing came of the publication of my book on South Russia in English. After the report of some unknown specialist based on some unknown to me connoisseur of the Russian language, Chatto and Windus decided that with the existence of your book⁷⁴ and the *Antiquities* of Tolstoi and Kondakov,⁷⁵ it was not worth publishing it. I have not approached other publishers; the answer would be all the same. S. Reinach offered to publish the book in the form of articles in *Revue Archéologique* . . . Patouillet offered to translate it. I sent the book to France. If anything is going to come out of it, I do not know, but in any case there is no work for your blue pen so far. Pity that I did not give you my book for examination. I would have liked to have your opinion. But it is too late now, I have already sent it to France and another copy is not envisaged.

The following day in his postcard to Minns, 22 July, again disappointment about the book:

Unfortunately, Chatto and Windus decided that, with the existence of your book, it is not worth publishing mine. Other publishers here I do not know. I am thinking of publishing it in France.

On 11 December Rostovtzeff sent Minns a letter, where the book's fate is touched on once again. But he is already negotiating with Oxford University Press:

Today I had a discussion with the Clarendon Press. I am printing with them those lectures on the economic history of antiquity which I read in Oxford this term. In this connection I touched on the ques-

⁷⁴ E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks. A survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge 1913).

⁷⁵ N.P. Kondakov and I.I. Tolstoi, *Russian Antiquities and Objects of Art*. Vols. 1–3 (St Petersburg 1889–1890) (in Russian). Count I.I. Tolstoi (1856–1916), archaeologist, numismatist.

tion of my *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. I must say that I do not much want to publish them in *Revue Archéologique*, as was suggested. I would like to publish them as a separate volume and, if possible, in England. Johnson (C.P.'s⁷⁶ secretary) very much likes the idea of publishing my book, and he hopes that the committee members will agree. But he thinks that it would be very good, if you expressed your opinion on the matter in a letter addressed to C.P. and recommended my book. This, he thinks, will solve the question once and for all. As you were very sympathetic to the idea of publishing my book in England, and even, you remember, offered to help me with its publication, I hope that you will not decline to do this. Unfortunately, I cannot send you a copy of my Russian book, as the only copy is now in Paris, and by the time they send it back, quite a long time will pass. But it may be possible to manage even without it. I showed you the book and, besides, you know its general plan. You also saw the illustrations. My idea, as I told you, is to write a general essay on the development within the framework of world history, an essay which would at the same time be political, cultural and economic. If you agree to write the letter, without having the book in your hands, do it. If, on the other hand, you need the book, please write! I will try and get it from Paris as soon as possible. The matter is urgent, as the committee meeting is in January.

On 20 December Rostovtzeff thanks Minns for his help and again addresses him with a request about the publication of the book:

I am very grateful for your promise to help me with my book. Indeed, I did not show it to You, as it was in Paris . . . My book is not intended for specialists, but at the same time not for the so-called "broad public", which I do not love very dearly and for which, so far, I have done and am doing nothing. My idea is to put the history of South Russia in connection with the history of the rest of the classical and preclassical world, to show the dependency of South Russia on the other centres of civilisation to the East and to the West and to point out the influence which South Russia, in its turn, had on European civilisation, including the cultural development of Russia. As my material is mainly archaeological, I give quite a lot of illustrations, about ten to twelve tables. In these illustrations I am trying to avoid duplication of what is already included in your book. There is enough fresh material in my work . . . But this is music for the future. My book is divided in the following chapters: 1) South Russia before the Scythians and the Cimmerians, mainly the Tripolye and North of Caucasus, including Transcaucasia. 2) Cimmerians and Scythians. 3) Greek colonies

⁷⁶ C.P. = the Clarendon Press. John de M. Johnson (1882–1956), deputy and then secretary of the Clarendon Press, he himself was very much interested in ancient Egypt and papyrology.

before Mithridates. 4) Sindians, Macotians, Sarmatians. 5) Greek colonies in Roman times before the Goths . . . This is what is programmed. I have enough photographs, here and there I will rely on your kindness. Johnson's (Clarendon Press, Oxford) initials are J. de M. If you want, send him your letter directly, if you prefer, send it through me.

In the archive of the Clarendon Press Minns' letter is kept, a sort of a review of Rostovtzeff's book as offered for publication. In this "internal review" Minns, who after that wrote the review of the already published book,⁷⁷ supported by all means its speedy publication:

I wrote a fat book on the identical subject and the Cambridge Press published it in 1913. I had to make it fat because there was no comprehensive book in any language and I had to put everything in. My book does not really clash with Rostovtsev's because it costs £ 3.3.0, also it was put together not so soon to get the benefit of wide generalizations (larger due to Rostovtsev) recently arrived at, and also of important finds published or made too late for me.

Rostovtsev is therefore in a position to give an account of the archaeology and history of our region in broad outlines bringing out its important reactions with the Mediterranean and Oriental worlds, illustrating with pictures of objects different from those in my book. He can refer to me for things he has no room to get in, knowing that my book is moderately accessible *to a serious student*. Such a book would appeal to most people interested in ancient and classical history. No one is so capable of writing it as Rostovtsev from the point of view of knowledge and originality. The question of mastery of English is a difficult one. I do not know whether his idea is to have large parts of his own Russian book translated and supplement them with fresh matter composed in English, or to write a *fresh book directly* in English. I rather promised to help him over this matter, but I doubt whether I can manage it, as I have not been very well lately, and have great deal on hand. It is curiously difficult work: I find harder to recast a sentence once expressed than put a thought into words straight away, and that is hard enough too.

The Press here would let you copy a moderate amount of plans etc. (which R. wants) out of my book: at least so they told me officially. I don't think they would lend me actual blocks though I would ask for you: moreover the blocks would be mostly rather large for an 8 (vo) page.

I hope the Delegates will entertain Rostovtsev's proposal favourably: I think there is a room for the book and it would circulate in France and USA.

⁷⁷ *JHS* 43 (1923), 84-86.

On 31 December, already knowing about Minns' help, Rostovtzeff wrote to him: "Thank you very much for your kind letter and for the letter to Johnson". Rostovtzeff wrote to Minns in December 1919 that he discussed with the Clarendon Press the question about publishing a book based on the lectures he had read in Oxford University on the economic history of Hellenism and Rome. The archive of the publishing house shows that the executive body of the Clarendon Press turned to Prof. J.G. Anderson requesting his opinion on the matter. Anderson's answer to J. Johnson dated 19 August 1919 (*i.e.* even before Rostovtzeff began reading the lectures; obviously the text was ready by that time) is kept in the archive. The history of the creation of Rostovtzeff's most popular work⁷⁸ has still not been an object of a special study. For this reason, it seems appropriate to cite Anderson's letter of 19 August and the letter of 7 December (obviously the correspondence between the publishers and Anderson was quite intensive):

Rye Dormy House Club,
Rye,
Sussex.
August 19.

My dear Johnson,

Rostovtzeff is quite right in deciding that his lectures as they stood would not do for a book, but the idea was that they should be expanded & documented, & present a connected account of the main lines of economic development in the Hellenistic & Roman worlds. This would have been very useful for students, even if it would not have been "scientifically important" in the sense (which he means) of increasing the knowledge of the very learned.

What he proposes now is to make two volumes out of it, giving the lion's share in the first to Egypt, for which alone (as he rightly says)

⁷⁸ The book was published as *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* in 1926 and was dedicated to J.G. Anderson. "The Egyptian volume" was not published in the form intended, but Rostovtzeff published a book on Egypt, based on Greek papyri in Madison (A Large Estate in Egypt in the 3rd C. B.C. University of Wisconsin. *Studies in Social Sciences and History*, No. 6 [Madison 1922] and a number of specialist articles, including: The Foundation of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic Times. *JEA* 6 [1920], 161-178). Rostovtzeff started this book, which was published in Madison, when still in Oxford, where he could consult B.R. Grenfield (it is to him that the book is dedicated) and Sir H.I. Bell (1879-1967), Director of the British Museum.

the material is adequate, & treating the Roman period (which is development of the Hellenistic) in a second volume. While I am a little sorry that he has abandoned the plan of one volume for the whole development—even if it would be more summary—what he proposes is from the scientific point of view more satisfactory & there can be no doubt that both volumes would be important books & suitable books for the Press to undertake, & that they also are much wanted. R. has an exceptional flair for this kind of work.

I would suggest that you should propose to him to vary the title, so as to indicate the continuity, to something like: 'Studies in the economic history of the Hellenistic & Roman worlds. I. The Hellenistic age, with special reference to Egypt. II, The Roman age'; & get him to follow up the first with the second. If you can secure this, you would have two good & welcome volumes. Even the first by itself would be a great thing to have, but the second would be the bridge to mediaeval history & would interest many people.

Yours sincerely
J.G. Anderson

On 3 December Anderson turned to one of the delegates of the publishing house, the head of his college (Christ Church) T.B. Strong⁷⁹ asking him to support the publication of Rostovtzeff's lectures on the Economic History of Hellenism and Rome.⁸⁰ In Anderson's opinion, the text of the lectures was very good, stimulates further academic research and represents the results of the author's great work. Anderson only reserved the right to polish the English. On 5 December Strong turned to the publishers with his support for the publication of Rostovtzeff's book and acquainted them with Anderson's opinion. On 7 December Anderson sent his review to the publishers:

Christ Church
Oxford
7 Dec. 1919

Dear Johnson,

Thank you for your letter. The MS. of Rostovtzeff's proposed book does not exist yet. The MS. of the Lectures does, & if that is likely to be of any use to the Delegates (which I should doubt), you can

⁷⁹ Rev. Thomas Banks Strong (1861–1944), famous theologian.

⁸⁰ The letter has been preserved in the archive of the publishing house.

have it. But the lectures require expansion: they require also to be equipped with notes & references, which will form their not least valuable part.

It is impossible to ask the Professor to prepare the MS. of the book, unless he is assured that the Press will accept it. There can be no doubt about its importance. Rostovtzeff is in comprehensiveness and originality easily the first living authority in his subject, & these lectures represent the cream of long study. They are extraordinarily stimulating and original, & (unlike much "original" work) they are, I think, extremely sound. Moreover, they cover ground which is not covered, I believe, in any language & certainly not in English. They are not abstruse but rather popular, tracing the great lines of the economic development of the ancient world from the time of Alexander the Great to the end of the Roman Empire, a subject of the very highest importance for the understanding of the history of Rome.

The French have asked him to write a book on Roman History without making any condition at all. They simply say: 'We shall pay you so much for every sheet' (if that is the correct technical term) '& we leave the rest to you'. That, I think, is the way in which he should be treated.

The book, with notes & everything, would run to something like 300 pages. The notes should probably be placed at the end of each chapter. I am sure that the book would do much to put the study of ancient history in Oxford on better lines than hitherto. That study loses three quarters of its value if the continuity of its development & its influence on future history is lost sight of.

Yours sincerely
J.G. Anderson

Rostovtzeff's prestige was very high not only in England, but also in France. In a letter to Tyrkova-Williams, written in November–December 1919,⁸¹ Rostovtzeff wrote:

My relations with France got going. I was invited to read a course in the Sorbonne. But for this year they do not have any money left. I will have to give it up, but it is very important. For I would have been the first Russian invited to read a course in the Faculté des Lettres in the Sorbonne. And this is now! And, moreover, not about Russia, but about my subject.

Luckily enough, Rostovtzeff was invited to the Collège de France to read a course of lectures on the ancient history and archaeology of South Russia. Rostovtzeff started preparing for his appearance in

⁸¹ It is dated by its content.

one of the most prestigious scholarly institutions in France. But side by side with the lectures, he was entirely absorbed by what was to happen with his future books. On 31 December, in a letter to Minns, Rostovtzeff informs him about his visit in France and especially underlines:

I will come back in Oxford in April–May to type my lectures on economic history, and if Oxford Press takes *Scythia*, I will prepare it as well. Somehow I do not feel like dying without having said at least part of what I have come to.

After that, his New Year's greetings:

Happy New Year! May I ask you to do me one more favour? I do not have here an off-print of my article "The Concept of the Royal Ownership in *Scythia* and *Bosporus*",⁸² and I need to reproduce certain things from the tables in this article. Could not you send me, or, even better, bring it to me in person? In C.U.P.,⁸³ of course, they have the zinc, from which was made the map within the binding of your book. I was invited to read a course of lectures on the history of South Russia in the Collège de France, where I am heading in the beginning of February. I would have liked if all my listeners had the map in their hands.

The next letter is already dated in January:

Thank you very much for sending the map. This is exactly what I need. I hope to be able to use it also for Oxford, if I have to read here about South Russia this spring.

In the summer of 1920, again requests to Minns in connection with the preparation of the book for publication:

I was attacked by Johnson, who insists on the immediate publication of my book on South Russia. I can give the text, I have it written down already for the lectures in Paris, but with the illustrations things stand a little worse, especially what concerns the first chapters.⁸⁴

Rostovtzeff is asking for help with the photographs and the Russian scholars' works, which he could not get in England. On 11 June, in a letter to N.P. Kondakov, Rostovtzeff writes:

⁸² M. Rostovtzeff, *The Concept of a Royal Ownership in Scythia and Bosporus*. *ЖАК*, 1913 (49), 1–62, 133–140 (in Russian).

⁸³ Cambridge University Press.

At the moment I am publishing two [books – *G.B.-L.*] in Clarendon Press: one on South Russia of a general character, and the other one on the economic history of Hellenism and Rome.

And, last, in July 1920, *i.e.* not long before his departure for USA, a new letter to Minns:⁸⁴

I am again turning to you with a request I need to reproduce a few drawings from the *Izvestiya* and the *Reports*.⁸⁵ Could you possibly send me for a short time . . . My book⁸⁶ is almost ready. It will be translated, though, by Beazley (from French). I am in a hurry preparing the illustrations. It is especially difficult with the Roman objects from the Kuban region. This is a material of great potential, which is almost unpublished and I have only a few photographs.

In his report to the Russian Academy of Sciences dated 6 July 1919 Rostovtzeff, of course, did not mention the lectures in the Collège de France—it was later that he was invited there. This invitation, which was a reflection of deep respect for Rostovtzeff's scholarly prestige, was very important to the Russian professor from a material point of view as well—in England, as it was, he did not have a permanent job. On 20 December 1919, in a letter to Minns, Rostovtzeff wrote:

Most probably I will have to go to Paris for the rest of the winter (from the middle of January). Friends told me that I was invited to read a course of lectures in the Collège de France and I will be paid for it.

22 December to N.P. Kondakov: "I was invited to read a course in the Collège de France and they give 5000 francs". In November–December 1919 in a letter to Tyrkova-Williams, Rostovtzeff wrote bitterly:

From the material point of view, I make both ends meet, but very badly, and the further it goes, the worse it becomes. It is necessary to start helping those who used to have a little: to my father-in-law in Poland, to some people in Finland, to some in Russia . . . But what to do! I have to stay where I am paid, even though beggarly.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ The letter bears no date. With Minns' handwriting a date was added "around July 1920".

⁸⁵ *ЖАК* and *Otchety Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Komissii* (Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission) are meant.

⁸⁶ *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*.

⁸⁷ The British Library. P. 79.

Obviously, his payment for the lectures in the Oxford University was not very high, but even this money he had to send to relatives. In his letter to N.P. Kondakov dated 22 December 1919, he wrote:

That's how you live, killing yourself. I read a course of lectures, for which they paid 50 pounds and I had to send it to Mikhail Frantsevich⁸⁸ in Poland, who hasn't got a penny left. I write articles in newspapers and magazines etc., I earn something, but in general I spend what I brought from Russia, and there isn't much left.

This winter, he writes to his English friend Minns on 31 December 1919:

we still keep our heads above the water. I am going to France, because for the lectures in the Collège de France they are paying. And here there is little hope to settle down. Our brother, the scholar, is hardly needed by anyone. What we know, is so unimportant to the democratic state, that it even does not know, whether it is worth feeding its own scholars, let alone thinking about the foreign ones. Let them die of hunger, if they cannot do anything more "useful". The times, when we were flying with Erasmus, are gone, and now even Einstein is not thought very highly of, and the price of our brother the adherent of "pure" scholarship is just a penny. But well, why talk about it. It has always been like this and always will be. We will lead the life of a wandering lecturer, so far as they still pay for it.

The journal *Revue Archéologique* gave a short *resumé* of eight of Rostovtzeff's lectures, on the Iranians and the Greeks in South Russia,⁸⁹ i.e. on the subject of his book which was published in Russia and the one which was being prepared for publication in Oxford.

The lectures on South Russia roused considerable interest in scholarly circles in France.

My lectures

Rostovtzeff wrote to Minns in the spring of 1920 from France,

went down very well here. The audience was always pretty numerous, very attentive and nice. They were attended by many of French colleagues, who do not miss a single lecture. As a whole I am content. Much to my surprise, it turned out that the mere subject is completely new to them.

⁸⁸ Rostovtzeff's father-in-law M.F. Kulchitskii.

⁸⁹ *Sommaires des Conférences du Professeur M. Rostovzev au Collège de France sur les Iraniens et les Grecs dans la Russie Méridionale. RA. Serie 5, 12 (1920), 113-114.*

Rostovtzeff had no intention on publishing his book as separate essays in *Revue Archéologique*, as was offered by S. Reinach, but in this journal he published an article on the Copper age in North Caucasus⁹⁰ and two articles about the research in South Russia from 1912 to 1917 in *Journal des Savants*.⁹¹ In *Revue Archéologique*⁹² Reinach gave short abstracts from these two articles with a short commentary:

On ne peut que recommander vivement la lecture de ce travail substantiel, touchant des faites restés presque inconnues de l'Europe occidentale.

In the archive of the French L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in the "file Rostovtzeff", who in December 1920 was elected a corresponding member (correspondant étranger), a hand written note by Prof. E. Pottier is preserved, who in November 1919 recommended the candidature of the Russian scholar, Professor from the University of St Petersburg, to be elected a Corresponding Member of the Academy. He describes Rostovtzeff as a specialist, well known in France and highly esteemed by French scholars, as an author of numerous books and articles, a polyglot, a person of rare erudition and intelligence, a tireless toiler, who works on the studies of ancient sources kept in different parts of the world. Prof. Pottier underlined the important role played by Rostovtzeff as a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences during the meeting of the Union of Academies of the allied countries.

Together with the enormous amount of scholarly work carried out by Rostovtzeff during his stay in England, including his trips to France, he spent a lot of energy into scholarly organisation, especially in acquainting the English and French public with Russian scholarship. All this was helped to a great extent by Rostovtzeff's high scholarly prestige. The scholar himself realised this, when in November–December 1919 he wrote to Tyrkova-Williams:

To the number of activities, which I consider useful to Russia, one should assign my scholarly work. Take away from me my academic prestige, and I will be left naked and useless to Russia.⁹³

⁹⁰ L'âge du cuivre dans le Caucase septentrional et les civilisations de Soumer et de l'Égypte protodynastique. *RA. Serie 5*, 12 (1920), 1–37.

⁹¹ L'exploration archéologique de la Russie Méridionale de 1912 à 1917. *Journal des Savants*, 18 (1920), 49–61, 109–122.

⁹² *RA. Serie 5*, 12 (1920), 112–113.

⁹³ British Library, P. 79.

In his report to the Russian Academy of Sciences, Rostovtzeff especially mentioned his participation in the Congress of Academies not as an official representative, but semi-official. As a private person, he was invited by the Secretary of the Congress of Academies, the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale Th. Hormolle to the second Congress (October 1919)—although in his letter to Tyrkova-Williams Rostovtzeff wrote, that he “received an invitation for the next conference of the academies of the allied countries as an official representative of the Russian Academy”.⁹⁴ In the report of the second Congress of the Union of the Academies (Paris, 15–18 October 1919; the meetings took place in the Bibliothèque Nationale) it is reported that Prof. M. Rostovtzeff, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, was the official representative of the Russian Academy.⁹⁵ The delegation from USA (Boston Academy) was lead by W.-H. Buckler, with whom Rostovtzeff had met a few months earlier during the Paris Peace Conference (Buckler was one of the leaders of the American delegation for the negotiations; much later Rostovtzeff took part in the volume published in W.H. Buckler’s honour);⁹⁶ England was represented by the President of the British Academy Prof. Sir F.G. Kenyon, France, by the eminent Indologist E. Senart and T. Homolle, Belgium, by the great historian-mediaevalist H. Pirenne, whom he met at the Brussels Congress of Historians, the eminent specialist in antiquity, a great friend of Rostovtzeff’s G. De Sanctis took part in the Italian delegation. Rostovtzeff in his address greeting the Congress on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences, said that, as he was not able to get in contact with the leading body of the Academy in person, he is not to be considered an official representative, but he leaves the Academy the right in the future to announce officially its joining the Union.⁹⁷ During the Congress, a new Statute of the Union of Academies was accepted. It was very important to Rostovtzeff personally that the Congress adopted a resolution about international projects in epigraphy, Greek inscriptions, the preparation of a map of the Roman world, the compilation of a lexicon of Greek architecture, the publication of Greek and Latin

⁹⁴ Bakhmetev archive. Collection of A.V. Tyrkova-Williams. Box 2. Folder without a date; on the letter there is only a date 20 June. The year is clear from the content, 1919.

⁹⁵ *Compte-rendu de la Seconde Conférence Académique* (Paris 1920) 2.

⁹⁶ Some Remarks on Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids. In *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (London 1939) 277–298.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 3.

papyri (first of all from Oxyrynchus), the creation of a corpus of ancient vases. Rostovtzeff, together with Buckler, Pirenne and Homolle, was given the right to speak at the closing session of the Congress.⁹⁸

In H. Williams' archive in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library, is kept the original text of the *memorandum* composed by Rostovtzeff, about international intellectual contacts of the allied countries.⁹⁹ As the *memorandum* follows immediately after Rostovtzeff's letter to Tyrkova-Williams of 8 October 1918, where he mentions a "short note", it is possible to assume that the *memorandum* was written at the beginning of October 1918. Rostovtzeff puts the question about the need to organise a British Institute in St Petersburg and a Russian Institute in London, recalling that, as early as October 1918, a reform of the French Institute in Russia was expected,¹⁰⁰ and also a deputation of Russian scholars in Paris in order to lay the foundations of a Russian Institute in Paris. At the same time it was supposed that this same deputation would clarify the corresponding question in England, the organisation of a Russian Institute in London.

Today,

wrote Rostovtzeff,

Russia's nearest future is dark. But there cannot be any doubt that very soon the Russian state will revive, a more or less strong government will appear and regular international relations will be resumed... In this situation, now it is necessary to start thinking about the establishment of sound intellectual and scholarly connections between Russia and England. The existence of the Institutes would be a pledge and guarantee for mutual understanding and cultural collaboration... The Russian Academy and universities exist and will continue their existence. They are those institutions, which can and should, first of all, set the beginning and then keep going strong cultural relations with

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 11.

⁹⁹ The British Library. P. 89-91.

¹⁰⁰ The question about the organisation of the Russian Institute in Paris was discussed in detail at the Conference of Russian Academy of Sciences on 7 October 1917 and at a special meeting of the Ministry of National Education, in which A.S. Lappo-Danilevskii, S.F. Oldenburg and M.I. Rostovtzeff participated (St Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 1. Inventory 1a-1917. File 164, 257-258). A decision was taken that a delegation of Russian scholars should be sent to Paris for three months, in connection with organisational questions concerning the opening of the Institute (*Ibid.* Fond 2. Inventory 1-1917. File 1. Page 160-161 b.) took part. After the October Revolution, these intentions were not realised.

the allies. Initially, the foundations of this relations could be discussed by the Russian scholars and academics in England, like, for example, Prof. Vinogradov and myself as a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the field of the humanities, Prof. Gardner¹⁰¹ and Antonov¹⁰² as representatives of the natural-technical field. The lack of regular supply of Russian books for the English libraries, which makes any studies on Russia almost impossible, the complete ignorance about what has been achieved by the Russian scholarship on one question or another (even such questions which have nothing to do with Russia) . . . will find its solution only in the completion of the programme on which is based the establishment of British Institutes in the allied countries.

The Russian-British Brotherhood, which had been established somewhat earlier and of whose governing body Rostovtzeff was a member, was doing a lot to inform the English public what was happening in Russia and was also organising courses in Russian for the English. The Committee of Education of this Brotherhood was headed by P.G. Vinogradov and his deputy was Rostovtzeff.

Together with the Director of the French Institute in St Petersburg Prof. J. Patouillet, Rostovtzeff was trying to organise a Russian Institute in Paris. In June 1919 he was invited to visit the universities of the South of France, together with Patouillet, in order to make contacts with them and to acquaint French scholars and professors with Russian scholarship and Russia as a whole. Judging by his own words, Rostovtzeff's

speeches about Russia and scientific cooperation with it were met with general appreciation and overall sympathy towards both Russia and Russian science.¹⁰³

Describing his trip to the South of France in a letter to Tyrkova-Williams (the beginning of July 1919),¹⁰⁴ Rostovtzeff wrote:

Everywhere I went, the heads of universities and departments kept asking me to send them as soon as possible copies of my reading in order

¹⁰¹ A.D. Gardner, physicist-chemist, professor in St Petersburg Institute of Technology. At the end of 1915 and the beginning of 1916 he emigrated to Britain.

¹⁰² G.N. Antonov, physicist-chemist, assistant of Academician N.N. Beketov (1827–1911) in the laboratory of the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences, associate professor of the University of St Petersburg. After 1917 he emigrated and lived in Britain.

¹⁰³ See Rostovtzeff's report above.

¹⁰⁴ Bakhmetev archive. Collection of Tyrkova. Box 2. Folder without a date. It is dated by the content.

to distribute it in the primary, secondary and higher education schools. I will have to prepare a short version of the text, and not the full one which I handed over to you . . . The visits to the universities of the South was interesting and important. The meeting was very nice.

In his next letter (not later than 12 July)¹⁰⁵ from Paris, Rostovtzeff says:

My half-academic, half-political activities are going reasonably well. We venture the establishment of an Institute. I do not know what will come out of it.

On 12 July, before his departure for London, Rostovtzeff wrote to Tyrkova-Williams:

Here I got incredibly tired. There are some results and I feel that the visit was necessary.¹⁰⁶

As an experienced professor, who had spent a great deal of his energy on the upbringing and education of the young in Russia, Rostovtzeff was concerned about the future of those young people, who found themselves abroad and turned out to be emigrants. He was worried, that, being away from their motherland, they could lose interest in Russian history and culture and would forget their mother tongue. This problem was troubling him in England, and later, when he was in America, he devoted a lot of attention to it. In January 1920 he wrote from Oxford to his friend and colleague in the political activity M.M. Vinaver in Paris:

Now, I think, beside the political matters, one of the burning questions is that of our young abroad. Of course, they study in different educational institutions, and it is good: but they are losing their connection with Russia and do not know anything about Russia. I mean especially such Russian subjects as: Russian history, literature, language, law etc. We must think seriously about the Russian school of the late M.M. Kovalevskii¹⁰⁷ in Paris. Not using the same plan, which he set up and put to use, but in the form of additional courses on Russia, read in Russian. Professors can be found. Any minute now quite a number of them will flock from the South and they will all be out of a job and hungry . . . This should be exactly the most important task of the Russian Institute in Paris . . . As now, I think, it is clear to

¹⁰⁵ The British Library. P. 62. Dated by the content.

¹⁰⁶ The British Library. P. 16-16a.

¹⁰⁷ M.M. Kovalevskii (1856-1916), law specialist and activist for Russian education. For more details see: M.M. Kovalevskii, *Memoirs* (Paris 1937) (in Russian).

everyone, that we are not talking about months', but years' stay of our intelligentsia abroad. It would be very sad, if our young lost all contact with the Motherland.¹⁰⁸

During his stay in England, Rostovtzeff published in local editions and also in the USA a good number of political articles (in newspapers and magazines) in Russian and in English and also one brochure.¹⁰⁹ As quite a few of these articles are not included in the scholar's bibliography, we will confine our attention to those published in England: even listing their titles is enough to show the scope of Rostovtzeff's public-political work: "World Bolshevism",¹¹⁰ "Feeding Russia",¹¹¹ "Bolshevist Rule. What it Means to Culture. Campaign of Destruction",¹¹² "Russian Youth Abroad",¹¹³ "Bolsheviks as Educationalists",¹¹⁴ "Bolshevism in Tunis and Algeria",¹¹⁵ "Martyrs of Science in Soviet Russia. To the Memory of Perished Friends and Colleagues",¹¹⁶ "Should Scientists Return to Russia. A Reply of Prof. Bekhterev".¹¹⁷ In September's issue, which came out after Rostovtzeff's departure for the USA, five notes were published written by Rostovtzeff on what was happening at the front and the continuation of the article "Martyrs of Science in Soviet Russia"—all these were prepared by him, while still in England. Apart from that, Rostovtzeff published a number of articles in the magazine *Struggling Russia*, which was coming out in New York, and whose Chief Editor was A. Zak, head of the Russian Information Bureau, who was closely connected with the work of the Russian Liberation Committee.

After such sharp anti-Bolshevik articles, it was hardly possible to think about returning to Russia soon, but the struggle, which was lead by the Committee headed by Rostovtzeff, was not directed against Russia, but against the new power.

¹⁰⁸ YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. Archive of M.M. Vinaver. Box R984. Folder 766. Letter from 14 January 1920 (copy 15a). I would like to thank the chief archivist at the Institute, Mvarek Webb, for sending me a copy of Rostovtzeff's letters to Varever and for allowing me to publish them.

¹⁰⁹ *Proletarian Culture*. Russian Liberation Committee Publication, No. 11. (London 1919)

¹¹⁰ *The New Europe*. Vol. IX, No. 112, 5 December, 1918, 189–172.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* Vol. XI, No. 133, 1 May, 1919, 64–67.

¹¹² *The Times*. 10 January, 1919, 7–8.

¹¹³ *The New Russia*. Vol. I, No. 7, 18 March, 1920, 202–203.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I, No. 12, 22 April, 1920, 364–367.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 21, 24 June, 1920, 250–252.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 22, 1 July, 1920, 275–278.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 25, 22 July, 1920, 370–372.

All the time Rostovtzeff wrote and spoke that he supported a united, undivided Russia, that he did not exclude the possibility (and was waiting for it), that the power would change and he would be able to go back home. On 12 July 1919 he wrote to Tyrkova-Williams:

If Russia survives, it would mean that something has already been done for the future. And it is, indeed, for the future that we live.¹¹⁸

On 21 July 1919 to Minns:

Life is hard, Ilya Egorovich!¹¹⁹ You rush about, toss and turn and one thought rankles all the time: will I ever see Russia, not the Bolsheviks' one, but some kind of good one, which, may be, lives only in my dreams.

And even later, from Madison in October 1920, Rostovtzeff wrote to Tyrkova-Williams:

Does it mean that I have decided not to go back to Russia? Not at all! As long as it is possible to start the cultural issue, I will try. But it will be very different from what is in my heart.¹²⁰

And so, the way back to Russia was closed for the time being, but a further stay in England was extremely difficult. Around the spring of 1920 Rostovtzeff's lectures in Oxford finished, he came back from France where he read eight lectures in the Collège de France.

The prospects for staying in England were not bright at all ("I will be sitting here and waiting, until I eat up all my money"),¹²¹ if it were not for the chance, which came in the summer of 1919 from the American professor-papyrologist W.L. Westermann, who soon became a close friend. On 18 June at the reception, given by the American delegation in Hotel Crillon during the Paris Peace Conference, the leader of the American experts, the well known archaeologist and epigraphist Prof. W.H. Buckler introduced one of his experts, Westermann, to Rostovtzeff. Obviously, in the beginning

¹¹⁸ The British Library, P. 16-16a.

¹¹⁹ This is the way Rostovtzeff and other Russian scholars addressed Minns, showing his excellent knowledge of Russian language and his closeness to Russian culture, which he really knew and admired.

¹²⁰ Bakhmetev archive. Tyrkova's Collection. Box 2. Folder 1920-1922, letter from 26 October 1920.

¹²¹ To N.P. Kondakov, 22 December 1919.

Rostovtzeff did not attach great importance to this meeting. In his letter to Tyrkova-Williams from Paris, dated 20 June 1919, he says:

These days I went for a ride in an American car with Wright,¹²² the American Ambassador in London. I was enlightening him . . . After that we had lunch with some of the Americans in Hotel Crillon.¹²³

But Westermann was strongly impressed by his meeting with the Russian scholar: he wrote about it in his diary, which is kept in the Butler Library of Columbia University (New York).¹²⁴

Judging by the diary, during the lunch Rostovtzeff was expressing anti-Bolshevik views, he spoke about the crisis in higher education in Russia, he was also telling about his personal tragedy, connected with his forced leave from St Petersburg. According to Westermann's words, he was an "intense nationalist in all of his scientific work."¹²⁵ Westermann writes later in his letter of 25 November 1920 that "his [Rostovtzeff – G.B.-L.] spirit towards the work is entirely admirable" (University of Wisconsin. Box 8, file Westermann).

Being an eminent scholar and political expert, Westermann immediately measured Rostovtzeff's dimensions as a personality. Moreover, he knew all regulations, which had to be followed by officials when issuing a visa to the Russian scholar, who was temporary living in Oxford. We can assume that that evening Westermann already spoke to Rostovtzeff about the possibility of his going to Madison and reading lectures in the University of Wisconsin. This is confirmed by Westermann's letter to Rostovtzeff from 5 January 1920, in which, remembering their meeting in Hotel Crillon, he spoke about this move to the Cornell University, and was trying to throw some light on Rostovtzeff's future, as he was invited to the University of Wisconsin for a year.¹²⁶ Westermann had his own reasons for suggesting that Rostovtzeff might replace him in Wisconsin. From the archive which

¹²² Joshua Buttles Wright (1877–1939), an American diplomat, a counsellor to the American Embassy in London in 1918–1921.

¹²³ Bakhmatev archive. Tyrkova's Collection. Box 2. Folder without a date. On the letter there is only a day and a month indicated, but the year is clear by the content.

¹²⁴ Diary of William Linn Westermann, Westermann Papers. Butler Library Manuscripts and Rare Books Collections, Columbia University. X. 940. 91/W52. M. Wes in his book used Westermann's diary.

¹²⁵ "To Rostovtzeff the breakdown of Russia is a great personal tragedy. He said that he was an intense nationalist in all of his scientific work".

¹²⁶ The letter is kept in Rostovtzeff's file in the University of Wisconsin. Box 6. 7/16–31.

is in the University of Wisconsin, it was as early as the beginning of 1919, *i.e.* a few months before his first meeting with Rostovtzeff, that Westermann informed Prof. G.C. Sellery—at the time head of the Department of History—about the fact that he had been invited by the Cornell University to read lectures in 1920 and that he is serious about this invitation.¹²⁷

We need not reconstruct the many vicissitudes of this correspondence, but in December 1919 the Department of History had already voted Rostovtzeff's candidature and recommended the head and the President of the University to invite the Russian scholar to Madison to teach for one academic year, 1920–1921.¹²⁸ According to the archive of the University of Wisconsin, on 6 January 1920 L.F. Paxson, the new head of the Department of History, received from Rostovtzeff a telegram with his acceptance of the offer for a one year post in the University of Wisconsin.

This would settle many problems for Rostovtzeff, although the New World did not appeal to him.

In my life,

he wrote to Minns in January 1920,

a great change is taking place. The University of Wisconsin in America has invited me for a year in Madison to read lectures on ancient Russian (*sic!*) history. As I need to live on something, and here so far nothing is about to arrange, I decided to go to the New World. Not without a heavy feeling, as I myself am a man of the Old World. But nothing can be done. You have to take what you are given and not what you want.

On 14 January, after having received the official invitation, Rostovtzeff wrote from Oxford to M.M. Vinaver in Paris:

I am going to America driven by hunger. I was invited to read lectures in Wisconsin beginning in the autumn (for a year) . . . It is hard to live, Maxim Moiseevich. It is hard for a man of my age and condition to go to America looking for a piece of bread, leaving my scholarly work and to start "building a career" from scratch. If only God could take me as soon as possible. I am very tired.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ The letter is written on headed paper of the hotel where the American delegation was staying (Hotel de Crillon, Place de la Concorde). Wisconsin University Archive. Box 8. Folder Westermann's University file.

¹²⁸ See Westermann's University file. Box 8.

¹²⁹ Vinaver's file. *Cf.* note n. 108.

Probably a little later Rostovtzeff sent a letter to Tyrkova-Williams, who at that time was away from England:¹³⁰

I hope that you and Harold Vasilievich¹³¹ had a good rest and we will soon see you in the cold (it is pouring with rain), hungry, *i.e.* tasteless and boring England. And still, it is not jolly leaving here to go to some New World. It is not for us, the centenarians, to go and discover America. It is good for the young. Going to America, one needs a will for struggle, energy, special reserve of power in order to go and conquer something. And I do not even want to fight. If it was possible to strike roots in some good library and not go out of it. This is, indeed, the reason why I love Oxford so much.¹³²

Although in August 1918 Rostovtzeff went to England with "great pleasure", in 1925 he called the time he spent in this country "the darkest hour" in his life.¹³³ In his letter to M.M. Vinaver from 29 October, written in Madison, Rostovtzeff confessed that England "in two years time remained for me alien and cold".¹³⁴

Rostovtzeff's contemporaries and modern scholars have different explanations as to why such a brilliant specialist with high international prestige, as Rostovtzeff was, did not get a permanent job in England and had to leave his beloved Europe and go to the New World. His open ill-wisher, the English professor H.M. Last, who in 1927 wrote a completely subjective review of his book *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*,¹³⁵ wrote in 1953 in the obituary "Professor M.I. Rostovtzeff":

¹³⁰ Up to February 1920 Tyrkova-Williams was in Russia with her husband, after that she was in Greece and Serbia in search of her daughter (from her first marriage), and after that they had a few weeks rest on the island of Prinkipo.

¹³¹ Harold Williams. His Russian friends called him Harold Vasilievich.

¹³² The British Library. P. 76. Dated by the content.

¹³³ *A History of the Ancient World*. Vol. I (Oxford 1926) XI.

¹³⁴ Vinaver's file. Copies 15-b.

¹³⁵ *JRS* 16 (1926) 120-128. In Rostovtzeff archive in Duke there is a copy of the letter by G. MacDonald to J.G. Anderson sent on the 28th of February 1927 with remark—Confidential: "My dear Anderson, I do not wonder that you and (as you tell me) Rostovtzeff should feel aggrieved by the notice of the "Social and Economic History" which appeared in the last number of the Roman Journal. Whether one agreed with his views or differed from them, a historian so distinguished was certainly entitled to much more respectful treatment, particularly in a periodical like the Journal which aims at being regarded as representative" (Box 2, Language English, Folder Jan. 1927-Dec. 1927).

There is a letter sent to Rostovtzeff by Anderson dated 4th of March 1927: "I had long hoped to hear from you what impression Last's effusions about your book made on you. It made me extremely angry. So angry that I could not bear to resume relations with him, and I write to Sir George MacDonald about the matter,

On Haverfield's death there was a possibility that he might succeed to the Camden Chair. It was probably better for him that he did not; for in England he would never have found financial means on the scale which the United States later provided for his great campaigns of excavations at Dura-Europos. At any rate Oxford let him go. To tell the truth, in those days his pronunciation of English was, at least in the lecture-room, extremely difficult to understand; and it must be added that, like other unfortunates in exile, remembering that his knowledge was his main claim to consideration he was apt to force it on his listeners in conversation with a vigour which was sometimes thought excessive—as too was the tone he adopted in some of his reviews of works by even quite junior scholars.¹³⁶

Last was 23 years old when Rostovtzeff came to Oxford and, probably, he relied on his personal impressions and recollections (in 1936 he was himself appointed as a Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford). But his open sarcasm and unfriendliness Last could not hide even in the obituary. The best answer to Last are the words of Rostovtzeff himself:

I cannot complain about the English. Honours and sympathy, as much as you like. But when it comes to money, it is another question. Besides, I do understand them. I can imagine how the young scholars in Russia would grind their teeth, if suddenly some foreigner appeared and started laying claims on a Department, on which they had set their eyes. The same here. For this reason, I do not take part in all that and do not apply for their Departments . . . because foreigners now are not very much in favour, especially the Russian ones (a letter to N.P. Kondakov, 22 December 1919).

The Russian scholar's English did not, probably, meet the high requirements of many of Oxford's snobs. Rostovtzeff himself, in a letter to Tyrkova-Williams, admitted:

but I tore up the letter, thinking it better to wait and see what you thought of the review. When I learnt that your impression confirmed mine, I wrote to MacDonald about it, and I enclose a letter which he has sent me, from which you will see that the other editors had no responsibility for what Last said. What has made me so annoyed is not his criticism of some views expressed by you. I am sure you are not the man to resent criticisms which are designed to help toward historical truth—but the intolerable arrogance of the portraitors effusions, the tone of superior omniscience speaking *de haut en bas*! That at any rate is how the thing struck me. I am afraid Last's self-esteem is unbounded, and arrogant conceit is an unlovely quality.

MacDonald's letter shows that he was perturbed by the review when it reached his hands in proof. I hope it will at least serve to assure you that Last was not speaking in the name of anybody but himself." (*Ibid.*)

¹³⁶ H.M. Last, Obituary. Professor M.I. Rostovtzeff. *JRS* 43 (1953), 133–134.

It is very difficult to read in Russian to the foreign students as well. I am managing somehow, but at the price of huge efforts which are incommensurable with the results.¹³⁷

Let us just remember how well-meaning the elite magazine *The Oxford Magazine* was to Rostovtzeff's first lecture:

In spite of the peculiarities both of his English language and of the Ashmolean lecture-room, Dr Rostovtzeff may rest assured that he was both heard and understood; which is more than can be said of some of our own prophets.

In G. Bowersock's opinion:

Rostovtzeffs were not cordially welcomed in Oxford. His assertive manner and un-English breadth of interest succeeded in alienating him from most of the leading scholars there.¹³⁸

Bowersock writes that

his naturally assertive manners became more abrasive amid the uncertainties of new surroundings and foreign language. He failed to grasp the gentlemanly precision of Oxford classics. Many an eyebrow must have gone up when Rostovtzeff announced in the winter of 1918-1919 that he would lecture on no less a subject than "The Social and Economic History of Eastern and Western Hellenism, the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire".¹³⁹

Rostovtzeff's personal friend Minns, who knew the Russian scholar better than anyone else, laid stress on something else. In his letter to the Russian archaeologist A.V. Oreshnikov, working in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, he wrote, that for Rostovtzeff it was "difficult to get on with our [English - G.B.-L.] stiff manners".¹⁴⁰ This same Minns, in a letter to Rostovtzeff's pupil and friend, the American papyrologist C.B. Welles, dated 16 December 1952—very soon after Rostovtzeff's death—wrote:

Somehow or other, Rostovtsev wasn't happy at Oxford. I think he was too vigorous and big for a College Common room. And, of course, if Rostovtsev thought you were talking stuff he didn't agree with, he

¹³⁷ The British Library. P. 76; about the lectures during the winter term of 1919.

¹³⁸ G.W. Bowersock, Rostovtzeff in Madison. *The American Scholar*, Summer 1986, 391.

¹³⁹ *Id.* The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire by Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff. *Daedalus* 103 (Winter 1974), 17-18.

¹⁴⁰ State Historical Museum Archive. Box 136. Inventory 1. Folder 58. P. 1a. My thanks to V.Y. Zuev for this information.

said so in no measured terms. I've just been reading for the first time for many years his views of my big book. He gives me some pretty hard knocks.¹⁴¹

Such a brilliant connoisseur of the English language as Sir Ellis Minns, whenever he found that the English of Rostovtzeff's works, which were to be published, needed improvement, would always try to help the Russian scholar and very often would himself translate his work, would read proofs—this is how he saw creative collaboration. On 11 June 1920 Rostovtzeff wrote from Oxford to N.P. Kondakov:

I myself am pushed by my destiny even further away. On 18 August we are leaving for America, where I was invited to read lectures on ancient and Russian history. The University of Wisconsin, in the town of Madison, not far from Chicago. This I will try too, as we have to live on something and I am not a rider to Bolshevik Russia.

On 11 January 1921 Rostovtzeff sends a letter from Madison to Minns:

I am very grateful to the Americans for giving me a shelter, despite my bad English, *i.e.* they did for me what in Oxford they did not want to do for me. They could but did not have the will.

And there is the explanation, given to N.P. Kondakov:

What I think of America and how I got here. First I will give an answer to the latter question. I came here because I was invited and offered good conditions. In England as well as in France it was impossible to make a living, as there they have enough people of their own. This is the main and basic reason. One needs to earn somehow in order to live. And my savings are all in "safe-keeping" with the *Bolsheviks*. I can imagine the way they keep them! I am sure they have burnt and stolen everything long ago. If after this reason, we can look for other, the second would be that I find America the least threatened by the *Bolshevism*.¹⁴²

Roughly at the same time (24 February 1921) he sends a letter from Madison to Tyrkova-Williams in London, where he writes: "In England nothing emerged, it is necessary to give it a try here".¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Rostovtzeff's archive in Duke University. Box 1. Letters of private persons. Inventory M. September 1925–December 1954.

¹⁴² Letter without a date. Written between January and the middle of 1921. Dated by the content.

¹⁴³ Bakhmetev archive. Tyrkova's Collection. Box 2. Folder 1920–1922.

No matter what, on 18 August 1920, Mikhail Ivanovich, together with his wife sat on the "Olympic" steamship, which steered a course to the coasts of America. Rostovtzeff, of course, had no idea that he was going to spend the rest of his life in the New World.

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2. GREEK RACISM? OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER AND LIMITS OF GREEK ETHNIC PREJUDICE

Christopher Tuplin

Everyone knows Greeks divided the world into two unequal parts, Greeks and barbarians, and anyone who studies Greek literature discovers that Greeks largely regarded themselves as better than barbarians. The Greek sense of being special is central to Classical Greek culture, at least as prominent as that other central characteristic, the agonistic temperament. In this paper I shall comment on some features of the Classical Greek view of barbarians, consider whether that view is ever racist and, if not, suggest some reasons why this is so.¹

Discussion of racism implies a definition of race, not an easy task. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that evolutionary biologists might say a race is "a geographically separated, hence genetically somewhat distinctive, population within a species", but adds that anthropologists have no agreed definition. At least one classicist writing of these matters has insisted that racism be used of structural systems in which the criteria entitling people to deference (and taking precedence over other considerations) are "biological stock *or* ethno-cultural identity as judged by the dominant group" (Thompson 1989, 12-4). There may be a sort of political correctness which wishes to extend the stigma of "racism" to as many phenomena as possible: it is no accident perhaps that the classicist in question is based in Ibadan. But the modern examples he uses to clarify his meaning actually involve genetically distinct groups, and I think ordinary English usage still associates "racism" with cases where there are relatively clear physical or genetic differences between two sets of people. We shall investigate whether Greeks thought such differences an important element in defining the barbarian and, if not, why not.²

¹ A French version of this paper was delivered at St-Etienne in April 1997. (It is a great pleasure to acknowledge Thierry Petit's kind invitation to lecture there and his hospitality during my visit.) The annotation here is illustrative (even quixotic), not exhaustive, and the focus is on Archaic and Classical sources.

² In reading Homer "we cannot help seeing the underlying identity of spirit. The

We have looked at modern definitions. What about ancient ones, more specifically potential Greek translations of "race" and Greek attempts to define Greekness?

Four Greek words come to mind: *ethnos*, *genos/genee* and *phulon/phule*. *Phule* normally means "tribe", but the others are variously used of "nations" (Greeks, Scythians, Ethiopians, Syrians etc.),³ major sub-national groups (Dorians, Ionians),⁴ men or women as gender-groups,⁵ professional or other status groups (heralds, philosophers, Platonic Guardians, *penestai*)⁶ and (in the case of *genos*) all levels of biological taxonomy (Class, Genus, Species).⁷ *Ethnos* is (probably) etymologically linked with *ethos* (custom),⁸ whereas the other two derive from words meaning birth, but it is not clear that there is a comparably sharp semantic distinction; and if there is not we may conclude that Greeks were ambivalent about whether it is cultural practices or genetic descent-groups which defines "national" groups.⁹ The famous Greek attempt to define what constituted being a Greek is in Herodotus 8. 144: Greekness (*to Hellenikon*) is a matter of having the same blood and language, shared temples and rituals, and customs of the same sort (*thea homotropa*). This definition does mention a "genetic" charac-

deepest ground of this identity lies in the unsolved secrets of heredity, blood and race. As we study them we feel both that they are closely akin and that they are fundamentally alien to us": so Jaeger 1954, I. 54. The ambiguous familiarity of the Greeks is uncontroversial; but the terms used by Jaeger (who left Germany in the 1930s) now seem unfortunate. We easily forget how comparatively recently the language of racism was academically respectable. Our question here is how such language would have struck the Greek whose culture of *paideia* Jaeger was attempting to describe.

³ *LSJ* s.v. *genea* I 1; Hdt. 4. 46, Hippoc. *Aer.* 19–23 (the Scythian *genos*), Isoc. 4. 50 (*genos* of Hellenes); *LSJ* s.v. *ethnos* I 2, *phulon* II.

⁴ *LSJ* s.v. *genos* III 1c; Hdt. 1. 56. 2 (*ethnos*).

⁵ E.g. X. *Oec.* 7. 26 (*ethnos*), Pl. *Symp.* 189D, Arist. *Rhet.* 1407b7 (*genos*), Ar. *Th.* 786, X. *Lac.* 1. 4 (*phulon*).

⁶ Plat. *Pol.* 290B, *Rep.* 420B, *Leg.* 776D, X. *Symp.* 3. 6 (*ethnos*); Plat. *Rep.* 501e, *Tim.* 17C (*genos*); Plat. *Pol.* 260D, *Crat.* 398E, *Soph.* 218C (*phulon*).

⁷ *LSJ* s.v. *genos* IV 3. *ethnos* and *phulon* are used of "fish" or "birds" but not usually of more precise classifications.

⁸ Cf. Frisk 1960, s.v., Chantraine 1968/1980, s.v.

⁹ This situation is not quite peculiar to Greek. Non-obsolete/non-poetic senses of "race" in *OED* include house/family/kindred, tribe/nation regarded as common stock, group of tribes regarded as distinct ethnical stock; one of great divisions of mankind having physical peculiarities; breed or stock of animals; genus, species or kind of animals; one of the great divisions of living things (mankind; class or kind of things other than men/animals; one of chief classes of animals); stock, family etc. But extension of the word to function-groups/genders is absent in contemporary English.

teristic ("blood"), and indeed puts it first. But this is unusual. Classical references of this sort to blood are normally to family relationships.¹⁰ Herodotus' speaker is dealing with an exceptional context (solidarity against a barbarian military threat) and, in effectively assimilating the Greek nation to a family, is making an exceptional claim—a claim as far from ordinary Greek feelings as Plato's demand that all war between Greeks should be seen as *stasis*—i.e. that all Greeks should regard one another as members of the same *polis*.¹¹

Of course, "Greeks" did constitute a single entity in contradistinction to barbarians, itself a single entity covering everyone else: the Greek for "everywhere in the world" is "among both Greeks and barbarians".¹² So one way to define what Greeks were like is through a contrast with barbarian characteristics.

Many of these characteristics are ethical or cultural: disorder, lack of proper sensibilities, cruelty, lustfulness (though not on the whole sexual deviance), deviousness, stupidity, ignorance of the Rule of Law and subordination to despotic government.¹³ Barbarians are also

¹⁰ Cf. *Od.* 4. 611, 8. 583, 19. 111, *A. Eum.* 606, *S. Aj.* 1305, *OC* 245, *OT* 1406, *Pi. N.* 11. 34, *Arist. Pol.* 1262a11. *homaimos* as a noun = sibling, and its adjectival reference is to family (*Hdt.* 1. 151, *A. Eum.* 653, *Cratin.* 478 KA = *Plat.* 210 KA, *Pi. N.* 6. 16). Compare *Plat. Leg.* 729C: kinsmen are those who share worship of the family gods and who have the same natural blood. *Homaimon* is used of different Greeks in *Hdt.* 5. 49, but the context is specially charged as in 8. 144. (*id.* 1. 151 is admittedly less easy to explain.) *Theophr.* fr. 531 simply says the kinship between Greek and Greek (or barbarian and barbarian) derives from either having same ancestors or sharing the upbringing and customs of a single race.

¹¹ *Plat. Rep.* 469E ff. He adds that they should see one another as friends (471A) and think of Greece as their own land in whose common religion they share (470E).

¹² E.g. *Ar. Ran.* 724; *X. Symp.* 4. 47, *Plat. Leg.* 635B, 680B, 840E, 870A, 886A. *Thuc.* 1. 1. 2 reflects this, and *E. Tr.* 477 provides a nice contextually-imposed variant (the finest children produced by any Greek, Trojan or barbarian). *Hp. Aer.* 16. 5 uses the formula to stress exhaustive reference to all inhabitants of Asia (cf. n. 45).

¹³ Disorder: *X. An.* 1. 7. 4, *Thuc.* 2. 81, 4. 126 (where fighting without orderly phalanx formation is strikingly called *autokrator makhe*—the despotism of barbarian culture writ small on the battlefield?). Insensitivity: *Theogn.* 825f, *E. Or.* 485, *Hec.* 1247, *Andr.* 260, *Dem.* 45. 30. Cruelty: *Levy* 1992, 211ff, *de Romilly* 1994, *E. Hel.* 501, *Hec.* 1129, *Tro.* 764, *Men. Epit.* 898f, *Mis.* 311, *Ephor.* 70F219, 70F137. Lust: cf. *Ar. Th.* 1001ff. (with *Hall* 1989b), *Men. Sam.* 519. (But *Henderson* 1975 discloses little association of barbarians with particular sexual practices—*phoinikizein* can refer to cunnilingus—or characteristics. *Ehrenberg* 1951, pl. xiiiA shows a barbarian slave with exaggeratedly large circumcised penis, but normally Greek fantasies, or fears, in this area centred on satyrs or dwarves [*Dasen* 1990, 198], not barbarians. *E. Andr.* 173, *IT* 1174 associate them with incest/polygamy.) Deviousness, unreliability: *Hdt.* 8. 142, *Dem.* 23. 135, *E. Hec.* 328f, *Ephor.* 70F71. Stupidity, lack of education: *Heraclit.* 22B107, *E. Bacch.* 483, fr. 139, *Ar. Nub.* 492, *Chamaeleon*

unable to speak Greek properly and have languages which are negatively characterised. Sophocles *Trachiniae* 1006 speaks of Hellas and the *aglossos gaia* ("land without a tongue"), effectively claiming that barbarians do not have a language at all. Elsewhere barbarian speech is compared with a spluttering frying pan (Eubulus 108 KA), the chattering of teeth (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 162f) or the sound of animals: pigs or frogs (Galen *Variations of Pulse* 2. 5), bats (Herodotus 4. 183), horses (Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 463) and birds, especially the swallow (perhaps because in myth the swallow is a woman with her tongue cut out).¹⁴

Even without the idea that barbarians lack tongues, language is at least on the margins of physiological differentiation—languages which require sounds very different from one's own present among other things physical difficulties—and the suggestion that barbarian language is animal-like is part of a larger tendency to assimilate barbarians and animals, which could theoretically serve to suggest that barbarians are physically alien. But animality in this context is very often an ethico-cultural thing, not a physiological one. In a pre-Darwinian world there is no particular tendency to equate foreign humans with apes or monkeys,¹⁵ and animals are generally like bar-

32 Köpke = Athen. 46B, Pl. *Rep.* 533D, *Alc.* 120B, Thuc. 2. 97, Hdt. 4. 46. Ignorance of the rule of law, despotic government: Phocylides 4 Diehl, E. *Med.* 536f., *Hec.* 479, *Hel.* 274, *El.* 314, *IA* 1400, Isoc. 4. 150 etc.

¹⁴ Ar. *Av.* 199, Hdt. 2. 578. Swallow: Ar. *Ran.* 679f, A. *Ag.* 1050, fr. 450, S. *Ant.* 1002, Ion 33 Sn. Beside Philomela (West 1978, 301) note that swallows are bad singers (Ar. *Ran.* 93), their song associated with words like *tittubizein*, *traulizein*, *psithurizein*, while Nicostr. 28 KA observes that if talking all the time were a sign of cleverness then swallows would be much cleverer than men: cf. "Arabian aulete", a proverb for those who talk endlessly (cf. Canthar. 1) and no doubt senselessly. (In Athen. 658F a barbarian is called "cicada", perhaps making a similar point.) Bird comparisons appear elsewhere: Turks call Kurdish bird-twittering (Hogarth 1896, 107). The black (pitch-covered?) tongues of the Bruttians (Ar. fr. 629) may be another metaphorical allusion to barbarous language. On tonguelessness cf. also n. 55.

¹⁵ "Dog-head" can mean baboon (Ar. *Eq.* 415, Plat. *Tht.* 161C, 166C, Arist. *HA* 502A), so the dog-heads of Libya (Hdt. 4. 191) or India (next n.) might be examples, though it is arguable whether this designation of human groups is Greek or (as Greeks sometimes claim) comes from native sources. (In applying *kunokephalos* to Paphlagon Ar. *Ec.* is making a joke about dog-food, not trading on Paphlagon's theoretically barbarian status.) We do find a type of *woman* compared with the monkey (Semonid. 7. 71f), but the monkey or ape's similarity to human form can also underline the distinction between animal and human (Heraclit. 22B82, 83; cf. Plat. *Tht.* 161C where Socrates jokily substitutes "baboon" or "pig" for "man" in the opening line of Protagoras' *Truth*). Some characteristics associated with apes (e.g. cowardice: Plat. *Lach.* 196E) are potentially "barbaric" but the general picture (cf. McDermott 1935, Wankel 1976, 1066) simply neglects this line of thought.

barbarians in being stupid or violent.¹⁶ Even Isocrates' statement (12. 163) that war with the barbarian is second only in necessity and justice to man's war against the bestiality of animals or Aristotle's alleged advice (Plutarch *On the Fortune of Alexander* 329B, Strabo 1. 4. 9) that Alexander should govern barbarians as if they were plants or animals are principally statements about the ethico-political viciousness or degeneracy of the alien. So too the proposition that the art of hunting applies equally to wild animals and those whom nature intends to be ruled by others (*Politics* 1256b25f). Aristotle believed in the "natural slave" but his defence of the doctrine at the start of the *Politics* simply puts logical camouflage over an ethico-cultural stereotype: since (a) many barbarians are slaves in Greek society and (b) many barbarian societies are monarchic, barbarians must be naturally servile. The animal/human victims of the "art of hunting" are evidently barbarians, but for purely ethical reasons.

Of course, there were some clear physical stereotypes: a famous reflection is Xenophanes' observation that Ethiopians imagine gods to be black and snub-nosed, whereas Thracians imagine them as blue-eyed and blond (fr. 14). In Attic vase-paintings negroes are (inevitably) of negroid appearance, Thracians regularly have light-coloured hair,¹⁷ and Scythians are sometimes given non-Greek features, but this last happens very rarely and the non-Greek features used are not always the same.¹⁸ Physiognomists, who sought to determine

¹⁶ *Differentiae* between man and animal tend to recall those between Greek and barbarian: cf. e.g. Theognis 53f, Crit. 88B25, A. PV 442f, X. Hier. 7. 3, Plat. *Phileb.* 16A, Isoc. 3. 5, 15. 293, Arist. *Pol.* 1338b. (I know of no stated connection between the pig-like stupidity of Boeotians [e.g. Cratin. 77 KA] and their alien Cadmean descent, though a jest of Stratoniceus, asked which were more barbarian, Boeotians or Thessalians, he said "Eleans" (Heges. ap. Athen. 350A—suggests the idea could have arisen.) Animal-human mixtures and monstrous humans appear at the edge of the world (Hdt. 4. 25, 191, Antiph. 87B45, Archipp. 60, Cratin. 108, Ar. *Av.* 1553f, Ctes. 688F45, 60, Scylax 709F7), but that area also harbours the best natural (cf. Hdt. 3. 106, 116) and human stock, e.g. Abians (*Il.* 13. 6), Ethiopians (*Il.* 1. 423, 23. 205, Hdt. 3. 17f), Hyperboreans (Romm 1989), Meropis (Theop. 115F75). The two trains of thought coalesce in the Indian Dog-Heads (Ctes. 688F45(37f)), 45p; Karttunen 1989, 180–2), and neither view is really about genetics. Nor, surely, is the invention of the Cyclops, for all that he is a barbarian *avant la lettre* (cf. n. 29).

¹⁷ Their beards are characteristically pointed too, and there are females with tattoos (Zimmermann 1980); but this is culture (like clothing), not physical type.

¹⁸ Vos 1963, 56f identified under 30 items from a catalogue of over 400 as having "barbarian" facial traits (i.e. anything diverging from standard appearance). The additional material in Raack 1981 does not alter the picture. The variability of the "alien" type can be seen by comparing the following items/groups (numbers from Vos's catalogue: 15; 24; 28, 177; 41; 97, 131; 50, 76, 115, 131, 244). Sometimes

a man's ethical character from examination of his physical appearance, sometimes used the physical characteristics of Thracians, Egyptians or Scythians as part of their general list of features to look out for. But it is only a minor element in the Aristotelian *Physiognomica* (the author is as likely to use animal references, *e.g.* those with thick nostril ends are lazy, because the feature recalls cows: 811a28), and alongside a proposition such as that those who are too black or have woolly hair or black eyes are cowardly (812a13, 812b30)—a proposition which is based on an analogical argument from assumptions about Egyptians and Ethiopians (to whom explicit reference is made)—one can also find baffling statements such as that the small-minded man (*mikropsuches aner*) has small eyes and face “like a Corinthian or a Leucadian” (808a30).¹⁹ Some of the more remote peoples beyond Scythia are defined by Herodotus in terms of physical appearance (the Argippaei are bald, snub-nosed and long-chinned [4. 23], the Budini grey-eyed and red-haired [4. 108]). But less remote ones are defined by the degree to which their customs resemble those of Scythians or Thracians; and when Herodotus tries to prove Colchians are descended from Egyptians he rejects their dark skin and curly hair as an inadequate proof and prefers to rely on the alleged fact that only Colchians, Egyptians and Ethiopians practise circumcision as a matter of ancient custom (2. 104).

Even where stereotypes of physical appearance apply it is hard to demonstrate that the features in question were regarded as repugnant in themselves. It is notable that negroes were not specially marginalised (*cf.* Snowden 1970): for example, there are some rather impressive-looking negro warriors to be found in Attic art (Raeck 1981), the depiction of Circe as a negress is at worst a double-edged compliment, and an Athenian litigant confronting an Egyptian called Melas (“Black”) says nothing racially unpleasant about him, though he could easily have squared doing so with his general argument (Isaeus 5. 7f, 40). I find little sign that the barbarian as such was commonly regarded as inherently and distinctively “impure”. Barbarians were in certain circumstances excluded from some Greek religious sites, but the same could happen to Greeks: Eleusis was open to Greek-speakers and panhellenic Games to those of Greek descent

the red hair of *e.g.* Cratin. 492 is on display (50. 131. 307). Raeck 1981 notes just two examples of “foreign” facial features among vase-Persians (P578, P604).

¹⁹ Similarly, why are the Cyzicenes pallid (Ar. *P.* 1176)?

but (it was sometimes asserted) no Dorians were allowed in Athena's temple at Athens (Herodotus 5. 72), no *xeinos* was permitted to sacrifice at the Argive Heraeum (6. 81), and there was limited access to federal cults (1. 143, 148). I doubt any of this is really to do with pollution.²⁰ In Robert Parker's book on pollution (Parker 1983) the only item recognised as relevant is apparently the story that new fire had to be kindled for sacrifices after the Battle of Plataea because the Persian invaders had polluted the old one (Plutarch *Aristides* 20). Outside the realm of religious law, there is a striking Xenophontic remark (*Ways and Means* 2. 3): it would be a good thing for resident foreigners not to continue serving in the Athenian army. Why? Not because the arrangement is militarily inefficient but because stopping it will ensure that Athenian citizens do not have to consort with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians and all sorts of barbarians. It is hard not to see this as a piece of straightforward prejudice about the unpleasantness of being in close physical or social contact with foreigners. Such comments are quite rare, but the sentiment may have been more common than we readily see.²¹

Still, what emerges on the whole is that the distinction of Greek and barbarian is an ethical, not a physiological discourse. It is also a distinction whose absolute clarity is open to qualification in various ways, discussion of which may throw further light on its inherent character.

²⁰ Contrast the attitude of Aryan Indians to the *mleccha*: the term, like *barbaros*, has been held to be onomatopoeic (cf. Thapar 1971, 408–9; Baslez 1984, 184), but an Aryan who visited *mleccha*-land needed ritual cleansing before resuming normal social associations (Thapar 1971, 411, 425). Slaves (so possibly barbarians) could be used as *pharmakoi* (Chaeronea [Plut. 693EF], Abdera [Callim. fr. 90 PF] and perhaps Classical Athens [Ar. *Ran.* 732f: Dover's interpretation *ad loc.* is not beyond challenge]), but it might not be thought to matter if ritual bearers of collective pollution already carried their own pollution (deformity and worthlessness were qualifications for being a *pharmakos* [sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1136, sch. Ar. *Ran.* 733, Tzetz. 5. 732; in Leucas it was criminals who were thrown over the cliff]), so perhaps no inference can be drawn.

²¹ There is no problem about sexually harrasing a Thracian slave in Ar. *Ach.* 271f (cf. P. 1137) and there are sexy Thracians in Hdt. 2. 134, Sapph 202 LP, Anacr. 72 but sexual and social intercourse may obey different rules (and the *hetaira* who consorts with barbarians in Anaxil. 22 was not a free agent). Aristotle, investigating friendship in *Nic. Eth.*, says almost nothing about friendship with foreigners, remarking only that there can be *xenike kath'homologian* with them (1161b17: e.g. Xen. *An.* 1. 1. 10f, 2. 4. 15, *Hell.* 4. 1. 39) and that it is worse to defraud *hetairoi* than fellow-citizens or to fail to help brother than an *othneios* or to hit father than anyone (1160a5f).

A. Had there always been "Greeks" and "barbarians" in the classical sense? Some think not, arguing that the distinction was a late Archaic/early Classical invention, prompted by the Greek-barbarian confrontation of 480–479 B.C. (Hall 1989a). This is debatable.

(1) Particular non-Greek peoples make many appearances in early epic and lyric poetry. Sometimes they are approved: Sappho is particularly insistent on the excellence of things Lydian (16, 39, 96, 132), Homer speaks of the marvellous fecundity of Libyan sheep (*Odyssey* 4. 81f), luxury goods from Egyptian Thebes (4. 125f), fine metal vessels from Phoenicia (4. 615f, *Iliad* 23. 744). Sometimes treatment is neutral (this is largely true, for example, of the Trojans in Homer and other early poets)²² or ambiguous—what does one make of the comparison in Archilochus 42 between *fellatio* and drinking beer through a tube in the Thracian or Phrygian fashion or of the description of female genitals as "the Sindic split" in Hipponax 2A?²³ Sometimes there is downright hostility: drunk or heartless Scythians (Anacreon 325b, Theognis 825f), vicious Thracians (Archilochus 93; Hipponax 115), luxury-loving Lydians (Xenophanes 3). In Homer Trojan allies are compared with bleating sheep and noisy cranes in a way reminiscent of the classical stereotype of the noisy disorder of barbarians on the battlefield,²⁴ and Phoenicians are (sometimes) devious and ruthless (*Odyssey* 14. 297, 15. 415).

(2) There are, it is true, no more than five surviving uses of *barbaros* earlier than ca. 480 B.C.,²⁵ of which only Heraclitus 22B107 ("the eyes and ears are poor witnesses for men since they have barbarian souls") manifestly uses "barbarian" as a pejorative term imply-

²² Sappho 44 gives an exotically attractive picture of the Hector/Andromache wedding celebrations. Paris, with his cowardice (*Il.* 3. 25) and perfumed bedroom (3. 380), conforms to a barbarian model; the bow, a barbarian weapon to classical Greeks, belongs to Paris (3.17), Pandaros (2. 824, 5. 95, 167), Troy's Lycian allies (4. 196), and among Greeks to the bastard Teucer (*Il.* 8. 284, 322, 12. 350, 371f, 13. 170, 15. 441, 484), who was later seen as half-foreign (Tuplin 1996, 69–70); and the "late" (but still Archaic) Doloneia (*Il.* 10) uses what would later be stereotypical Greek-barbarian *differentiae* in its presentation of Greeks and Trojans.

²³ The (public) Classical Athenian view would be that only an inferior/non-citizen should perform *fellatio*. Does the same hold for Archilochus? West 1994, 2 relates the passage to a Mesopotamian seal-image conjoining *coitus a tergo* and drinking through a straw.

²⁴ *Il.* 3. 2f, 4. 422f. The comparison of Greeks with birds (swans, cranes) in 2. 460 is about numbers, not behaviour.

²⁵ *Il.* 2. 867, Anacr. 423 + S 313. 6 (in reference to linguistic solecism: cf. Hippon. 27, without *barbara*), Hecat. IF119 (barbarians inhabited the Peloponnese before the Greeks), Corinna 4 (no preserved context), Heraclit. 22B107.

ing unreliability and stupidity. But even in the earliest use (*Iliad* 2. 867), the leader of the barbarous-sounding (*barbarophonoi*) Carians is described as childishly stupid (*nepios*) and said to go into battle covered in gold "like a girl", and—since he thus actually displays elements of the developed barbarian stereotype—it is impossible to prove that *barbarophonoi* has no overtones other than linguistic ones.

(3) The absence of the barbarian as such is matched by the absence of the Greek as such, a phenomenon already noted in Thucydides 1. 2. Four passages in Homer, Hesiod and Archilochus refer to Greeks at large as *Panhellenes*, where a classical author would just have said *Hellenes*: the emphatic form presumably reflects the unfamiliarity of the concept.²⁶ *Hellas* in Hesiod *Works and Days* 653 probably does mean "Greece", but elsewhere in epic it refers to a part of Northern Greece.²⁷ We must wait until Xenophanes (6. 8) and the Theognidean corpus (237, 773) for other examples. But, even if the word "Greek" is under-used, it would be odd to say there was no archaic Greek sense of Greekness. Even in the *Iliad*, which has three different words for "the Greeks", the Greek army displays an essential unity by contrast with the Trojans and their allies (Levy 1991, 52–3); and the Panhellenic festivals (with in one case their *Hellanodikai*) are a creation of the (later) Archaic era.

(4) There is no doubt that change occurs with the Persian attacks on mainland Greece: *barbaros* becomes a more regular word and, incidentally, Trojans acquire a much clearer status as contemptible barbarians.²⁸ But the proposition that the events of 480 B.C. created "the barbarian" and hostility to him is a little odd. It is not as though stimuli for Greeks to denigrate non-Greeks were completely

²⁶ *Il.* 2. 530, Hes. *Op.* 528, fr. 130, Archil. 102. The novel unfamiliarity is specially clear in *Il.* 1. *c.* where we have "none of the *Panhellenes* and Achaeans".

²⁷ *Od.* 1. 344, 4. 726, 816, 15. 80 has the formula (*kath' Hellada kai meson Argos*), while *Il.* 2. 684, 9. 395, 447, 478, 16. 595, *Od.* 11. 495 use *Hellas* in connection with Thessaly and always relating to Achilles, Peleus, Myrmidons. In Hes. 1. *c.* Aulis is where the fleet waits to go from *Hellas hierē* to *Troian kalligunaika*. Aulis is, of course, in Northern Greece, but it seems likely that "holy Hellas" sums up the origins of all of the expeditionary force. (It is equivalent to Thuc. 1. 11 saying that Agamemnon led *pasa Helles* against Troy.)

²⁸ Hall 1988 (though they are still not that clearly barbarian even in Thuc. 1. 11). This is not only true of literature: Paris does not have oriental costume on Attic vases until after 450 B.C. (Raack 1981, 86) and the appearance of Troilus in Thracian costume in late Archaic pictures results from his being given fashionable Athenian cavalry garb, not his being made a foreigner (*Ibid.* 88–9). Real barbarian Thracian pictures of Troilus do not appear until the mid-5th century B.C.

lacking earlier. Archaic colonisation repeatedly brought Greeks into contact with non-Greeks in locations throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea. This certainly produced violent clashes, and the whole process was perhaps systematically violent and confrontational (Rihl 1993).²⁹ Again, seventh century West Anatolian Greek cities (like native Anatolian Kingdoms) were exposed to violent nomadic intruders from the east, the so-called Cimmerians. This leaves a trace in *Odyssey* 11. 13f, where the Cimmerians dwell around the entry to Hades,³⁰ and in Callinus 4, a tiny fragment referring to them (and the Trerians) directly. The real impact is surely inadequately represented by these slender remains.

Of course, Xerxes' attack on Greece was an outstandingly systematic threat by a great variety of non-Greek peoples, and one aimed at incorporating the victims within an imperial structure. But the same was true for the Greeks of Asia Minor who succumbed to Persia around 540 B.C.; and (aside from the ethnic mixture of the attackers) for those Greeks who had previously succumbed to the systematic threat presented by Lydia. The conventional view assumes that Greeks saw no need for a general negative stereotype until they had defeated the foreign enemy. There may be some sense in this (perhaps respect lingers until the enemy is defeated) but an alternative, or at least complementary, view would be that surviving literature simply misrepresents the extent to which 'barbarisation' had occurred well before Xerxes' defeat. The impact of 480 B.C. on central and southern mainland Greeks (hitherto somewhat isolated from direct 'barbarian' contact) was very great. But post-480 B.C. literature is, with the major but rather tricky exception of Herodotus, largely the literature of mainland Greece, so we are liable to get a biased impression of its importance for the Greek nation as a whole. Pre-480 B.C. literature is very largely the literature of eastern Greeks, but apart from Homer and (some) Hesiod it survives in a fragmentary state

²⁹ One occurrence of *Panhellenes* (Archil. 102) is in a colonial context, and the collective sanctuary of the East Greeks in Naukratis was, presumably always, the *Hellenion* (Hdt. 2. 178). The Cyclops' island (*Od.* 9. 105ff) is an idealised potential colony-location with an existing population barbarian in everything but name. Colonial discourse is always liable to evoke barbarians: hence (in part) the intrusion of a Triballian god into Ar. *Av.* 1615ff.

³⁰ For association of hell and barbary cf. Ar. fr. 156, *Av.* 1482 (with Dunbar *ad loc.*). The association of Thrace with the *barathron* in Dem. 8. 45 is comparable, since the word (on which see Tuplin 1981, 121–2) is applicable *inter alia* to the underworld (*Il.* 8. 14).

and in genres which may have made talk of barbarians (or "Greeks") less likely than talk of specific foreign or Hellenic peoples. If more public narrative elegy survived (*cf.* Bowie 1986) we might have a somewhat different picture.

Perhaps, then, mainland Greeks after 480 B.C. did not need to invent the barbarian, merely to import him from east Greece. East Greek society had direct experience of Anatolian non-Greeks and indirect experience (through colonial and commercial connections) of Pontic and East Mediterranean non-Greeks. This variety of experience made East Greeks more likely to formulate a general idea of non-Greeks—and it naturally fostered a collective description based on the negative characteristic they had in common—not speaking Greek.

B. Increased stress on the Greek-barbarian distinction arguably prompted some people to question its validity or suggest that it was not an impermeable barrier. But the process operates within rather carefully defined limits.

In *Politicus* 262C Plato argues that the Greek/barbarian distinction is a false one. "Barbarian" is a term covering huge numbers of distinct and mutually incomprehensible nations (*gene apeira kai ameikta kai asumphona pros allela*), so setting Greek against barbarian is like dividing natural numbers into 10,000 and everything else. The correct division of numbers is into odd and even, and the correct division of mankind is into male and female. This is a fair, but purely logical, observation, which says nothing about Plato's attitude to non-Greeks as such. Note that in saying barbarian nations are separate (*ameikta*: "unmixed") he might have in mind that they are genetically (not just linguistically: *asumphona*) distinct, for "mixing" can designate sexual intercourse. But the distinction is one between barbarians, not between Greeks and barbarians, and the suggestion is far from certain anyway.³¹

³¹ "Mixture" is unpredictable: *mixhellenes* are non-Greeks who are (partially) hellenised—a cultural proposition—but *mixobarbaros* denotes someone of mixed Greek/non-Greek ancestry, *i.e.* not a cultural proposition but a genetic/ethnic one, and *migas* denotes communities containing (separately) people of different origins (Dubuisson 1982). It is not apparent that "mixture" in Plat. *Leg.* 693A, 949Ef or Arist. *Pol.* 1303a need have a sexual-genetic overtone. Its undesirable results are simply a matter of damage to distinctive cultural norms (*Leg.* 693A puts mixture of Greeks with each other on same level as that of Greeks with barbarians). Replacement of *xummeiktoi andres* by Greek settlement (*e.g.* Thuc. 3. 61) is an affirmation of (a desirable) culturo-political uniformity. (Compare Ps.-X. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 8: whereas other Greeks have an individual *phone*, *diaita* and *skhema*, Athenians, whose city is frequented by

Isocrates (4. 50) writes that Athens stands out in intellect and self-expression by so much that her pupils are the teachers of others. She has made "Hellene" the name not of a nation (*genos*) but of a mentality (*dianoia*), and has made it more proper to describe as Hellenes those who share Athenian education (*paideusis*) than those who share a common natural origin (*koine phusis*). This certainly implies a non-Greek can become Greek by acquiring Hellenic culture. But Isocrates' principal concern is to assert that Greek culture is really Athenian culture. He does boast (41) that Athens' administration is foreigner-friendly (*philoxenos*), but what he has in mind is that Athens has lots of commercially valuable resident aliens (*metics*), not that Athens is specially receptive of foreigners as such. The overall message of *Panegyricus* is that Greeks should unite to subdue barbarians—and should do so under Athenian leadership.

In Plato *Protagoras* 337CD Hippias says he regards those present as "kinsmen. . . and as fellow-citizens by nature, though not by *nomos*. For like is akin to like by nature whereas law which is a tyrant over human beings often forcefully imposes constraints which are contrary to nature". Some think the universality of the second sentence suggests that Hippias believed in the universal kinship of mankind. It is possible: this is the man who (it is said) boasted of wearing a Persian belt and (more remarkably) of having made it himself (Plato *Hippias Minor* 368C) and claimed to be writing a "novel and multiform *logos*" by collecting material from a range of Greek poets and from prose works by Greeks and barbarians (86B6). But in *Protagoras* the people he is addressing are all Greeks, so he need not be saying more than that citizenship-definitions ought not to divide Greek from Greek.

The comments on nature and law recall another late 5th century author, Antiphon, who set up a complete antithesis between law and nature, though where this led is hard to say given the fragmentary nature of the surviving texts. He also had things to say about Greeks and barbarians:³²

the whole world, have one mixed from all sorts of Greeks and barbarians. *Skhema* need not refer to physical type: cf. *LSJ* s.v. 3. 4.) The *xummeikta ethne barbaron diglosson* on Athos (Thuc. 4. 103) are different *ethne* each with its own language (plus a command of Greek).

³² P. Oxy. 3467 is an improved text (with a new fragment) of P. Oxy. 1364 = Antiphon 87B44A (7.B col. 2). For the sake of continuous translation I retain some of Diels-Kranz's supplements in the middle of the passage (where P. Oxy. 3467 is

In this we have become barbarized with regard to one another. For in nature all of us are equally in all respects created able to be either barbarian or Greek. Those things which are by nature necessary for all men enable one to see this. They are open to all to be procured in the same way and in all this none of us is marked off as either barbarian or Greek. For we all breathe through the mouth and nostrils . . . and we weep in pain; and we receive sounds with our hearing; and we see by eye with our vision; and we work with our hands; and we walk with our feet . . .

Scholars have debated the precise relation of this passage to Antiphon's overall argumentative context (though the old assumption that the ill-preserved six lines which precede this passage dealt with attitudes to noble and non-noble birth is now rejected), but the remarks are clearly consistent with a tendency to distinguish *nomos* and *physis*. Antiphon is saying, not that "all men are the same", but merely that "barbarian" or "Greek" are distinct ways of being (established by *nomos*) which sit on top of basic shared human physiognomy. An important question follows: can *nomos* affect physiological characteristics or only ethical/intellectual ones? One is tempted to guess the latter, though the other view cannot perhaps be entirely ruled out. But in any event there is no way of telling whether Antiphon considered Greek and barbarian to be *as a general* rule equally good ways of being—and, even if in some sense he did, the editor of P. Oxy. 3647 (M.S. Funghi) may well be right to see his principal concern (like Plato's in *Politicus*) as an essentially logical one. Only if more of Antiphon's *On Truth* turns up are we likely to discover for sure whether he was actually inclined to condemn ordinary Greek ethnocentric prejudices.

C. So, general rejections of a qualitative distinction between Greek and barbarian are hard to find.³³ But Greeks did, of course, know that moral character could be dissociated from ethnic background in individual cases. Epicharmus and Menander made characters say "whoever is well set up by nature is well born, even if he's a negro" (Stob. 86. 493) and "if a man is of good character it doesn't matter if he's an Ethiopian, and it is absurd to abuse someone for being a Scythian" (fr. 612); and Euripides, who is fond of questioning

more conservative). They do not affect the present issue. The text breaks off where the translation ends.

³³ Any universal kinship envisaged in Theophr. fr. 531 appears to be of the most general sort.

conventional views by putting them in the mouth of unsympathetic characters, does this with views of barbarians as well (Said 1984, 34–5, 42–3). More generally, all barbarians are barbarian, but some are more barbarian than others. The Mossynoeci of N. Anatolia, who fattened their children on a diet of boiled nuts, covered themselves with tattoos, made a habit of sexual intercourse in public and would talk to themselves, laugh out loud when not in company and dance for imaginary audiences, were, says Xenophon (*Anabasis* 5. 4. 34), the most barbarous and least Hellenic people the Ten Thousand met. Demosthenes, on the other hand, contrasts a mere Macedonian with “a barbarian from a distinguished nation” (9. 39), which, given the political circumstances of the time, might well mean a Persian.³⁴

More specifically, barbarians can be a source of wisdom or skill. Herodotus 1. 603—Greeks have been free from a tendency to gullibility for less time than barbarians—shows that remarkable intellectual concessions can be made to barbarians (assuming the text is correct: cf. Levy 1992, 209–10; McNeal 1983) and Plato can envisage education and correct philosophical views existing among barbarians (*Laws* 654E).³⁵ He even suggests (*Republic* 499C) that conditions favouring the emergence of philosopher kings might already exist in some remote barbaric spot (*barbarikos topos*).³⁶ Certainly a notable degree of primacy is ascribed to barbarians in fields such as music, religion, literacy, coinage, law, viticulture or astronomy.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1331b3 (Persian and barbarian tyrannies), *Rhet. Alex.* 1420b28. (Perhaps this feeling accounts for the dream in A. *Pers.* 189f, effectively making Greece and Persia “sisters”.) On Macedonia cf. Badian 1982. Some Greeks are less Greek than others too. Thucydides (1. 5, 3. 84) nearly calls Aetolians barbarian. Chaonians, Thesprotians and Molossians are barbarian to Thucydides (2. 80), an undefined category between Greeks to the south and barbarians to the north in Ps.-Scylax 22f, and Greek in (slightly later) thearodocic lists in Argos (*IG* iv², 1. 94/95) and Epidaurus (Charneux 1966). Yet Hdt. 6. 127 already has a Molossian among the “Greeks” who competed for Agariste (6. 126. 2).

³⁵ *Phaed.* 78A implies the barbarian races might produce the *epodos* who could charm one out of a fear of death; *Symp.* 209E says there are people who produce fine things (like e.g. Homer and Hesiod) “among Greeks and barbarians”.

³⁶ A more expected view is exemplified by Aristoxenus (ap. Athen. 632A): the “barbarisation” of Posidonia (Greeks who changed language/customs and became Romans/Etruscans) resembles the barbarisation of theatre by *pandemos mousike*, an analogy which (given some associations of *pandemos*) may indirectly equate assimilation with prostitution.

³⁷ Music: “all music is Asiatic or Thracian” (Strab. 10. 3. 17). Religion: Hdt. 2. 49, 4. 188. Literacy: Critias 88B2; Hdt. 5. 58. Coinage: Hdt. 1. 94. Laws, regulations: 2. 160, 177. Viticulture: Hellan. 4F175. Astronomy: Ps.-Plat. *Epin.* 986Eff.

But it is also notable that much which is good about barbarians belongs in the past. By the classical period barbarians are simply under-developed, that is the implication of several texts in which current barbarian habits are said to be like old-fashioned Greek ones.³⁸ Indeed, if one goes far enough back in time Greeks and barbarians may turn out to be related. At an individual level Plato (*Theaetetus* 175A) notes that everyone's ancestry may include barbarians. (Since he uses the point to prove that people should not boast of their heredity, he is not of course arguing against making qualitative distinctions between Greek and barbarian.) At a general level, the complex mythistory of the Pelasgians includes the proposition that Greeks are simply transformed autochthonous barbarians,³⁹ there were stories of immigrant non-Greeks (Pelops, Cadmus) leaving a mark on the Greek nation (Herodotus 6. 53, 55 reports that Spartan Kings believed in their descent from Syrians or Egyptians),⁴⁰ and the "national" genealogies of the Hesiodic Catalogue and other texts postulate Greek origins for various non-Greek nations.⁴¹

³⁸ Thuc. 1. 6, Arist. *Pol.* 1268b31, fr. 160, Plat. *Rep.* 452C, *Cratyl.* 397D, 421D, *Tim.* 24A. Xenophon does offer approbative comments about contemporary Persians (and praises the professional orderliness of contemporary Phoenician ships: *Oec.* 8.11f), but he casts his full-length presentation of a paradigmatic Persian as a historical narrative, with an appendix to point out that things have now changed for the worse (cf. Tuplin 1997).

³⁹ Hdt. 1. 57f, 8. 44. Classical sources assert that Greece was once occupied by non-Greek Pelasgians and is now occupied by Greeks, with a few Pelasgians left at the edges of the Aegean. Any problems are created by a desire to claim that (some) Greeks had after all always been where they now were, an unwillingness to cast them as *arrivistes* particularly marked in 5th century Athens (cf. Rosivach 1987).

⁴⁰ Pelops: Thuc. 1. 9, Nic. Dam. 10 (? from Hellanicus). Thucydides notes that Pelops' descendants became more powerful than Perseus' (i.e. Persians: cf. Hdt. 2. 91, 6. 53, 7. 61, 150), a pretty paradox since Pelops was barbarian but Perseus, on some views, Greek. (The paradox is not noted by Gomme or Hornblower *ad loc.*) Cadmus: disagreement on whether the oriental Cadmus is part of a genuinely old tradition (Edwards 1970; Bernal 1990) or a 5th century development (Gomme 1913; Vian 1963, 51–69; Hall 1992) is not crucial just here, but see below. On Sparta cf. Drews 1979; Carter 1987; Davies 1997, 33.

⁴¹ Cf. West 1985, 76–7, with Tables 5–6. Other examples: Hdt. 1. 173, 4. 9–10. Thuc. 2. 68 says the Argive hero Amphilochus founded Amphilochian Argos, a city within a barbarian land (Amphilochia) which became "hellenized as to the language they now have" (*hēllēnisthēsan tēn nun glōssan*) from association with Ambraciots brought in by its inhabitants as additional colonizers. Hammond 1967, 419–20 suggests the Argives only switched dialect and that the other "barbarian" Amphilochians spoke an uncouth form of Greek. This is certainly not what Thucydides says (cf. Hornblower 1991, *ad loc.*) Gomme 1956, *ad loc.* inferred that Amphilochus was a barbarian, but was unhappy at the implication that Thucydides believed epic heroes to have been

These cases show that there are agendas which can take precedence over a firm differentiation between Greek and non-Greek. Stories which claim Greek ancestry for foreign races are perhaps not surprising, whether viewed as a naively egoistic means of making sense of the outside world or a cynical expression of a quasi-colonial mentality. But foreign ancestry for Greeks is more peculiar. One view is that it is a mythological representation of reality. The extreme alternative is that it is mere fantasy. The truth is somewhere in between: for example, given the undoubted relation of Phoenician and Greek alphabets and the great mobility of Phoenicians around the Mediterranean the Cadmus story has some root in reality. More generally it can hardly be doubted that Archaic Greece was receptive to oriental cultural imports or that it is correct to identify an Orientalising period in the prehistory of Classical Greek culture.⁴²

What both the Pelasgian myth and the story of Cadmus show is that barbarian origin is acceptable, so long as one escaped the barbarian tendency to stagnate in primitive conditions, both socio-political and linguistic. For the tonguelessness of barbarians is a piece of primitivism, not just a metaphor for incomprehensibility. Greek emerges in some fashion out of a barbarian linguistic background, and, as Plato claimed to recognise in the etymological playroom of his dialogue *Cratylus*, still retains barbarian words.

More succinctly, it is all right to have been barbarian. This is a relationship to the outsider which is certainly disdainful, but it stands apart from attitudes which we would naturally designate as racist. (It is perhaps worth making explicit that the geographical and conceptual closeness of these barbarian origin stories to the centre of Greek mythohistorical consciousness makes the case different from anything in the biblical record about the post-Flood origins of Mankind that could have been brought to bear against Christian anti-Semitism: cf. Bickermann 1952.)

The trend of this discourse thus continues to favour the view that race in the narrow sense is not a high priority for Greeks, that foreigners are not primarily marginalised because of physical or genetic differences.

There is one final nexus of texts which require discussion, those

e.g. Pelasgians. Perhaps the case is simply a small-scale application (in an area of volatile ethnicity: cf. n. 34) of the model of a barbarian race with Greek eponym.

⁴² Murray 1980, 80–1; Boardman 1982; Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; Treister 1995.

which claim that climate and physical environment influence ethical and/or physiological characteristics. Statements of this sort can be found in Herodotus (2. 35, 3. 11, 9. 122), Isocrates (7. 74), Plato and Aristotle,⁴³ and Polybius asserts the principle very clearly (4. 21. 1f): "all men must conform themselves to their environment, there being no other cause than this why separate nations and peoples differ widely in character, features, colour and most habits of life". But I shall concentrate on a remarkable anonymous fifth century text preserved in the Hippocratic corpus under the title *Airs, Waters, Places*.⁴⁴

The first half of this text, which concerns the medical effects of environment, is not our immediate concern. But the second half conducts a comparison of the shapes (*morphai*) of men in Asia and Europe and tries to account for both physiological and moral features by detailed reference to climatic and geographical considerations. Some of the author's discourse is rather theoretical, but other parts discuss specific nations: Asiatics living in a specially climatically favoured area which he calls the "spring" region, Phasians and Macrocephali (from the eastern Black Sea), Sauromatians, Scythians. (Discussion of Egyptians and Libyans is unfortunately lost in a textual lacuna.) One guiding principle is that uniformity of climate goes with moral and (unless it is uniformly good climate) physical failings (flabbiness, small stature etc.), whereas a changeable climate promotes tough physique and moral qualities of courage and endurance. The moral conclusions conform to expected Greek prejudices about non-Greeks (the author mostly avoids the word "barbarian")⁴⁵—they are cowardly, indolent, servile and so forth—but our particular interest is in the potentially racist character of the discourse. There are two broad

⁴³ Plat. *Lg.* 747DE, *Tim.* 24A, *Criti.* 109C, *Epinom.* 987D; Arist. *GA* 766b35, 767a28, 782b, 783a15, 786a10, 34, 788a17, *Pol.* 1285ab, 1295a, 1327b, *Probl.* 910b1f, *HA* 606b15f. Relevant later texts include Strab. 2. 3. 7 (102–103C), Cic. *de fat.* 7, Diod. 3. 34, Vitruv. 6. 1. 10–11, Ptolem. 2. 2. 56.

⁴⁴ Recently re-edited in Jouanna 1988. (I use his chapter and section numbers.) Other recent literature: Backhaus 1976; Grensemann 1979; van der Eijk 1988; Triebe-Schubert 1990; Jouanna 1992, 298–300; López Férez 1994; Nutton 1994. Similar environmental principles appear in Hp. *Salubr.* 2. 37f.

⁴⁵ His world is divided into Asia and Europe (Jouanna 1988, 68–9; Nutton 1994, 126–7). Significantly the one occurrence of *barbaroi* (16. 5) occurs when he wishes to specify that *all* inhabitants of Asia not under despotic government are very warlike (*cf.* n. 12). If the Greeks involved are Ionians living in the "spring" region (Backhaus 1976; *cf.* Hdt. 1. 142) their warlike character is in extreme contrast to what the environment would suggest (12. 6), and to what other 5th century Greek texts say about Ionians.

reasons for supposing the text might be particularly relevant here.

First, it provides unusually elaborate descriptions of non-Greek physical types. Secondly, the systematic derivation of ethical qualities and physical characteristics from environmental considerations makes it possible for contemptible qualities to be peculiarly associated with physically distinct people. This association of moral and physical characteristics could in principle authorize the racist notion that particular genetic groups are to be despised, and despised not just because they are physically different but because their physical difference is tied up with moral degeneracy. This could be true whatever the mechanics of environmental impact upon physique/ethical character were supposed to be. But the "racist" implication might be specially strong if the mechanics were "genetic" ones. Does the text in fact fulfil any of these expectations? I shall approach this question by discussing the mechanisms through which external factors are supposed to determine physical and ethical characteristics. This will allow us to judge what the author's position is, or indeed whether it is sufficiently well thought-out for it to be clear what it is.

The author actually works with two types of explanation of human characteristics. (a) Climatic conditions produce physical and ethical effects. (b) Customary practices (*nomoi*) in the shape of political forms such as kingship produce certain ethical effects (servility, cowardice). (Customary practices of a different sort can also change physical characteristics, the head-shape of the Macrocephali, produced by manipulating the skulls of new-born babies, can, as we shall see, be inherited.) Where *nomoi* and climate are mentioned together, *nomoi* are an additional cause of a particular characteristic,⁴⁶ and the author does not seem to envisage the question of whether the *nomoi* in a particular region are themselves a product of the environmental conditions. Indeed he does not envisage the question of how *nomoi* arise

⁴⁶ (a) *dia tautas emoi dokei tas prophasias* [climatic factors] *analkes einai to genos to Asienon kai proseti dia tous nomous* (16. 3). (b) *dia touto* [variability of seasons affecting seed and character] *eisi makhimoteroi hoi ten Europeon oikeuntes kai dia tous nomous, hoti ou basileuontai hosper hoi Asienoi* (23. 4). (c) A naturally brave man can be born in Asia but is normally spoiled by institutions. But Asiatics (Greek or non-Greek) who are not despotised are very warlike (16. 5). (d) Law induces courage and hardness in those not environmentally prone to such qualities (24. 3). (e) Scythian male infertility results from disinclination for sex, which is due both to moist physique (caused by environmental effects, and affecting women too) and to the effects of horse-riding (21. 1). Their natural physique is also modified by cauterization (20. 1), lack of swaddling-bands and a sedentary horse- or waggon-based existence (20. 2).

at all. They simply exist as an extra determinant of ethical behaviour. But this is hardly satisfactory. If the Asiatic environment is as productive of feeble and cowardly people as he claims, how does any despotic element emerge there? He could have argued that monarchy is a natural primitive state-form which Asiatics failed to grow out of because environmentally predisposed to accept it (whereas Greeks, though not other Europeans, were bound to develop away from it). His failure to suggest this probably demonstrates the extent to which his train of thought is steered by unspoken prejudice, not thorough analysis. So far as racism goes, it means that he has missed one way of strengthening the link of morally degenerate practices to environmental location.

What, next, are the mechanisms of environmental effect?

Climatic effect on ethical character is expressed in rather vague "psychological" terms. Uniform perfect climatic conditions lead to pleasure and this precludes courage, endurance, industry, assertiveness (12. 6). Uniform conditions of any sort "contain" idleness from which "grows" cowardice (23. 3); there are no violent shocks to the soul or body to "roughen" the passions and engender courage or train the body to endure hardship (*cf.* 16. 2, 23. 3). The mechanism for climatic effect on physiology is mostly even vaguer, and involves a sort of analogy between the physical geography and the human physiology appropriate to a particular climate. The closest the author has to a technical term for this is to say that human physiology "follows" (*akolouthos*) the nature of the land. But this is not very close and in truth I do not think that he has really analysed the logical/chronological inter-relation between (a) physical geography, (b) human physiology and (c) climate. Of course, his answer to that criticism might be that the three are too inseparable for such analysis to be possible.

Occasionally, however, we do get something a little bit more solid. In conditions of seasonal uniformity there are no causes of corruption or deterioration (*phthorai, kakosies*) in the coagulation (*xumpexis*) of the seed (unless by accident or disease) and this makes for homogeneity of physique (19. 5), whereas in a region with variable climate the generation in the coagulation of the seed (*genesis en tei xumpexei tou gonou*) is different even for the same seed in summer and in winter (23. 1). Hence non-homogeneity is more common in Europe, since there arise more corrutions of the seed during coagulation (*phthorai tou gonou en tei xumpexei*) where there are frequent climatic

changes (23. 2). This does at least consider the matter at a "genetic" level, and "technical" genetics turns up in another context, when the author adduces pangenesis (the view that seed is drawn from all parts of a parent body)⁴⁷ to prove that acquired characteristics, the long-heads of the Macrocephali, can be inherited (14. 3–5). The doctrine is not extended to claiming Sauromatian women (17. 3) inherit breastlessness (each generation has to cut off its own right breasts), but the author does think it applies to mundane things like grey eyes, squint, baldness and so forth.

So, our author can think genetically. Where does this get us?

(a) He has not explained the mechanism by which the environment affects the seed. Presumably he has in mind an analogy with the effects of soil and climate on plant seeds.

(b) Talk of corruption and deterioration implies that nature's intention is homogeneity, deviation is a case of damage. Since climate influences occurrence of disease (1–11), successive seasons have characteristic diseases (1) and the change of seasons provokes disease crises (11), it is natural that seasonal effect on genesis is seen in terms of damage. But it has the peculiar consequence that those of whom our author most disapproves, people found in areas of climatic homogeneity, represent the most naturally perfect specimens. Perhaps there is an analogy here with the view that the politico-cultural inferiority of barbarians consists in their failure to develop. But a more probable conclusion is (again) that our author has not thought through his analysis nearly as systematically as we would like. In particular we should remember that the proposition that environment affects seed is only explicitly used in reference to the degree of homogeneity of physiology in a given region, not as a means of accounting for any particular sets of physiological features. One wonders how consciously the author saw the mechanism as a cause of "racial" distinctions.

(c) Most of the time he does not mention seed (*gonos*) at all. But even if he privately assumed its effect in all relevant cases, the impression his descriptions create is that a consistent distinctive physical type (and potentially a racial type) emerges in a given environment because of repeated impact by environmental circumstances upon a

⁴⁷ Democrit. 68A141; Jouanna 1988, 306–7. 22. 6 assumes semen comes from the brain, but the two views are not inconsistent (Jouanna 1988, 339–40). Pangenesis is criticized in Ar. 721b–726a. Other early observations on genetics include Alc. 24A13–14, B3, Parmen. 28A 53–54, B 17–18, Emped. 31A 81–2, B 63, 65, 67.

gonos which starts out each time the same for absolutely everyone. But, as a pangenetist, he should hold that parents whose seed has been environmentally "damaged" will transmit the effects of that "damage" to their offspring, so that in due course the *gonos* alone can ensure the continuance of a given pattern of characteristic. And this, indeed, is what he says in 14. 3–4. In the matter of long heads, "custom originally worked things so that this sort of nature came into existence by force. But as time went on it happened naturally, so that custom no longer exercised compulsion".⁴⁸ The function of the environment is then merely not to upset the pattern already established. (This assumes that a steady state is eventually reached at which the inherited *gonos* has suffered all the "damage" which environment could inflict and is immune to further damage. It is not actually obvious that this assumption is reasonable.) If this can work with artificially acquired characteristics, then *a fortiori* it should work with naturally or environmentally affected ones, and among the prominent examples of environmentally affected physiological characteristics which the author cites are "racial" types. So we really have got a sort of genetic theory of race, and it may begin to appear that the idea from which we started, that this treatise could authorize racist, not simply ethnocentrically prejudiced, contempt for foreign peoples, is justified.

But is it really? Lloyd 1991, 425 speaks of the potentially ominous racist implications of *Airs, Waters, Places* 12 (with special reference to the ethical claims), but thinks they are unrealized because in the end Greeks were clear that inferior peoples were still human. This is, of course, largely true: contrast the Egyptian habit of using the word Man to mean Egyptian, and consigning everyone else to non-human status,⁴⁹ and remember that Greek assimilation of barbarians to animals is not fundamentally a physiological or genetic idea (above p. 50). But racists do not have to regard despised races

⁴⁸ *Houto ten archen ho nomos kateirgasato, hoste upo bies toiauten phusin genesthai. Tou de khronou proiontos en phusei egeneto, hoste ton nomon meketi anankazein.* Compare 14. 2: "in the beginning custom bore most of the responsibility for the length of the head, but now nature makes a contribution alongside nature" (*ten men gar archen ho nomos aitiotatos egeneto tou meken tes kephales, nun de kai he phusis xumballetai toi nomoi*).

⁴⁹ *rmt* (man) stands for "Egyptian", implying the non-humanity of outsiders (associated with Seth). Hdt. 2. 158 interprets the situation in Greek terms: Egyptians call non-*homephronoi* "barbarians". (Levy 1992, 201 thinks *alloglossos* [ML 7, Hdt. 2. 154] is used in Egyptian contexts in an attempt to avoid this Greek perspective.) In general cf. Helck 1964.

as non-human, perhaps not even when they are engaged in racial extermination.⁵⁰ The real problems about the racist reading of *Airs, Waters, Places* should be stated differently and more fully.

(i) Ethical characteristics are not treated as directly genetic but as the result of the psychological impact of environment. Moreover, although the author has not actually said anywhere that a given set of environmental conditions could act on two groups of people and produce the same physique but different ethical character or *vice versa*, something which would wreck any potential for racist theory, he does think ethical effects are dissociable from "nationality". Anybody physically in Asia, whether *homophulos* or *allophulos*, *i.e.* of the "same or different nation" (whatever exactly that is supposed to mean), is liable to the ethical effects of climate (12). On the other hand Asiatics, whether Greek or barbarian, who are not ruled by a despot can be extremely warlike (16. 5). Compare the case of the Macrocephali: the author says that there is not so much long-headedness now, since the *nomos* (of manipulating skulls) is less prevalent because of contact with other people (*dia ten homilien ton anthropon*: 14. 5). Evidently he does not have the courage of his genetic convictions: the allegedly inherited national characteristic will not last if babies' heads are not treated appropriately. The problem is not that exposure to the outside world leads to mixed unions and dilution of the genetic stock; it is that it leads to the abandonment of arcane customs.

(ii) The groups with particular physical characteristics about which our author is talking are not all of the same status: *i.e.* some might be, to our eyes, racially distinct groups, others merely sub-groups within a racial group. One clear sign of this is 23. 2, where "the physique of Europeans varies more than that of Asiatics and their stature varies city by city (*kata polin hekasten*)". The word *polis* shows that he is thinking of European Greeks, and is using his "genetic" mechanism to claim significant differentiation at a very local level. (Perhaps the small eyes and features of Corinthians and Leucadians in the Aristotelian *Physiognomica* [above p. 52] are not so odd after all!) Another sign is that "homogeneity" (the thing affected by degree of "damage" to seed) can be a feature both of individuals within a

⁵⁰ The currently fashionable term, ethnic cleansing, which substitutes "ethnic" for "racial" in the same euphemistic spirit in which it substitutes "cleansing" for "extermination", does, if anything, move further away from the idea that the victims are subhuman.

group (e.g. an *ethnos*)⁵¹ and of large groups (e.g. *ethnea* or *phula*) themselves.⁵² Naturally we tend to have homogeneity within a group and lack of it outside, but the case of the Maeotian *ethnea* shows that there can be a good deal of (environmentally determined) homogeneity between *ethnea* (even in cases where there is notable customary difference, e.g. with Sauromatians).

The basic problem is that our author's idea of differentiation does not match our idea of major racial distinctions. As a doctor he is conscious of localised environmental effects of medical phenomena. As a Greek he instinctively feels differentiation very locally, because of the politico-cultural fragmentation of the *polis* world. Such a person sees the world as a continuum of aliens. He might endorse a Herodotean definition of Greekness (one involving blood as well as linguistic-religious cultural markers), but he prefers to apply his theoretical tool, environmental impact on genetic processes, over as wide a range as possible. So his physical *differentiae* are ones which can exist within a single *ethnos*, as distinct from the sort of distinction we perceive between, for example, Caucasians and Mongols.

These failures to arrive at racist theory mirror impediments to racism which affect other Greeks as well.

(i) The fact that Greeks externalised the whole of the rest of the human race multiplied the targets for attack hugely. Racism flourishes best where clear physiological criteria define a single target. Some barbarians were, of course, more barbarian than others, but that is a cultural judgment.

(ii) Anyway, the world of foreigners did not start at the barbarian frontier. Legally speaking a barbarian in Athens was rarely more

⁵¹ 12. 5: men in the spring region differ little in appearance or size. 18. 1 [cf. 19. 1]: Scythians are like one another in *morphe*, as are Egyptians. 19. 4: Scythians are like one another *ta eidea* (same food all year round etc.). 19. 5: in Scythia men are like men and women like women.

⁵² 13. 2: Maeotian area *ethnea* are less homogeneous than those dealt with earlier [i.e. Egyptians, Libyans]. (Egyptians are a homogeneous single *ethnos*, but the Libyans must have been treated as a number of *ethnea*, who were nonetheless the same: 14. 1 makes it clear that inter-*ethnos* comparison is involved, so we can reverse the argument and infer same true of Libyans.) 14. 1: among Maeotian groups the Longheads and Phasians are discussed because they are sufficiently different to be interesting, by contrast with *ethnea* which *oligon diapherei*. 17. 1: Sauromatians are Scythian but differ from other *ethnea*, including the Scythians dealt with subsequently. (But the difference consists in the position of women and the removal of right breasts, not in anything to do with environment.) 24. 1: in Europe there are *phula diaphora hetera heteroisi kai ta megethea kai tas morphas kai tas andreias* (the reasons being environmental).

disadvantaged than another sort of Greek. Athenian law denied citizenship to the offspring of a union between an Athenian and *any* form of non-Athenian: Aristotle (*Politics* 1275b) says such rules were common, and no available evidence disproves this.⁵³ "Ethnic" distinctions within the Greek nation (Dorian, Ionian etc.) could arouse strong emotion. So could distinctions *within* these distinctions, if one thinks of attitudes to Asiatic Ionians which evidently circulated in Athens, attitudes not unconnected with those Ionians' fate in relation to Asiatic barbarians.⁵⁴ Other Greeks could be assimilated to barbarians if that happened to suit a particular agenda. Plato (*Protagoras* 341C) said the Lesbian Pittacus was brought up in a "barbarian language" (*phone barbaros*).⁵⁵ More seriously Aristophanes wrote a whole play in which Athens' allies (*i.e.* subjects) were cast as Babylonians (and Athens herself implicitly equated with Persia).⁵⁶ It is hard to develop a racist version of tribalism when foreigners include members of one's own tribe.

(iii) It is also hard when some of the other tribes do not seem very physically different. We hear repeatedly in Greek texts about the physiology of Thracians and Ethiopians (and slightly less often about that of Scythians and Egyptians), people whose colouring picked them out. But a great range of Anatolian and Near Eastern non-Greeks (including ones Greeks despised) were perhaps not comparably distinct in physiological appearance. This accident protected Lydians and the like from racial marginalisation. It might, of course,

⁵³ Cf. Hannick 1976. There are equal very small and statistically insignificant numbers of known cases of dual- and single-line citizen descent.

⁵⁴ Cf. Alty 1982. Will 1956 played the matter down unjustifiably. See also n. 31.

⁵⁵ Logical enough, no doubt, when Greek dialects could be talked about as though they were foreign languages: cf. *Il.* 19. 172f and in general Hall, J. 1995 (though at its limits his argument makes Herodotus' perception of *homoglosson* as a component of Greekness quite an intellectual achievement). *Ar. Av.* 1694 (*barbaroi d'eisi genos Gorgiai te kai Philippi*) classifies Gorgias and Philippus (his "son" in *Ar. V.* 421) barbarians, perhaps because a greedy, violent non-Athenian (Sicilian in Gorgias' case) is no better than a greedy, violent non-Greek (Long 1986, 137) or because, as rhetoric-teachers and/or sycophants, their concern was with speaking in a novel fashion (cf. Ehrenberg 1951, 151 n. 4) or just because undesirables were regularly accused of being barbarians (Sommerstein 1987, *ad loc.*; Dunbar 1995, *ad loc.*, a weak explanation). The line is part of some parody ethnography on the Englottogastores (the "tongue-belly" tribe) ending *he glotta khoris temnetai*. The surface reference is to excising the tongue of sacrificial victims. Dunbar sees this as a (fake) etiology, Sommerstein as a threat to the Englottogastores. There is surely (also) a reference to barbarian tonguelessness (above p. 50 and n. 14).

⁵⁶ Cf. Tuplin 1996, 141–3 on this and related items from Attic comedy.

logically have led to racist analysis of Thracians, Scythians and Ethiopians, and such people are explicitly or implicitly present in the argument in *Airs, Waters, Places*. Salmon 1984, 83 suggests this did not follow because the physical *differentiae* were too much the "accidents" of climate: the fact that proximity to the sun caused the skin of negroes to be black was no ground to postulate the superiority of white men. I think it is more important that Greeks had some respect for these peoples: Thracians and Scythians were dangerous warriors,⁵⁷ Egyptians had an ancient and very well-ordered culture (and one whose interaction with Greeks in the archaic world was not particularly aggressive), Ethiopians were encountered relatively rarely and benefited from another important principle: that what is distant may be utopian (*cf.* n. 16).

(iv) I suspect that the sheer oddity of some cultures Greeks met in the Archaic age (*e.g.* Scythian nomads or the paradoxes of theocratic Egypt), a sense of cultural indebtedness to certain eastern barbarians and the political and geographical fragmentation of the Greek *ethnos* encouraged a primary stress on cultural markers which survived the later Archaic rise of Hellenic consciousness better than one might have expected. It is perhaps relevant—both as effect and further cause—that Classical intellectuals then became so interested in the *nomos-phusis* debate: the passionate awareness of the man-made nature of human institutions which characterizes this debate would tend to work against racist as distinct from ethnocultural attitudes to foreigners.

(v) We return finally return to biology. The essential characteristic of Aristotelian biology is a sense of the great diversity of botanical or animal life. It is not primarily anthropocentric (which is not to say that it does not regard Man as a highest creation). Aristotle brings the instincts of the gardener or breeder, not the anthropologist, to the intellectual problem of searching out "causes" (in his own

⁵⁷ *E.g.* Plat. *Rep.* 435E, *Leg.* 637D, Arist. *Pol.* 1324b. (Contrast the view of Scythian physique in Hp. *aer.* 19f and the existence of effeminate Enareis [*Ibid.*, Hdt. 1. 105, 4. 67, Ar. *EN* 1150b14]. Rolle 1989, 54f protests at the inaccuracy of this view in the light of skeletal remains. Oddly enough some of the images of Scythians on Greco-Scythian art objects also suggest they are seen as short and a bit tubby.) Presentation of Anacharsis as a wise man (Hdt. 4. 76 [his remark about Sparta shows idealization has already gone far enough for parody to begin], Ephor. 70F42, 158, 182, Plat. *Rep.* 600A, Arist. *EN* 1176b, *Anal.* 78b, Men. fr. 533 Kō.) is at least a back-handed tribute to his nation of origin.

rather special philosophical sense). In *Generation of Animals* 778a16f eye-colour, voice-pitch, body colour/markings are *pathemata* (secondary distinctions) which can apply either to whole *gene* (species) or (particularly among man) irregularly to individuals. The position between species characteristics and individual characteristics in which racism might flourish is not recognised.

As a general principle, Aristotle defines certain states as natural and then declares any exception a sign of degeneracy. There is thus a continuous hierarchy of physical perfection with *homo sapiens* at the top (Lloyd 1983, 40–1). A clear feature of this hierarchy is that Man is superior to the natural deformity which is Woman⁵⁸—the result of predominance of the left hand in the generative process (see Lloyd 1991, 39–40, 92) or of deficiency of heat affecting the sperm (*Generation of Animals* 766a18). Such deficiency may also produce other sorts of birth-defect, but I know of no case where Aristotle applies such a view in a context of the distinction between Greek and non-Greek. It is as though establishing the inferiority of the female sex is such a dominantly important task that foreigners are forgotten about. Although there is a Greek tendency to assimilate female and barbarian ethical constructs,⁵⁹ this does not carry biology into the barbarian part, perhaps because it matters more to defend the superiority of even barbarian males over females. One might compare Baldry's argument (1965, 80) that, since Plato was eccentric enough to favour men and women performing same functions (*Republic* 454A, *Laws* 804E), he could have been eccentric enough to regard Greeks and barbarians as equals. The whole point is that there is in fact no evidence that he was. Male/female and Greek/barbarian issues, though related, are not interchangeable. Semonides compared a type of woman to a monkey (*cf.* n. 15), but it is not a comparison used of barbarians.

The result is that, between (i) maintaining the sharp differentiation of male and female and (ii) insisting on the distinction between the human race and mere monsters (Herodotus, for one, has a clear concept of the limits of *homo sapiens* and rejects men with one eye or goat's feet or who sleep for six months or turn into wolves)⁶⁰ true

⁵⁸ *GA* 716a17, 728a18, 766a30 *etc.*; Lloyd 1983, 95 n. 139. *cf.* *Plat. Tim.* 90Ef: women are a *deutera genesis*, the first category of degenerate forms of man.

⁵⁹ *Cf.* Hall 1993. I am not sure the story of Io is in itself an exercise in the feminization of barbarians (112).

⁶⁰ 3. 116, 4. 25, 105. *cf.* Levy 1992, 222.

racism is lost, or never discovered. But any vicarious pride that the philhellenic classicist might be tempted to feel on this account must be set against the essentially negative quality of the achievement, the persistence with which (in the rhetoric of public discourse at any rate) ethnocentric prejudices were assumed or expressed and the absence of any demonstrable intellectually serious challenge to those prejudices. Only those who (a) are quite sure they know that Classical Greek culture was superior to its non-Greek contemporaries and (b) believe in calling a spade a spade are really entitled to assert pride rather than concede embarrassment.

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3. POMPONIUS MELA ON COLONIES IN WEST AND EAST

J. Hind

Pomponius Mela, writing soon after Caligula's preparations for his abortive invasion of Britain or in the early years of Claudius' principate, set himself the task of writing a Latin equivalent of the Punic and Greek sailing manuals (*periploi* of Hanno, Himilco, Pytheas, Ps-Scylax), or of the more ambitious world outlines (*periodos gès*, e.g. of Hekataios). His work, though small in scale (two slender books), is ambitious in scope, embracing three continents, the inner sea, and the several stretches of Outer ocean. He is particularly concerned to mention major rivers (Nile, 1. 50–60), mountain ranges (Rhipaeon Mts., 1. 109), shapes of seas and bodies of water (Pontus, 1. 102, 108–110; 2. 22), and the islands in the Mediterranean and in the Pontus (2. 97–126). He gives sketches, sometimes quite extensive, of the native peoples on and behind the coast (Peoples of Africa, 1. 41–48; Scythians, Getae and Thracians to the North and West of Pontus, 2. 2–15). In all this he is dependent on a variety of Classical and Hellenistic writers, including Herodotus, Ephorus and unknown E. Greek writers with local interests in Syria, Asia Minor and the Black Sea area. For the West he probably used the Carthaginian Hanno, and Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Cornelius Nepos, as well as the world map of Agrippa.

Naturally towns and cities, man's most obvious mark on the world, figure large in the work's two books on the Mediterranean basin. Those outside the Greek and Italian homelands (colonies of Greeks, or more rarely of the Phoenicians, and a few latter-day additions, Roman *coloniae*) are commonly provided with some statement of origin, but equally many are not. Cities in Greece and Italy are given in long, unrelieved, lists of names, probably thought of as being too familiar to demand greater detail. Corinth (now a Roman *colonia* 2. 45) is an exception. Mela seems bent on introducing the exotic into his text, whether this arises from remoteness in time (Amazons, 1. 105; Phrixus, 1. 104; 108), or as a consequence of distance from the centre to East and West (gold-guarding griffins of the chill North-East, 2. 1; Tingis founded by the giant Antacus, 1. 26).

In fact it should be said that the East was somewhat more exotic to him than the West. His own town of *origo* was Tingentera in Southern Spain, near Gades (1. 96), and here he seems to wish to show off his knowledge of relatively recent history: the R. Mulucha was the border between the lands of the kings Bocchus and Jugurtha (1. 29); Cirta was once a royal seat, and is now a *colonia*, settled by followers of Sittius (1. 30); Iol, a former capital of King Juba, is now Caesarea (1. 30); Carthage and Utica were once Phoenician colonies; now Carthage is a Roman *colonia* (1. 34).

In following the shores of the inland seas (1. 26–2. 96), Mela starts with the African side of the straits of Gibraltar, then proceeds eastwards along North Africa, deals with Egypt and the Egyptians, then Palestine and Syria, along the southern coast of Asia Minor, up the eastern shores of the Aegean, along the southern shore of the Propontis and anti-clockwise around the Euxine Pontus. Somewhere west of the Tanais (R. Don), among the further ‘Scythian’ peoples, Budini, Geloni, and Thyssagetæ, Mela’s Book 1 gives way to Book 2. Thence he moves round the coasts of Europe *via* the western side of the Pontus, the northern Propontis, N. Aegean, Greece, Italy, S. Gaul and finally to Spain. This will explain the order in which Mela’s references to towns and their ‘beginnings’ appear in the list given below. There are some 44 references to colonies of Phoenicians, Greeks or Romans in the work, and all are bald, brief, statements with no source given for the information. There often seems no good reason why many colonies are passed over with the name only, even though much may be known from other authors about their foundation.

Settlements Founded by Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans and Others

Western

1. ‘Tinge, a very ancient town (*oppidum*), founded, as they say, by Antaeus’. 1. 26.
2. ‘Cirta . . . far from the sea, and now a *colonia* of the followers of Sittius (*Sittianorum colonia*, once the seat of kings)’.
‘. . . Iol . . . illustrious once because it was the royal capital of Juba, and because it is now named Caesarea’. 1. 30.
3. ‘Utica and Carthage both famous and both founded by Phoenicians’ . . . ‘Carthage is now a Roman *colonia*’. 1. 34.

Levant and Southern Coast of Asia Minor

4. 'Azotus (Ashdod). A port of Arabia (*emporion*)'. 1. 61.
5. 'Iope (Joppa), founded, as they say, before the flood, where the inhabitants say Cepheus ruled once'. 1. 64.
6. 'Then there is a city, Soloe, long ago held by Rhodians and Argives, then by pirates' . . . 'it is now called Pompeiopolis'. 1. 71.
7. 'Celenderis and Nagidos are colonies of the Samians'. 1. 77.
8. 'Aspendos, which the Argives founded'. 1. 78.
9. 'Phaselis, founded by Mopsus'. 1. 79.
10. 'Several colonies of the Rhodians, two ports, Gelos and Thysanusa'. 1. 84.

W. Coast of Asia Minor

11. 'Halicarnassus, a colony of the Argives'. 1. 85.
12. 'A city founded, as they say, by fugitives, the name suggests the tale: Phygela (or Phygeta)'. 1. 88.
13. 'Colophon which Mopsus founded'. 1. 88.
14. 'They name Myrina from its founder Myrinus'. 1. 90.
15. 'Cyma, the leader of the Amazons, gave her name to Cyme, when the former inhabitants had been driven out'. 1. 90.
16. 'Antandrus, named either from Ascanius, son of Aeneas, or founded by Andrians driven out of their island'. 1. 92.
17. 'Gargara and Assos, colonies of the Aeolians'. 1. 93.
'Here was the town Sigeum, here the camp of the warring Achaeans'. 1. 93.

Propontis and Pontus

18. 'Lampsacus, a colony of the Phocaeans'. 1. 96.
19. 'Cyzicus, named from Cyzicus, one of the Colchians, killed while attacking the Minyans'. 1. 97.
20. 'Placia and Scylace, small colonies of the Pelasgians'. 1. 98.
21. 'Myrlea, which the Colophonians planted'. 1. 99.
22. 'Astacos founded in the gulf by Megarians'. 1. 100.
23. 'The name of the town is Calchedon, and its founder was Archias, leader of the Megarians'. 1. 101.
24. 'The Mariandyni are the first people to dwell in the Euxine (Pontus) and have a city given, as they say, by the Argive Hercules. It is called Heraclea'. 1. 103.

25. 'Then Tios town, a colony of the Milesians'. 1. 104.
26. 'Cytorus, founded by Cytisorus, son of Phrixus'. 1. 105.
27. 'The most famous Amisos and Sinope, the home-town of Diogenes, the Cynic'. 1. 105.
28. 'Themiscyrum town, the one-time camp of the Amazons, for which reason they call it Amazonium'. 1. 105.
29. 'Here are the Colchi: here the Phasis flows out and there is a town of the same name as the river, sent out by Themistagoras, a Milesian. Here is the temple and grove of Phrixus, noted for the ancient tale of the Golden Fleece'. 1. 108.
30. 'A town established by Greek merchants' . . . 'and called Cycnus, because the cry of a swan from an unknown land gave them directions at the time of a blinding storm'. 1. 110.
31. 'Dioscurias, founded by Castor and Pollux, when they had entered the Pontus along with Jason'. 1. 111.
32. 'Sindos in the land of the Sindones, founded by the native tillers of the soil'. 1. 111.
33. 'Alongside is the town Chersonesus, founded by Diana, if one can believe it. It is especially famed for a Cave of the Nymphs, which is on its acropolis and is sacred to the nymphs'. 2. 3.
34. 'Then comes Callatis, sent out by the Milesians'. 2. 22.
35. 'Bisanthe of the Samians'. 2. 24.
36. 'Sestos opposite Abydos, best known for the love of Leander'. 2. 25.

The Aegean, Greece and W. Europe

37. 'Aenos founded by Aeneas, when in flight'. 2. 28.
38. 'Small colonies of the Pelasgians'. 2. 32.
39. and 40. 'Mende and Scione are to be mentioned, the former founded by Eretrians, and the latter by Achaeans returning from the capture of Ilium'. 2. 33.
41. 'Corinthus' . . . 'now a Roman *colonia*'. 2. 48.
42. 'Pola once occupied by the Colchi, as they say. How things change! Now it is a Roman *colonia*'. 2. 57.
43. 'Forum Julii, a *colonia* of Octavian's men'. (*Octaviani*). 2. 77.
44. 'Massilia, this was founded by Phocaeans'. 2. 77.

From this list it is clear that the most popular type of origin is an aetiological explanation of the name (Aenos, Antandrus, Cycnus,

Cyme, Cyzicus, Dioscurias, Myrina, Phyrgela). Also favoured are origins set in the heroic generations around the Trojan War period (Phaselis, Colophon, Antandrus, Sigeum, Cyzicus, Heraclea, Cyturus, Phasis, Dioscurias, Sestos, Scione, Pola). Others were 'founded' by still remoter figures, the giant Antaeus for Tinge; Iope under the antediluvian Cepheus! At the other end of the spectrum of credibility are Cirta, Carthage, Corinth, Pola and Forum Julii, which are rightly said to be Roman *coloniae*, whilst Iol is now Roman Caesarea and Soloe is now Pompeiopolis.

In between these two types are those items which seem to refer to colonies of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. Correct is the assignment of Massilia and Lampsacus to the Phocaeans, and of Astacus and Calchedon to the Megarians. Celenderis and Nagidos may well have been Samian colonies. But the attribution of Callatis to the Milesians is wrong and is probably an error for Histria mentioned just before (*Histro est proxima Histropolis*). Bisanthe is perhaps an error for Perinthos, a known Samian colony, listed a line earlier by Mela without further detail (*Selymbria, Perinthos, Bitynis*). For Heracleiot Callatis we have Ps-Scymnus (760-4) and Strabo (7. 6. 1; 12, 3) and for Samian Perinthos there is Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 57 and *SEG* XII 391). Finding some confirmation elsewhere is the attribution of Tios and Phasis to the Milesians (Ps-Scymnus 1004-6; Anon. *PPE* 44), and the small Pelasgian colonies of the S. Propontis and N. Aegean (Strabo 7. 35 fr). Myrlea's foundation by Colophon is totally unsupported elsewhere, as is that of the two ports Gelos and Thyssanousa by nearby Rhodes, though Mela's local sources may have been correct. Gargara and Assos seem reasonably assigned to the Aeolians, and Mende is known to be Eretrian. The colonisation attributed to 'Argives' is rather in the realm of legend: Soloe, Aspendos, Halicarnassus. Legendary too is the colonial activity of Colchians in the Black and Adriatic Seas at Cyturus and Pola.

The general impression from all these entries is that Pomponius Mela is inclined to look for legendary origins for his more exotic cities and to add arbitrarily any other items of interest, which might include mother cities, if his immediate source for that locality provided them. That he is no reliable source for such information is shown by his error in the case of Callatis, but even more by his glaring omissions. He gives no information whatever, beyond the name, in the cases of Amisos, Apollonia, Byzantium, Cepoe, Hermonassa, Mesembria, Odessos, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, though

the origins of all are known from the pages of Herodotus, Ps-Scymnus or Strabo. Furthermore Borysthenis and Olbia are separated by him as two cities (*Graeca Oppida* 2. 6), and Sinope is distinguished as a *clarissima* city, but without its well-known Milesian origin specified. In this instance Mela is more interested in noting that it was the *origo* of Diogenes the Cynic (1. 105).

At this point we may turn to a group of cities for which Mela provides an individual founder (*auctor princeps*) as well as a founding group. These are Mopsus twice (Phaselis and Colophon), Ascanius, son of Aeneas (Antandrus), Cyzicus (Cyzicus), Archias (Calchedon), Heracles (Heraclea), Cytisorus, son of Phrixus (Cyturus), Themistagoras a Milesian (Phasis), Castor and Pollux (Dioscurias), Diana (Chersonesus), Aeneas (Aenos), Antaeus (Tinge), the Amazon Cyma (Cyma), Myrinus (Myrina). Most of these are little more than aetiological names of founders concocted from the name of the city. It is noteworthy that not one otherwise reliably known founder—name is given, not one of those known from Herodotus, Thucydides, Ps-Scymnus or Strabo. Instead we have gods and heroes, with two exceptions. These two are: for Calchedon the founder, Archias, 'a leader of Megarians' (1. 101), and for Phasis 'Themistagoras, the Milesian' (1. 108).

Mela's mention of Archias at Calchedon as the *auctor Megarensium princeps* is totally unsupported by any other ancient source, and must be suspect in view of his general record. Perhaps it is a confusion with Archias, the Bacchiad Corinthian, who founded Syracuse (Thuc. 6. 3; Strabo 6. 2. 4). Strabo has a story that Archias picked up some failed settlers from Megara in Sicily, and took them back to found Syracuse. Perhaps Mela introduced a muddle, misled by the Megarian connection. It is certain that authors of the Roman period and later had conflicting and confused views about the origins of the cities on the Bosphorus and in the Propontis. Dionysius of Byzantium made the Corinthians and Megarians joint founders of Byzantium (7. 15). Velleius Paterculus made both Byzantium and Cyzicus into Milesian colonies (2. 7. 7), while John of Byzantium (*De Mag.* 3. 70) made them both Megarian. There were several variants in the colonisers of, and participants in, the origins of Byzantium, and of the role of Calchedon in it (Ps-Scymnus 717; Dion. Byzant., 7. 15, 17, 19, Strabo 7. 6. 2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12. 63; Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 8. 8). Mela has nothing of these, and nothing of Byzantium at all. His notice of Calchedon need not carry any credibility, and it is usually ignored.

The second case is one which has been accepted as particularly

cogent evidence for a Milesian colony at Phasis in Colchis. 'Here are the Colchi, here the Phasis flows out; here is a town of the same name as the river, led out by Themistagoras the Milesian; here is a temple and grove of Phrixus, noted for the ancient tale of the Golden Fleece'. (1. 108).

We must note immediately that Mela is again more interested in the legendary story than in the circumstances of the previously mentioned, but much later, historical foundation by the Milesian Themistagoras. This piece of information is also unique to Pomponius Mela, though Milesians are associated with Phasis by other Hellenistic and late Roman writers (Heraclides Ponticus, *Phasianon* XVIII—*FHG* II 2. 8; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Phasis, and the Anonymous Periplous of the fifth century A.D., 44). What has led some scholars to accept this doubtfully reliable statement of Mela at face value as evidence for a sixth century B.C. foundation of Phasis is the fact that a Themistagoras figures among the names of the Milesian Delphinion officials—*stephanephoroi* and former *aisymnetai*—for the year 521/20 B.C. (Rehm 1914, 122–8). However, there is no necessity for this Themistagoras to be the same as the one active in the Black Sea at Phasis. The name is also known at the Milesian Black Sea colony of Apollonia in Thrace (Mihailov 1956, I. 426; Venedikov *et al.* 1963, 326 No. 1142) and even more relevantly at Sinope in the S.E. Black Sea (French 1990, 56 No. 22), also a Milesian city, which undoubtedly by its location controlled sea-borne access to Phasis.

Perhaps Themistagoras, if he is to be associated with Phasis at all, is best thought of as a Milesian, called in by the Milesian daughter-city Sinope (for the practice, see Thuc. 1. 24. 2; 6. 4. 2) to lead a predominantly Sinopian colony at Phasis, probably in the fourth century B.C., by which time Sinope had founded several cities on the route to Phasis-Kotyora, Kerasus and Trapezus (Xen. *Anab.* 4. 8. 22; 5. 3. 2; 5. 3). The Sinopian Themistagoras may be that man, or one of the same family. In any case some local tale of Sinopian origin may be the source of this item, and reflect a Sinopian initiative in her own area which sought Milesian moral support in the form of a 'founder'. The date may have been some time in the fourth century when Sinope flourished greatly (Strabo 12. 3. 11), and Miletus was proudly advertising links with its colonies (Rehm 1914 1. 3. 136–7. 141).

Pomponius Mela himself seems to have had little real interest in these two pieces of real, or misrecorded, history, being more drawn

to legendary connections and the participation of deities in foundations. He is rather better informed of his native West than the East, but even there he is capable of tracing Tinge back to the giant Antaeus. In his day the far West of N. Africa and furthest East of the Pontus were still just outside the Roman Empire under client kings (Mauretania and Polemo's Pontus), and were areas where legends seemed to cluster more thickly than any subsequent history.

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4. BETWEEN THE AEGEAN AND THE LEVANT: THE PHILISTINES

Jacques Vanschoonwinkel

The Philistines, *Peleset* in Egyptian, first make their appearance in history during the reign of Ramses III.¹ They are mentioned in the inscription of the year 8 of the temple of Medinet Habu (Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 53; Kitchen 1983, 39 lines 14–40 line 5). They formed part of the coalition of northern migrant peoples, known as the “Sea Peoples”, whom the Pharaoh fought in around 1175 B.C., according to the low chronology. The Philistines are also referred to in some inscriptions,² in particular the *Harris Papyrus* that states that after their capture Ramses III placed them in fortresses under his suzerainty (Breasted 1906, 201; Erichsen 1933, 93 lines 16–94 line 5). These fortresses were in all likelihood situated in Palestine, because the *Onomasticon* of Amenope that dates from the 12th century B.C. mentions the settlement of the Sherden, the Tjekker and the Philistines in a territory belonging to the Egyptian sphere of influence, listing their towns as Ashkalon, Ashdod and Gaza (Gardiner 1947, 24, 190*–91* Nos. 262–264, 194*–200* Nos. 268–270).

From the time of their settlement in the coastal zone to the south of Canaan, a country that still preserves their name, Palestine, the Philistines formed a constant and serious threat to the Israelites. One also comes across a series of allusions to them in the Old Testament (see: Dothan 1982, 13–6; Brug 1985, 5–15). On two occasions the Bible states that they came from Caphtor (Amos 9. 7; Jeremiah 47. 4; see Strange 1980, 75–7 Nos. 23–24) a toponym that is generally identified as Crete.³ The captions accompanying the bas-reliefs of

¹ There is also a mention in the inscription of the year 5 of Medinet Habu (Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 30–1; Kitchen 1983, 25 lines 4–8). Giving an account of first Libyan war, this inscription was edited a posteriori, which is why it devotes some lines to the events of the year 8.

² Northern tower of the fortified gate of Medinet Habu (Kitchen 1983, 104 lines 12–14); inscription of the year 12 of the same temple (Kitchen 1983, 73 lines 9–10); stele at Deir el-Medineh (Kitchen 1983, 91 lines 11–12).

³ The most convincing argument for the localisation of Caphtor, which is an

the temple of Medinet Habu point out concerning the peoples conquered by Ramses III in the year 8 that they were "northern foreigners living in their islands" (Kitchen 1983, 32 lines 6-7) or that they "came from their country in the islands that are in the middle of Wadj-Wr" (Kitchen 1983, 33 line 3). Notwithstanding the variety of interpretations (Nibbi 1972, 11-32; 1975, 35-62; Vandersleyen 1985, 44-6; 1988; 1991), these expressions are normally regarded as referring to the islands of the Aegean Sea (especially after the case put by Vercoutter 1956, 125-58, see, for instance Erman and Grapow 1971, 269 *s.v.* *w3d wr*). Armed with these Biblical and Egyptian accounts, historians and archaeologists have thus argued that the Philistines came from the Aegean, an origin that at first sight the ceramic ware that the Philistines produced after their settlement in Palestine, with its similarities with one of the last classes of Mycenaean pottery, would seem to confirm.⁴

It is not our intention to subject the Egyptian and Biblical documents to a new analysis, but rather to examine the material remains that are typical of Philistine culture. In the absence of any Philistine written document, they remain the only evidence of the identity of the Philistines. At the very most one can state that the majority of Philistine anthroponyms that we know of and the names of their gods originate in the Western Semitic world (Delcor 1966, 1278, 1282-85; Kitchen 1973, 67, 68; Brug 1985, 198-9) but this could be the result of their adapting to the surroundings in which they settled. On the other hand, a few rare anthroponyms, such as Akish or Goliath, and terms such as *koba* "helmet" or *seren* "lord", might have some affinities with the Anatolian group of languages (Delcor 1966, 1280; Kitchen 1973, 67; Brug 1985, 197-8, 199, 200 [who does not rule out the possibility of a Canaanite origin for *seren*]; Kempinski 1987).

approximation of the Egyptian toponym *Keftiu* and the Akkadian *Kaptara*, is to be found in Vercoutter 1956, 33-123; Helck 1979, 26-37; Strange 1980, 16-112 (for the list of Eastern sources, without however accepting the identification with Cyprus [see the criticism of Merrill 1982 and Vincentelli 1984]); Weipert 1981; Wachsmann 1987, 93-103. G. Wainwright and C. Vandersleyen however situate Caphtor and its Egyptian equivalent *Keftiu* in the South of Asia Minor, and specifically in Cilicia (Wainwright 1931; 1952; 1956; Vandersleyen 1985); this localisation has, however, been refuted in detail by J. Strange (1980, 126-38).

⁴ Dothan and Dothan 1992 give a summary of the research into the origin and identity of the Philistines from their earliest beginnings.

The archaeological remains attributed to the Iron Age I A–B (last two thirds of the 11th century and the 12th century) discovered in the territory of the Pentapolis of the Philistines, namely the cities of Gaza, Ashkalon, Ashdod, Ekron (Tel Migne) and Gath, are therefore an essential document. Several elements of their material culture have been treated as typical and indicative of an Aegean origin. These consist mainly of their funerary customs, in particular the anthropomorphic terracotta coffins, some types of female terracotta figurines and of course the ceramics known as Philistine. Once we have examined these different archaeological clues we will be able to assess the true value of the comparisons that have been proposed between them and the Aegean data. For the moment we should state something that we will look at in detail later, that the numerous traits that are seen as specific to the material culture of the Philistines have also been observed outside the territory they occupied.

It is true that funerary customs often reveal the cultural affinities of a people. Unfortunately we have little knowledge of those of the Philistines, since there has not yet been any exploration of any necropolis associated with any of their main cities. As far as we know, however, these were not all that different from those of their Semitic contemporaries, which were very varied. The main types are individual interment in a pit or a jar, multiple interment in a sort of cist made either of mud-bricks or stones, multiple interment in a chamber tomb or cave and finally cremation (Loffreda 1968, 246–64; Brug 1985, 156–64).

The Mycenaean chamber tomb has often been seen as the prototype of the rock-cut chamber tombs, particularly the five examples in necropolis 500 of Tell el-Far'ah (South) (from South to North, 562, 532, 552, 542 and 544), that W. Petrie called "the tombs of the lords of the Philistines" (Waldbaum 1966; Dothan 1982, 260–2; Schachermeyr 1982, 229–35). The tombs of Tell el-Far'ah (Fig. 1; see Figs. 1–7 at the end of this article) with their trapezoidal chamber are among those with the most meticulous layout, but the chamber tombs with a bilobed layout or with an irregular circular layout are also known in other sites than in Philistia and fit in with the Bronze Age tradition. The chambers then were more or less circular and opened onto small secondary chambers. The chamber tombs with this layout were still used in Iron Age I at Gezer (Loffreda 1968, 268–70; Brug 1985, 159).

As for the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah one should first stress the fact that ceramics in the Philistine style amounts to hardly more than 10% of the total found there (McClellan 1979, 67, 69, 70; Brug 1985, 70–73). Having said that, these tombs with their short stepped entrance passage, their wide benches round three sides and their secondary chamber on the axis of the dromos are far from conforming to the Aegean model (Fig. 2) that typically has a long straight sloped dromos, a doorway with a narrowed embrasure or *stomion*, a room that is usually rectangular, and almost always without any bench along the walls; when it is present, it is only along one side. It is exceptional for there to be a second chamber. It is true that there is an overall resemblance between the Palestinian and Mycenaean tombs, but that is due to the structure of the chamber tomb as such and should not prevent us from seeing the numerous differences. Apart from the dissimilar layout of the chamber, the tombs of Tell el-Far'ah give priority to elements that are completely incidental in Mycenaean funerary architecture. Moreover, when later interments took place, the skeletons do not seem to have been unceremonially pushed up against the sides of the chamber as was the custom in the Aegean. Given these circumstances, it is hard to see the Mycenaean burial chamber as the antecedent for the rock-cut burial chambers of the Philistines.

On the other hand this type of tomb does fit in with the slow evolution of the local funerary architecture that began in the Middle Bronze Age. The immediate antecedents of the tombs of necropolis 500 are tombs 920, 902, 905, 914 and 936 situated in necropolis 900 of Tell el-Far'ah (Waldbaum 1966, 337–9; Stiebing 1970, 139–40; Brug 1985, 152). Dating from the Late Bronze Age II, these tombs also have a short entry corridor sometimes with a few steps, a chamber with a more or less quadrangular layout and a central depression in the floor that is at the origin of the benches along the sides. Other tombs attributed to the same period in necropolis 900 (934, 935 and 960) form an intermediate stage between the preceding tombs and those defined as Philistine on the one hand and on the other the bilobed chamber tombs with a stepped entrance of the Middle Bronze Age II C (Loffreda 1968, 282–6; Stiebing 1970, 140–3; Wright 1985, 324–9, 480). The trapezoidal chamber divided in two parts of tombs 934, 935 and 960 has preserved traces of the original lobes and anticipates the floor plan of later chambers. The tombs described as Philistine of necropolis 500 appear then as the end

of an indigenous tradition and it is thus quite misleading to see any borrowing from the Aegean in them. In this context it is interesting to recall that the Mycenaeans did not export their funerary architecture, which did not spread further than Rhodes in the East. The only exception is Cyprus, and there there are no chamber tombs from the 12th century B.C.; they first appear at the beginning of the 11th century in the necropolis of Alaas and only become the rule in the second half of that century (Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 117–8).

The sudden appearance of cremation has also been proposed as indicating the arrival of a new ethnic element and an Aegean influence (Dothan 1982, 55–7, 252 n. 1). The oldest evidence of this funerary rite, observed in Azor (Dothan 1982, 55–7), does not date earlier than the mid-11th century, more than a century after the Philistines settled in Palestine. It is moreover an isolated case; other cases listed are infrequent and occur much later; those of the 10th century at Tell el-Far'ah are the only ones found (Dothan 1982, 57; Brug 1985, 154). Because of the rarity of this rite and its late appearance, it must be acknowledged that cremation is far from forming a significant argument for the identity of the Philistines. Moreover, cremation in the Aegean was borrowed from Anatolia and was practised only very occasionally during Late Helladic III C and the Submycenaean age; it only became standard in certain parts of Greece in the Proto-geometric period, *i.e.* at the end of the 11th century (Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 191–6). In this case Mycenaean Greece definitely could not have served as a model for the rite in Palestine. On the contrary one should probably look to Syria for its origin since the custom has been traced at Hama, Karkemish, Alalakh and Tell Sukas from as early as the 12th century (Riis 1948, 27–37; Woolley and Barnett 1952, 225, 250–1; Woolley 1955, 202–5; Riis 1961–62, 140).

Anthropomorphic terracotta coffins are often presented as a category that is specific to Philistine funerary customs. Their distinguishing features are a lid with a naturalist or grotesque face: in the case of one example from Beth-Shean, this is covered with a feathered headdress recalling the reliefs of Medinet Habu (Dothan 1982, 260–76; Brug 1985, 149–50, 151). Sarcophagi from the end of the 2nd millennium have been discovered at Tell el-Far'ah, Beth-Shean, Deir el-Balah and Lachish (Dothan 1979, 98–100, 101–3; 1982, 252–79; Brug 1985, 149–52). Beth-Shean itself is situated outside Philistine territory. Moreover, as this custom has also been testified to at later dates, from the 10th to the 7th centuries in three sites in

Transjordan, namely Sahâb, Amman and Dibon (Dothan 1982, 252 n. 2, map 3), it cannot be described as being specific to Philistia. Moreover the anthropomorphic coffin was not an innovation of the 12th century, because three of the Palestinian sites mentioned above, Tell el-Far'ah, Beth-Shean and Deir el-Balah, have several examples from the 13th century and in the case of Deir el-Balah even from the end of the 14th (Dothan 1979, 103; 1982, 252-4, 260, 268, 276). This type of burial, that unquestionably came from Egypt, was probably introduced by Egyptian officers and soldiers stationed in the Egyptian garrisons in Canaan. In the 12th and 11th centuries it was partially adopted by the inhabitants of Canaan; it probably began with certain individuals of the Sea Peoples who had been garrisoned as mercenaries in the Egyptian fortresses by Ramses III (Dothan 1979, 100-01; 1982, 279-8; 1985a). If the anthropomorphic sarcophagi are hardly typical of Philistine funerary practices, they do nonetheless testify to a clear external influence on their culture and one that definitely comes from Egypt.

To sum up, the funerary customs of the Philistines basically display borrowings from local customs combined with some external influences, Syrian and above all Egyptian. By contrast there is no good reason for arguing that there was any Aegean influence.

We should turn now to the terracotta female figurines, which have often been pointed to as proof of a Mycenaean tradition among the Philistines (Dothan 1982, 234-49; Mazar 1988, 260). The first category consists of the "Ashdoda" (Dothan 1982, 234-7). The figurines with that name are abstract representations of women whose bodies are of a piece with the throne on which they are seated except for their breasts and their heads that rest on long necks (Fig. 3). They have a painted decoration in the Philistine style. At first sight the "Ashdoda" look like Mycenaean seated figurines (Mylonas 1956; French 1971, 167-72; Amandry 1986, 167-75), but on closer inspection the bodies of the latter are more often, if not separate from the throne, at least clearly outlined or in a certain relief (Fig. 4). The Mycenaean figurines do not have the long neck and those that are best modelled have the posture of the Φ or Ψ idols. Otherwise the shape of the seat of the Philistine figurines is completely schematic, rectangular and flat. It is more reminiscent of the four-legged offertory tables found in Palestine than of the Mycenaean thrones that are usually three-legged, only rarely four-legged, and which have a concave back that is either unadorned or has an openwork design. Given

these striking differences, it is clear that the "Ashdoda" should be regarded rather as the product of a combination of the Canaanite tradition with that of the Aegean (Brug 1985, 185-6).

As for the figurines of mourners with their hands usually placed on their heads, they have been compared with Mycenaean figurines of the Ψ type (Dothan 1982, 237-49). Here too however it is the differences that strike one. The Philistine specimens are more natural than their supposed models which are characterised by a high degree of stylisation (Brug 1985, 186). They do not have any painted decoration, unlike the Mycenaean figurines. On the other hand, the arms of the Mycenaean Ψ statuettes are simply raised and are never placed on their heads. As for the figurines at Tell 'Aitan that have been compared with those adorning the Mycenaean *lekanai* (large shallow bowls) of Perati, Kamini and Ialysos (Dothan 1982, 237-44, figs. 10-11, pls. 23-24) (Fig. 5), they are placed at right angles to the rim in the suggested reconstruction of the krater while on the Mycenaean *lekanai* they are parallel (Iakovidis 1966, 43-6, pls. 15-16). The figurines of these Mycenaean vases are in fact the only ones with their hands on their heads, although other postures have also been attested. The custom of having professional mourners is not specific to the Aegean and has only been demonstrated at Tanagra (Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 46-51); it is however of great antiquity in Egypt and the East (Ebeling 1926; Werbrouck 1938). Furthermore, in the Syro-Palestinian territory one cannot ignore the sarcophagus of Ahiiram, on the short sides of which one can see women tearing their hair with the same gesture of despair as that of the Philistine figurines (Parrot *et al.* 1975, figs. 76-77).

While Mycenaean influence on the two series of Philistine figurines cannot be totally excluded, we are bound to conclude that none of them corresponds to the canonical Mycenaean types.

Pottery is certainly the most remarkable and most discussed material bequeathed by the Philistines (Fig. 6). Their pottery is unquestionably different from the normal production in Palestine. Ceramics in the Philistine style has been verified in Philistia proper, where it appears in domestic, religious and funerary contexts; studies of its distribution confirm that it is best represented in this region, while laboratory analyses show that the Philistine ceramics of Ashdod, Tell Qasile and Tel Migne were made *in situ* (Asaro *et al.* 1971, 169-75; Yellin and Gunneweg 1985, 111-7; Gunneweg *et al.* 1986, 11-2). But this class has also been identified in regions bordering on Philistia.

The phenomenon is explained by the success of decorated ceramics of such high quality. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out concerning the "tombs of the lords of the Philistines" at Tell el-Far'ah, only a fairly small amount of Philistine pottery has been discovered so far. The Philistine sites whose publication permits statistical studies, give a similar picture. At Ashdod, Philistine pottery represents slightly more than 25% of the total of ceramic work offered by levels XII and XI. A similar proportion is found at Tel Migne, while the proportion at Tell Qasile is roughly 15% (Brug 1985, 67-9, 74-6). This being the case, Philistine pottery cannot constitute convincing proof of the ethnic identity of the Philistines, since more than 80% of the ceramic material excavated in Philistine sites does not consist of Philistine vases (Brug 1985, 66-106). Except for this class, the pottery in fact confirms that there is a clear continuity of the traditions of the Late Bronze Age (Brug 1985, 115-34).

Ceramics in the Philistine style, of which T. Dothan (1982, 96-198) has provided the most complete description, is easy to identify with its bichrome painted decoration in black and red often standing out on a white-slipped ground. The decorative syntax is essentially zonal and the motifs are organised in registers and metopes on the upper part of the vase. The main iconographical and ornamental motifs are a bird with its head more often turned backward, a fish, different sorts of spirals, antithetic tongues, concentric semicircles, lozenges, chevrons, zigzags, lotuses, palm trees and Maltese crosses. Dothan lists eighteen different types of vase, classifying eight of them as Mycenaean (bell-shaped or deep bowls [Fig. 6c, d], kraters, stirrup jars [Fig. 6a, b], pyxides, jars with three handles, strainer-spout or "beer" jugs [Fig. 6f], basket-handled jugs with spout and juglets with pinched body), three like Cypriot pottery (gourd-shaped jars, cylindrical bottles and horn-shaped vessels [Fig. 6h]), one like Egyptian pottery (jugs with tall neck), and finally six like Canaanite ware (small bowls with bar handle, jugs, juglets, juglets with trefoil mouth [Fig. 6g] and two types of a later date: jugs with strainer spout and deep kraters, products, that is, of a fusion of Philistine and local features). This typological classification in combination with the decorative repertoire gives clear evidence of the four sources of influences that permeated Philistine culture, namely Canaan itself, Egypt, Cyprus and Mycenaean Greece.

As regards the influence of Mycenaean pottery, it is generally agreed that the decoration and repertoire of motifs are taken up

again later in the close style of Late Helladic III C Middle (Fig. 7) of which the Cypriot examples offer the best parallels, so much so that some archaeologists have put forward the hypothesis that a Cypriot potter must have set up shop in Philistia (Benson 1961, 81–4; Desborough 1964, 212–4; Dothan 1982, 198–217; to a certain extent, Hankey 1982). Philistine pottery is however no simple copy of the work of Late Helladic III C Middle phase. As has been shown, it not only incorporated non-Mycenaean types and motifs (the Egyptian lotus, the Canaanite palm tree and the Maltese cross), it also introduced some changes in decorative motifs, such as the combination of the Maltese cross and the spiral. It also used a matt paint while that of Mycenaean pottery is lustrous. Above all, it was bichrome, a technique in Palestine with a tradition going back to the 16th century B.C. (Epstein 1966). What is more, the finest Philistine ceramics is almost always inferior to the Mycenaean models.

When all is said and done, the importance of the influence of Mycenaean pottery has in all likelihood been exaggerated. While Dothan identifies eight types with a Mycenaean origin, R. Amiran (1969, 266) only recognises three with a Mycenaean character, the krater, the stirrup jar and the cylindrical bottle, listing all the other types in the category of vases with a local Canaanite character. Specialists in Mycenaean ceramics tend to agree with Amiran's view since A. Furumark (1972b, 118) only lists three types as being of Mycenaean origin, the krater, the deep bowl and the stirrup jar and V. Desborough (1964, 210–11) four, the three just mentioned and the beer jug. The krater, the deep bowl and the stirrup jar are unquestionably three very common forms of vase in the Mycenaean repertoire, but their appearance in Palestine is in fact prior to the appearance of Philistine pottery, so that one cannot therefore argue that it was they who introduced them. Deep bowls of type 284 in the typology of Furumark (= FS) assigned to Late Helladic III B 2 and Late Helladic III C have been discovered at Tell Abu Hawam, Hazor, Beth-Shean, Ashdod, Tell Beit Mirsim, Megiddo and Ain Shems (Leonard 1994, Nos. 1755, 1760, 1764–1766, 1772–1773, 1776–1777, 1783, 1785, 1789–1790, 1793–1800). Examples of the class of Late Helladic III C Middle have been confirmed at Ashdod and at Tel Mique (Leonard 1994, 119, 121–2). Similarly kraters of type FS 281 were already present in the Late Bronze Age, because specimens of Late Helladic III B are known or were imitated in Late Bronze Age II at Tell Abu Hawam, Tell esh-Shar'ia, Gezer,

Beth-Shean, Ashdod, Akko, Shechem and Megiddo (Amiran 1969, 186, pl. 57: 12–13; Leonard 1994, 114–6). It evolved in Iron Age I, becoming slightly more squat, but the Philistine krater never adopts the outline typical of type FS 282 that Dothan (1982, 115) ascribes to it. Furthermore the latter type is unknown in Cyprus and the Levant (Kling, 1989, 126; Leonard 1994, 115–7). As for the stirrup jar, it was very popular in Palestine from the time it first appeared in Late Helladic III A 2 (Leonard 1994, 40–66) and it was also imitated locally (Amiran 1969, 186, pl. 57: 10–11). The Philistine examples adopted the spherical type FS 175/176, which is the only type verified in Late Helladic III C ceramics and whose antecedents, of the type FS 171/173, were present in Palestine since Late Helladic III A 2 phase (Leonard 1994, 50–56). Mycenaean stirrup jars of this type attributed to Late Helladic III C Early and Middle, have been discovered at Tell Keisan, Beth-Shean and Ashdod (Leonard 1994, nos. 682, 684–87). The method of attachment of the false neck and the decorative design of metopes typical of Philistine vases is not normal in Mycenaean ceramics (Dothan 1982, 115–23, 125). The fate of the pyxis is similar. This type of vase was imported into Palestine at a very early date, during Late Helladic III A 2 (Leonard 1994, 35–9); it too became part of the local typological repertory; the Palestinian potters however lengthened the body of the vase giving it a slightly concave outline (Amiran 1969, 186, pl. 57: 3–5), a feature that Philistine potters would also take over. The four types of vase just described do not then suddenly appear in Palestine at the time of the creation of Philistine style pottery, but were already known there.

The evidence of other types is either negligible or not very relevant. Only one jar with three handles and a single basket-handled jug with spout in the Philistine style have been found and the amphoriskoi are hardly more common (Dothan 1982, 129–30, 131–2, 155–7; Brug 1985, 111–2). As for the beer jug, A. Furumark (1944, 236; see also Desborough 1964, 210) thought that the Mycenaean type derived from Canaanite ceramics; furthermore examples of it in Greece are rare. Although strainer jugs were used in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age (Amiran 1969, 147, 153, pls. 47: 11 and 48: 11), they are too dissimilar to have been prototypes for Philistine examples. They may however have inspired the appearance of this shape on Cyprus and in the Aegean, although we cannot yet state exactly where it first appeared. It is probably that this new “Cypro-

Mycenaean" type was then reintroduced into the Philistine repertoire (Dothan 1982, 132–55; Brug 1985, 111–2; Kling 1994, 158). As for the jug with the pinched body, Dothan herself (1982, 159–60) admits that there are insufficient Mycenaean parallels for this shape.

The main types of Philistine vase with a Mycenaean character (Fig. 6a–f) existed therefore in Palestine before the emergence of Philistine ceramics. Furthermore they were imitated by Canaanite potters and even incorporated in the local typological repertoire. As for the other types, they are too scantily represented to constitute decisive evidence. One is forced to come to the same conclusion with regard to the supreme iconographical motif of Philistine pottery, namely the bird (Dothan 1982, 198–203, figs. 61–63) (Fig. 6a, c). This motif was nothing new in Palestine, appearing—including ones with a reversed head—as far back as Late Bronze Age I in Palestinian ceramics, particularly the bichrome variety (Amiran 1969, 154, 161, ph. 136, 137, 140, 142, pls. 48: 6–8, 10, and 50: 3; Epstein 1966, 35–7). It is not however impossible that Furumark's series of Mycenaean birds mainly of the Late Eastern type (1972a, 252 fig. 31) may have served as a model (Fig. 7), seeing that a Late Helladic III C Middle jug from Tell Miqne shows a bird that is stylistically very similar to the Philistine birds (Leonard 1994, No. 1910). There are however just as many dissimilarities and they are important. The Philistine birds display a stage in stylisation that is more advanced than the Mycenaean ones. The way the bodies are filled in differs from one series to another. The wings of the Philistine birds consist of parallel chevrons, something that is quite exceptional in Mycenaean iconography. A few rare examples are known, notably at Perati in Greece and at Sinda in Cyprus (Kling 1989, 154–5). The reversed head is a posture that is very typical of Philistine ceramics and is almost unknown in Mycenaean work (Benson 1961, 82–3) even in that of Cyprus (Kling 1989, 118–9). It would seem then that the Philistines did not bring their pottery with them as a homogeneous tradition from abroad. So far as we know at present Philistine ceramics emerged as a local and hybrid production that adopted a variety of cultural influences. Mycenaean pottery, especially that of Cyprus, was one of these; it may have dominated but it was by no means exclusive. In fact one can detect a renewal of Mycenaean influence.

Although Philistine pottery appears to have developed rapidly it was preceded by a period when Late Helladic III C Middle was the standard ware. It was likely that it was the presence of Mycenaean

ceramics during this period that gave a new impetus to Mycenaean influence. The Philistines were able to assimilate it just as they did other cultural influences one finds in their pottery. Late Helladic III C Middle pottery was in fact discovered at Beth-Shean (Dothan 1982, 81–2), at Tell Keisan (Balensi 1981; Leonard 1994, No. 682 for the dating), and in Philistia, at Ashdod (Dothan 1982, 37–41; 1985b, 167–8) and at Tel Mique (Dothan 1985a, 69–72; 1989, 2–4, 9–12; 1990, 26–36). It is worth mentioning that the Mycenaean ceramics at Ashdod (Asaro *et al.* 1971) and Tel Mique (Gunneweg *et al.* 1986, 4–11) was produced *in situ*. The presence of Late Helladic III C Middle pottery is typical of Iron Age I A, a term used to define a transitory stratum between the level of the destructions of the Late Bronze Age and the first level of the Iron Age that contains Philistine ceramic work (Iron Age I B), at Ashdod (level XIII b), Tel Mique (stratum VII) and at Beth-Shean (level VI early). This transitional layer immediately above the levels of the destructions of the Late Bronze Age and prior to the first level yielding Philistine pottery is also found in other Palestinian sites, namely at Tell Beit Mirsim (Dothan 1982, 43–4), Beth-Shemesh (*ibid.*, 50), Gezer (*ibid.*, 51–2), Jaffa (*ibid.*, 57), Tell Qasile (*ibid.*, 63–4; Mazar 1985b), Afula (Dothan 1982, 80–1) and Tell Aphek (*ibid.*, 89), but these sites have not offered us any Late Helladic III C Middle ceramics.

Opinions differ about the length of this transitional period, Iron Age I A. Estimates vary between a minimum of one generation and a maximum of some 40 years (Dothan 1982, 291 tabl. 2; Mazar 1985a; 1985b, 119–20; 1988, 251–7; M. Dothan 1989, 67; Finkelstein 1995). A. Mazar suggests the latter; contrary to T. Dothan who dates the levels belonging to Philistine ceramics to the reign of Ramses III. He points out that the relationship between objects dating from the reign of this Pharaoh and the pottery of the Philistines does not indicate the date of its first appearance but rather a *terminus post quem*. In fact, the levels ascribed to the transitory period when Philistine pottery is absent, has often produced material from later reigns than that of Ramses III, the most recent evidence of this being the base of a statue of Ramses VI, that probably came from level VIIA at Megiddo (as well as the references above to Mazar, see also Brug 1985, 137; Singer 1985). For her part, Dothan has admitted that the cultural changes in the transitory period between the end of the Bronze Age and Iron Age I B where Philistine ceramics dominated were neither simultaneous or uniform throughout the whole of Pales-

tine. Iron Age I A was in fact a period of complex cultural transformation (Dothan 1989, 1-9; 1990, 26-8).

This phenomenon however was not confined to Palestine, since the same process has been observed in Syria and Cyprus; there it is also contemporary with Late Helladic III C Middle ceramics. This latter is certainly not at all common in Syria in the 12th century, but it has been found at Tyre (Bikai 1978, 65-6, pl. XXXIX: 20), Sarepta (Koehl, 1985, 44-5, 118-22 nos. 189-201, 143-7), Byblos (Salles 1980, 31-2, 33, 34-5, pls. X: 4, 9, and XI: 8), Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni *et al.* 1978, 280-2; Badre 1983, 204) and Tell Sukas (Ploug 1973, 7-8, 10 No. 16, pl. I; Riis 1973, 205). Judging by its appearance, the pottery of Ras Ibn Hani was probably manufactured locally (Badre 1983, 204). Furthermore, according to the site archaeologists, the Late Helladic III C Middle ceramics at Ras Ibn Hani and Byblos show clear traces of adaptation to the local style similar to those we see in Philistine ceramics in Palestine *vis-à-vis* Late Helladic III C Middle models (Salles 1980, 32, 33, 35; Bounni *et al.* 1978, 280-2; 1979, 251-2; Badre 1973, 204). The vases of Ras Ibn Hani were even given a bichrome decoration like that of Philistine pottery (Bounni *et al.* 1978, 280-2; Badre 1983, 204). In view of the almost identical responses in local conditions in Palestine and the Northern coastal region of Syria to Late Helladic III C Middle models, the site archaeologists in Ras Ibn Hani concluded that in both cases it resulted in new families of ceramics that, while not identical, are at least very similar (Bounni *et al.* 1978, 282).

The situation in Cyprus also shows many parallels with that of Philistia. After a series of destructions at the end of Late Cypriot II C, maybe in around 1180 B.C., one sees locally produced pottery in the style of Late Helladic III C Middle, that is accompanied by a process of urbanisation (Karageorghis 1990; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 425-41). Owing to the vast amount of Mycenaean ceramics that is labelled *Mycenaean IIIC:1b*, to use the Cypriot archaeological terminology (Kling 1989), it was concluded that there must have been a first wave of Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus during Late Cypriot III A, during the 12th century B.C., that is. Recent studies however have cast doubt on a whole series of supposed connections with the Aegean, countering them with evidence of Anatolian and Eastern features in the culture of the island during the 12th century (Cook 1988; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 453-4). The theory of a massive colonisation of Cyprus by the Mycenaeans during the 12th century

was therefore abandoned (Muhly 1984; Karageorghis 1990, 29–30; Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 454–5). In fact the Hellenisation of the island only began in the 11th century (Vanschoonwinkel 1994).

Concluding this analysis, it should be clear by now that research into the supposed Aegean origin of the Philistines has unfortunately prevented us from appreciating the richness and cultural diversity of this people. Several influences enriched their culture. The most fundamental is obviously that of the local Canaanite substratum and it is significant that this can be seen above all in funerary customs. It is hardly surprising that an Egyptian influence can be discerned in a people who were first conquered and then enrolled by Ramses III, settling them in the fortresses in Palestine which at that time formed part of the Egyptian “empire”. The influence of Cyprus can be explained by its geographical proximity and also by its role as intermediary in spreading Mycenaean cultural traits and artifacts, especially pottery, in the Levant. Frequently altered or transformed in passage, they provided new models and new stimulation for a local production that was already used to contributions from abroad. One should not underestimate the importance of Mycenaean influence on Philistine culture; far from imitating it servilely, however, they assimilated it and processed it in an original manner. No category of Philistine objects in fact corresponds exactly to Mycenaean models and thus it cannot really pass as production by Mycenaean artisans. One should bear in mind moreover that Philistine ceramics, certainly the class of objects most profoundly influenced by Mycenaean culture, is not in itself linked to any ethnic or linguistic identity. Apart from this very strong cultural influence, no particular affinity would seem to relate the Philistines with the Aegean world, to such an extent that it is pointless to see them as Mycenaeans who settled in Palestine. To sum up, one can observe in the Philistines, whom there is every reason to regard as a Canaanite people as is amply demonstrated in the majority of the anthroponyms preserved, the ephemeral resumption—after the great destructions that took place at the beginning of the 12th century—of the influence that the Aegean had on the Levant.

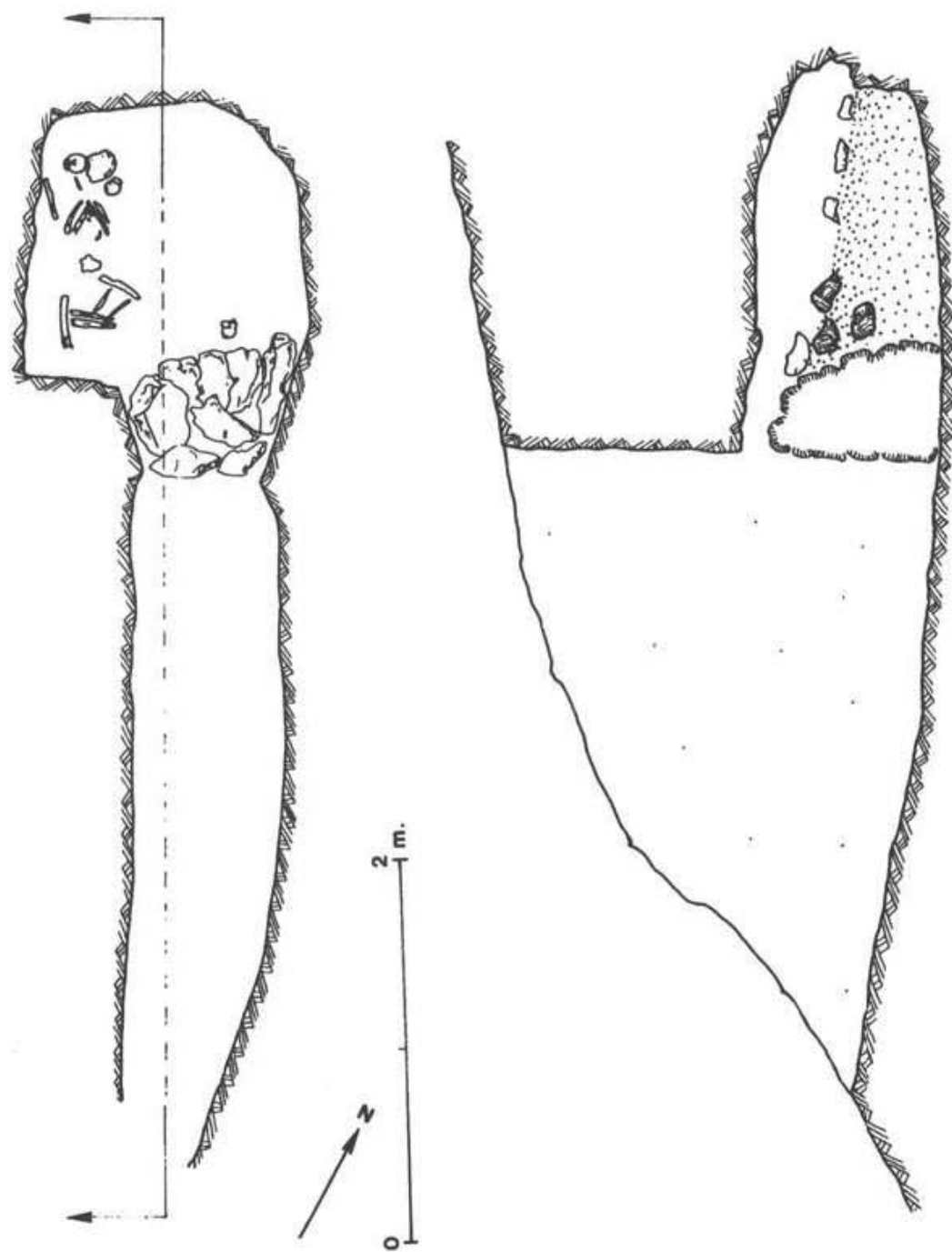


Fig. 2. Late Helladic III C chamber tomb at Perati (after Vanschoonwinkel 1994, fig. 3).



Fig. 3. "Ashoda"-type figurine (after Dothan 1982, 235 fig. 9).

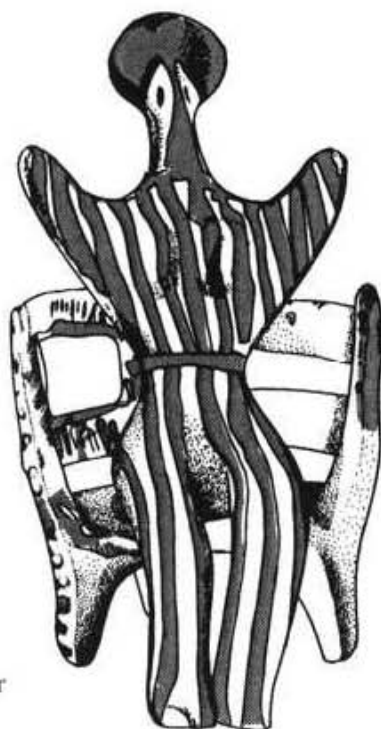


Fig. 4. Late Helladic III C seated figurine (after Dothan 1982, 238 pl. 20).

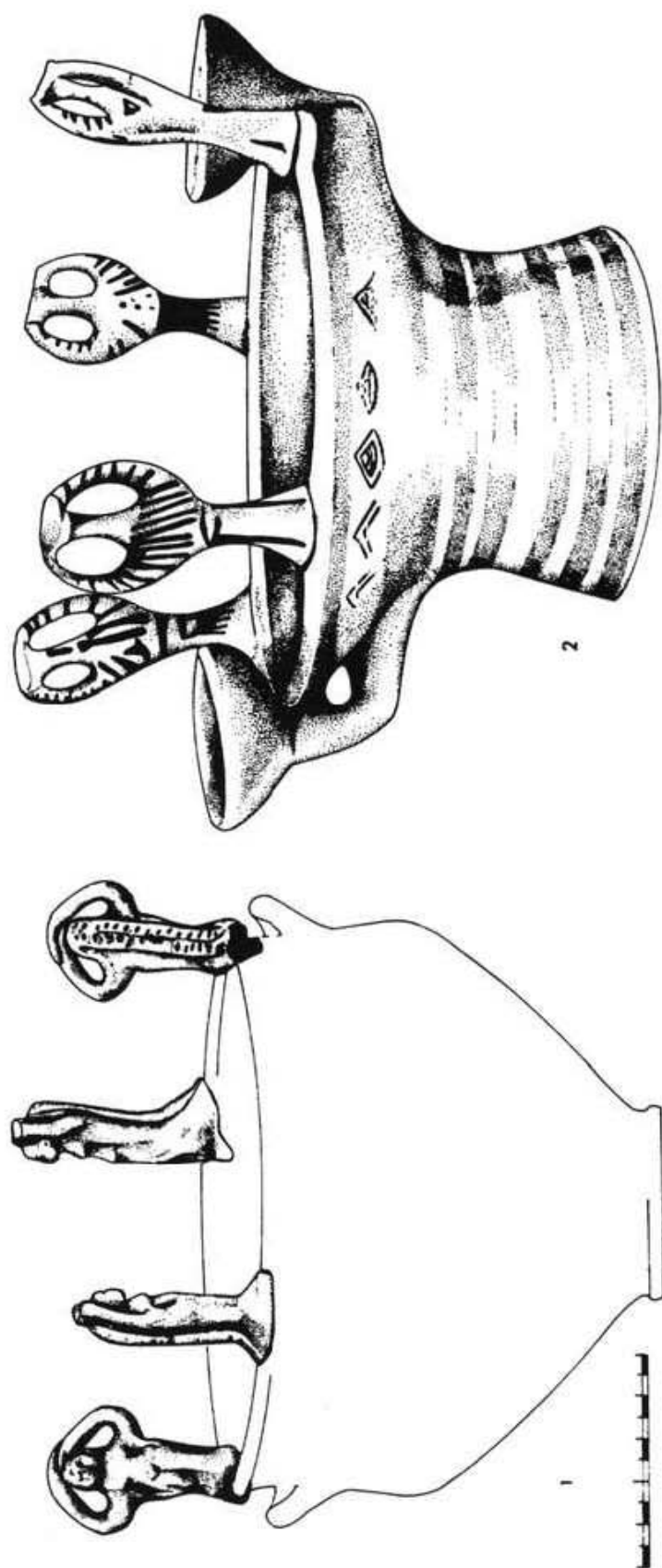


Fig. 5. Philistine krater from Tell 'Aitun (reconstruction) and Late Helladic III C *lekane* from Perati decorated with female figurines (after Dothan 1982, 239 fig. 11).

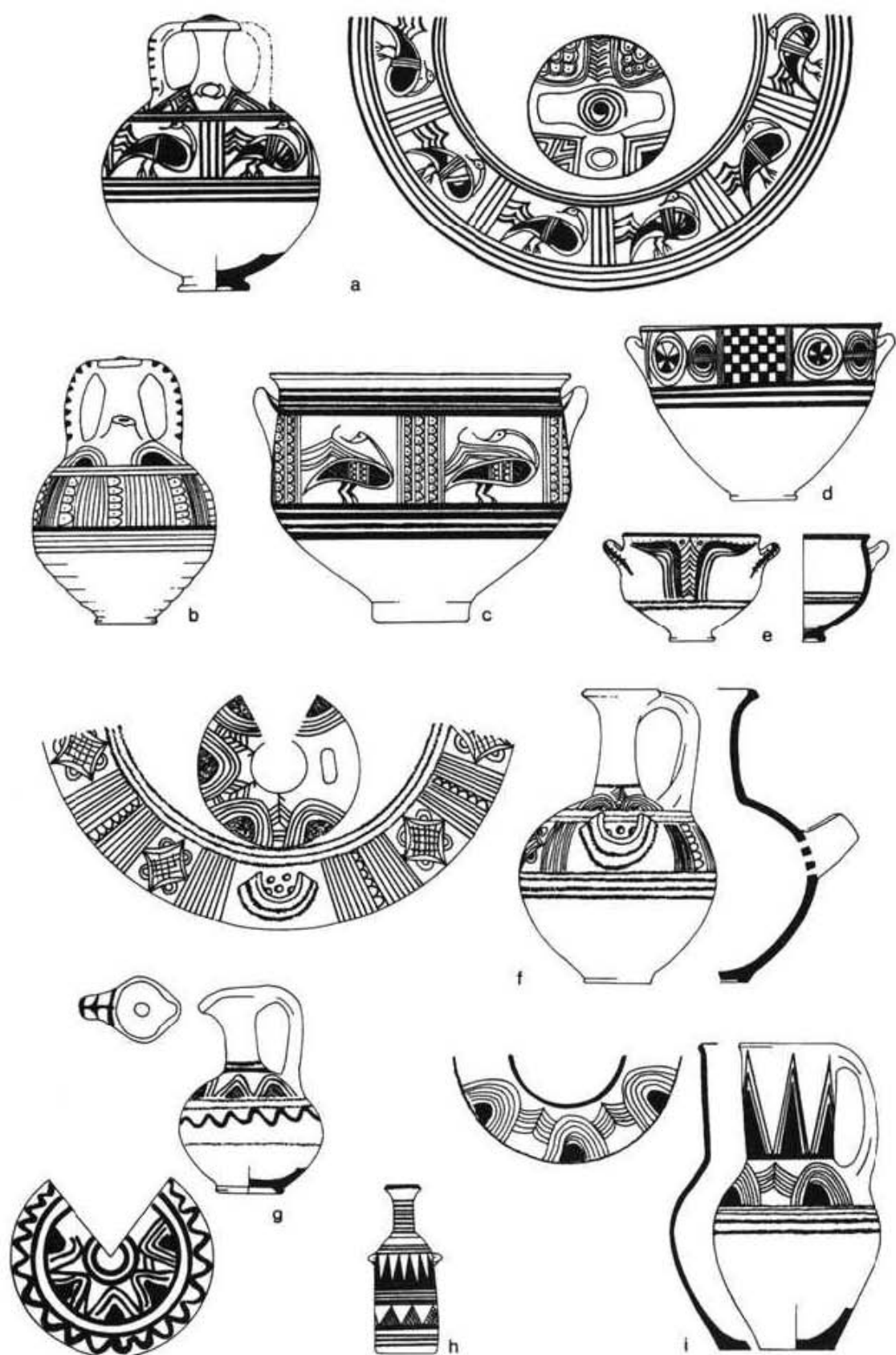


Fig. 6. Philistine ceramic (after Vanschoonwinkel 1991, fig. 10).

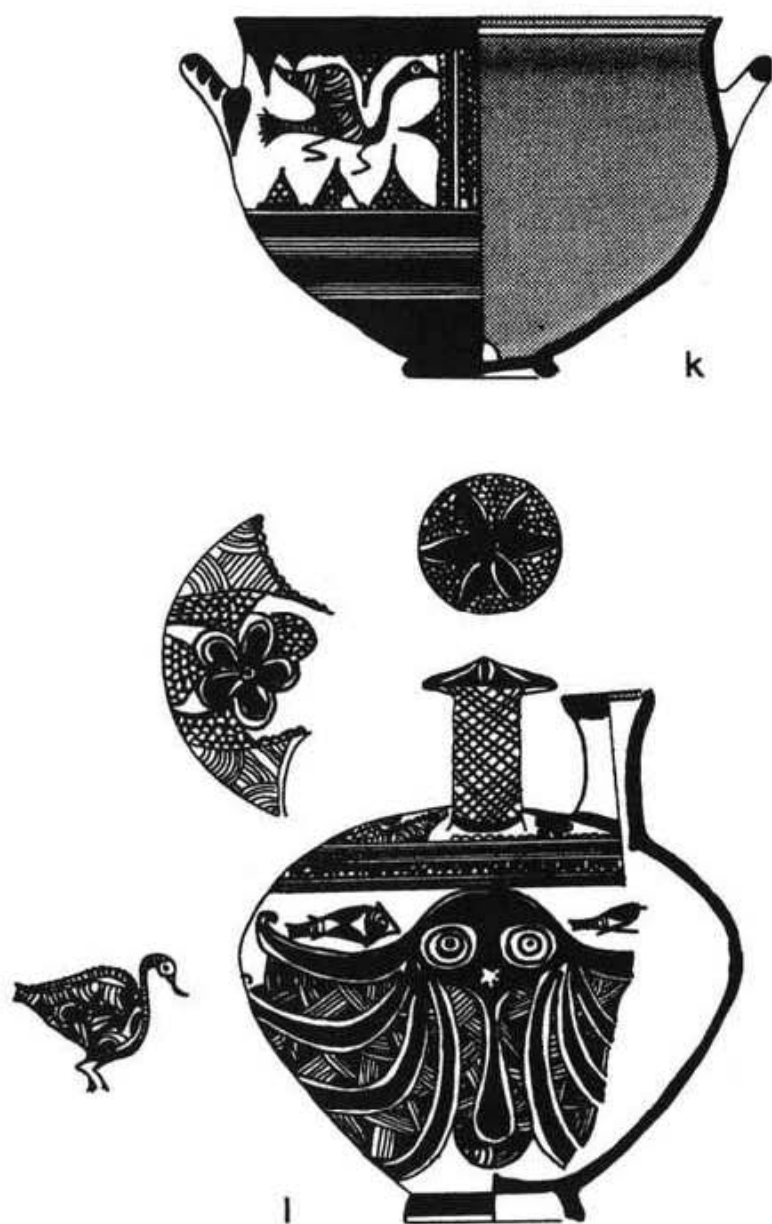


Fig. 7. Late Helladic III C Middle krater and stirrup jar in the close style (after Vanschoonwinkel 1991, fig. 6).

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5. GREEKS OVERSEAS IN THE 8TH CENTURY B.C.: EUBOEANS, AL MINA AND ASSYRIAN IMPERIALISM*

R.A. Kearsley

A large collection of pottery from Al Mina, untouched since the excavation of the site in the 1930s, has recently been made available for study by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. Within the collection there are some 600 fragments in Geometric style and just over one-sixth of these belonged to Levels 9 and 8 according to the provenance painted on them.¹

Study of the site's history has also been facilitated by the recent publication of a greater range of the Geometric pottery than had previously been available, both from a variety of collections in England and from the Archaeological Museum in Antakya (Kearsley 1995a, 7–81). In addition, many of the local and Phoenician vessel forms from Al Mina have been included in a new and wide-ranging chronological treatment of Near Eastern Iron Age pottery (Lehmann 1996, 24–25, 57, 90, 176–77). The wealth of material offered in these ways provides the opportunity for a new look at Al Mina and a re-examination of earlier conclusions regarding its history. Although interpretative problems persist regarding the stratigraphy of the site due to the nature of the excavation, the treatment of the finds and the publication of results (Kearsley 1995a, 73–74; Lehmann 1996, 172), the site's distinctiveness in comparison with others in the region

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¹ The collection comprises *ca.* 6,000 sherds. My thanks are due to L. Schofield and S.-A. Ashton for the opportunity to examine the Geometric pottery and to make notes from the Registration list which includes, in addition to the inventory number and stratigraphic provenance where applicable, a brief description and, in many cases, identification of fabric. Permission to publish the results of my examination of the psc skyphos rim fragments was kindly given by the Trustees of the British Museum.

where Greek Geometric pottery has been found (Kearsley 1995a, 71–72) surely demands that it should not be ignored nor attempts cease to reconstruct its history as new evidence becomes available.²

The Pottery in Al Mina Levels 10–8

Level 10 has been described as Al Mina's foundation level yet ever since the initial publication of the Greek Geometric pottery from Al Mina in 1940 there has been uncertainty about the nature of the ceramic material found within it. Although Martin Robertson's comment (1940, 2 n. 1) that he believed "... it did not differ strongly in character from that of Levels 8 and 9" was always reassuring, as long as the material was unpublished uncertainty remained.

Since 1995, however, it is clear that Robertson's report was correct. Only eight items were ever assigned to Level 10 and five of them, from four skyphoi and a krater, have direct parallels in Levels 9 and 8 (Kearsley 1995a, 10 No. 1, 11 No. 7, 20 No. 45, 29 No. 100, 34 No. 123). Two other pieces, both from skyphoi, are not paralleled but, nevertheless, bear a metope composition in the handle zone, a style of decoration very frequently found in Level 9 (Kearsley 1995a, 10–11 No. 6, 28 No. 99). The remaining fragment remains unidentified (Kearsley 1995a, 16–17 but *cf.* 19). This Level 10 material has not been supplemented by the British Museum's new Al Mina collection, hence no change is indicated to the view (Snodgrass 1994, 4; Descœudres 1978, 17; Kearsley 1995a, 67–69) that the majority of Greek pottery in Levels 10–8 is Late Geometric in style.³

It has been stated on many occasions that the period of time covered by the deposition of Greek Geometric pottery at Al Mina was not lengthy, probably extending over some 50 years around the second half of the eighth century (Kearsley 1989, 145 with references). Since the extremely small quantity of pottery attributed by the exca-

² Difficulties arising from the apparent lack of refinement in stratigraphic observations may be compensated for in time by work at other sites, such as Kinet Höyük, which has a long architectural sequence including 9th and 8th century levels and which has also produced Greek Geometric pottery (Gates 1996, 293–94).

³ The fragment of a full-circles skyphos published as being from Al Mina (Kearsley 1989, 160 n. 48) is not in fact from the site. My thanks are due to J. Boardman for alerting me to this fact and to J. Donaldson of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge for confirmation.

vators to Level 10 in no way alters this conclusion, and because there are indications that the independent existence of Level 10 was doubted at the time the site was excavated (Kearsley 1995a, 16–18), the best course would seem to be to subsume the eight pieces designated 10 under Level 9 for the purposes of future discussion. In other words, discussion of the Geometric levels below will refer only to Level 9 and to Level 8.

A second feature of the site which has been further clarified recently is the continuation of Greek Geometric pottery from Level 9 into Level 8 even though Woolley (1938, 16) stated that the ceramic composition of Level 8 represented a complete change from what had gone before. The incidence of individual Greek fragments in Level 8 has been pointed out over the years (*e.g.* Gjerstad 1974, 116, 118; Boardman 1980, 44; Kearsley 1989, 140), but the great extent to which Greek Geometric pottery was present in Level 8 has become far clearer since 1995 (Kearsley 1995a, 75 and table 3). The British Museum collection now adds a further 40 fragments.⁴ It is indisputable, therefore, that Greek wares were present at that stage of the site's development when the influx of Syrian, Cypriot and Phoenician pottery occurred.

In the third place, the previously-held view that there is a predominance of Euboean wares among the earliest pottery (Descœudres 1976, 52; Kearsley 1995a, 79), has been made more secure by the nature of the pottery whose provenance is identified as Levels 9 or 8 within the British Museum material. Other fabrics, such as the Cycladic and East Greek wares whose presence has been previously identified in Levels 9–8 (Clairmont 1955, 107–8, pl. 22.2; Coldstream 1968, 314–16; Descœudres 1978, 18; Kearsley 1995a, 79–80), have increased scarcely at all in absolute terms and hence their importance has declined proportionately.⁵

⁴ There were also 47 from Level 9 and 27 from Levels 9–8 making 114 Geometric fragments marked with a provenance out of 649 in all. My count is from the museum's Registration list and made in April 1997. I aimed at accuracy although, perhaps, it was not entirely achieved.

⁵ One skyphos rim (BM 1995.11–23.47) from Level 9 which has a very micaceous fabric is identified as Cycladic; no East Greek fragments are registered for Level 9 or 8.

The Pendent Semicircle Skyphos and the Date of Al Mina

The pendent semicircle (= psc) skyphos fragments at Al Mina have been thought to hold the key to dating the site because of their sub-protogeometric decoration (Descocudres 1978, 18–19; Kearsley 1989, 1–4, 145). Eight years ago a typology of the class was published in an attempt to address the question of their date (Kearsley 1989; reviews in Siebert 1991, 209–10; Laffineur 1991, 643–45; Matthäus 1992, 283–85; Popham and Lemos 1992, 152–55; Hiller 1992, 269–73). But the chronology of the class remains the subject of some debate (*e.g.*, Aro 1996, 219–25; Bonatz 1993, 144–46; Snodgrass 1994, 4–5; Popham 1994, 26; Courbin 1995, 5; Graham 1997, 250), although the typology continues to receive confirmation in its broad lines from on-going excavations. For example, the discovery of more deep skyphoi with tall lip in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi in contexts no later than SPGIIIa or, in Attic terms, MGIa suggests that the early part of the series should remain the same.⁶ Both the contemporaneity and secondary role of the Type 3 skyphoi there is likewise confirmed by the most recent volume in the *Lefkandi* series.⁷ The absence of the squat Type 4 and 5 skyphoi, with their *floruit* in late MGI-MG II (Kearsley 1989, 127), is not surprising given that the latest Attic imports in the Toumba cemetery indicate the burials ceased around the late ninth century.⁸ And, at

⁶ See, *e.g.*, Popham with Lemos 1996, pls. 54.1 (Tomb 48); 63.1 (Tomb 57), 64.2 (Tomb 59), 82.9–12 (Tomb 80), 86 (Pyre 14) in each of which Attic imports were present; for an interim report on Attic pottery from the cemetery, see Coldstream 1996, 133–45; items range in date from LPG to MG Ia (*ibid.*, 137). However, as the computerized numerical analysis carried out in association with the typology of the psc skyphoi underlined (Kearsley 1989, 124), skyphoi which are transitional between types cannot always be accommodated comfortably within the framework of the typology. Occasional hybrid examples from Euboea (*e.g.* Popham with Lemos 1996, Tomb 47.4, pl. 53, bottom 4, pl. 99) and Cypriot bichrome imitations are even more unyielding to classification. For examples of the latter, see Kearsley 1989, 171 n. 11; Kearsley 1995b, 19. For a suspected Phoenician imitation: Coldstream 1995, 194.

⁷ Popham with Lemos 1996, pls. 86.1, 100 (Pyre 14.1). The latter has been described as a new variety of skyphos (Popham *et al.* 1988–89, 120) but, despite its rolled lip, in other respects it belongs to Type 3. On irregularities in the lips of Type 3 skyphoi, see Kearsley 1989, 140. On the other hand, the skyphos from Amathus which Coldstream (1995, 192) described as having both Type 3 and 5 features appears to belong well within Type 5 (*cf.* Kearsley 1989, 35 No. 85, fig. 39, a).

⁸ Pyre 14 at Lefkandi is dated to Attic MG Ia and as such is one of the latest burial deposits in the cemetery. Some of its over 15 psc skyphoi are transitional

the latest end of the typology, the number of well-preserved examples of the Type 6 psc skyphos has continued to increase in 8th century contexts (Ridgway 1994–95, 85–87).⁹

Within the British Museum collection there are seven skyphos fragments that bear traces of pendent semicircle decoration, four of them body fragments (BM 1995.11–9.6, 31–33).¹⁰ One of the body fragments (BM 1995.11–9.6) bears an indication of provenance (Level 8) but it is the only one to do so. The three rim fragments belong to the later development of the class. They represent one example of each of Types 4 (BM 1995.11–9.29: Fig. 1) and 6 (BM 1995.11–9.25: Fig. 2); the third fragment (BM 1995.11–9.20: Fig. 3) resembles a Euboean Late Geometric shape and is thus contemporary with the latest phase of the psc skyphos, Type 6.¹¹

between the deep Type 2 skyphoi and the squatter version of Type 4 in that they combine a broader profile with a tall lip (e.g. Popham with Lemos 1996, pl. 86.3 and the unnumbered skyphos, third row, right-hand side; already observed by Hiller 1992, 273). Coldstream's discussion (1995, 192) of the typological classification of the psc skyphoi from Pyre 14 is predicated on a date of SPG II rather than SPG IIIa as proposed by the excavators (Popham with Lemos 1996, table 1). Skoubris Tomb 59 at Lefkandi which is also of SPG III date likewise contains vases transitional between Types 2 and 4 (see Kearsley 1989, 124).

⁹ Ridgway's absolute chronology for that grave group, ca. 780/770–ca. 750 B.C., is debatable since it appears to be based on the associated local wares (cf. D'Agostino 1990, 75). The Type 6 skyphos at Knossos (T. 134.48) has a very wide chronological context (Coldstream and Catling 1996, Vol. I 174–77, Vol. II 403). The same is true for what I take to be a Type 6 skyphos at Amathus (Coldstream 1995, 189 AM2555, 190 fig. 3); cf. for the shape: Kearsley 1989, 30, fig. 11, d, 102, fig. 40, c–d). On the LG date of Type 6 psc skyphoi in general, see Kearsley 1989, 142–43.

¹⁰ Grouped with the psc skyphos fragments in the same tray and also by inventory number on the museum's registration list are 27 other skyphos fragments, some of which have a Level 8 provenance. These include fragments which bear only groups of vertical lines or else no decoration at all. There are also fragments with a lip and shoulder covered by paint thus leaving only a narrow reserved area which lacks any traces of decoration, between the handles (cf., e.g., Calvet and Yon 1977, pls. 7.66, 9.88, 93; Gjerstad 1977, pl. 13.12–14; Thalmann 1977, pl. 3.8–10). 'Ionic' bowls are common at Al Mina from Level 7 on (Robertson 1940, 13; Boardman 1980, 48).

¹¹ BM 1995.11–9.29: 0.035 (ht), 0.053 (w.), 0.003 (th.), diam. lip 0.13; ht of lip 0.009. Very fine, hard-fired light brownish red clay (2.5 YR 6/8) with brownish slipped surface (7.5 YR 7/4); no inclusions. Ext.: part of 7(?) arcs of 1 set with small central space; painted lip. Int.: painted except for a reserved band around the top of the lip. Paint very faded. For shape cf. Kearsley 1989, 23 no 48, fig. 38, d; 18 no. 30, fig. 3, e. BM 1995.11–9.25: 0.025 (ht), 0.02 (w.), 0.002 (th.), diam. lip 0.15; ht of lip 0.012. Cream yellow clay (7.5 YR 8/3) with brownish slip (7.5 YR 7/4); no visible inclusions. Ext.: part of 2 arcs of 1 set of pscs and the central dot; painted lip. Int.: painted, streaky on lip (perhaps 2 reserved bands were intended). Black paint on the lip and mainly orange red (5 YR 5/8) on the arcs. For shape

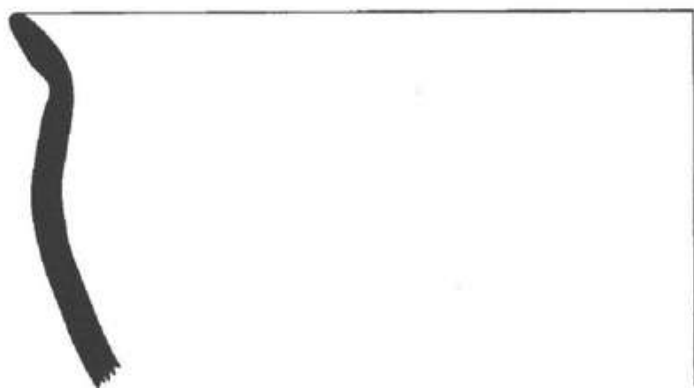


Fig. 1. Pendent semicircle skyphos rim fragment from Al Mina (BM 1995, 11-9.29).



Fig. 2. Pendent semicircle skyphos rim fragment from Al Mina (BM 1995, 11-9.25).

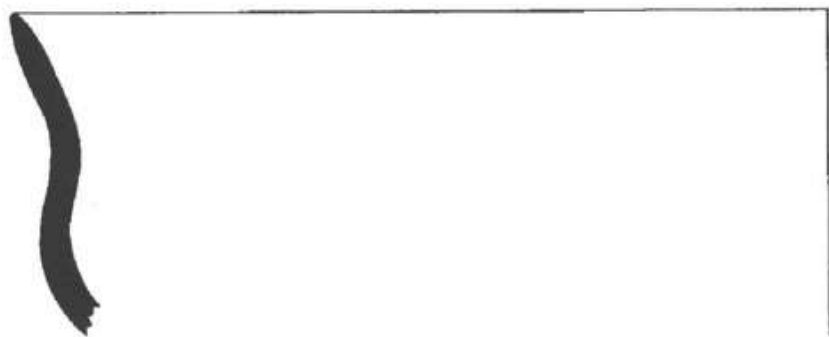


Fig. 3. Pendent semicircle skyphos rim fragment from Al Mina (BM 1995, 11-9.20).

In summary, the recently catalogued Geometric pottery in the British Museum offers confirmation of earlier conclusions (Kearsley 1995a, 79–81) rather than pointing to the need to alter them. It contains no fragments labelled Level 10, hence the picture remains the same with respect to the foundation level. The psc skyphos rim fragments introduce minor changes only. A second Type 4 fragment of MG II date joins the other which had previously stood entirely alone as the earliest at the site (Kearsley 1989, 144). Two further fragments of Late Geometric date add to those previously identified. The continued absence of the deep 9th century psc skyphos points to the fact that the new fragments do not alter the chronology of Levels 9–8.¹² The pottery of the earliest levels remains predominantly in Late Geometric style.

As to the identity of the Greek states represented at Al Mina, the decorative compositions and motifs of the Geometric pottery in the British Museum collection confirm the existing view that it is Euboean pottery which predominates over other Greek fabrics (Kearsley 1995a, 79–80).

Of no less importance to understanding Al Mina's early history

cf. Kearsley 1989, 67 No. 229, fig. 40, d; 29 No. 71, fig. 11, c. *BM 1995.11–9.20*: 0.03 (ht), 0.048 (w.), 0.003–4 (th.), diam. lip 0.15; ht of lip, 0.016. Light yellow orange clay (7.5 YR 8/4), rather soft and powdery and containing small dark inclusions and some small airholes; unslipped. Ext.: 4 arcs of 1 set of pscs with quite large central space; painted lip. Int.: painted with reserved band around lower part of lip. Brownish orange paint (5 YR 6/6). For shape *cf.* Kearsley 1989, 16 No. 26, fig. 3, b; with discussion on p. 129.

¹² Popham and Lemos 1992, 155 single out two psc skyphoi at Al Mina as early examples. However, one of them (BM 1955.4–22.3 = Kearsley 1989, 8 No. 2, fig. 1, a) is characterised by an extremely shallow profile suggesting, even if the shape of the lip is ignored, that it belongs late in the series; the manner in which the semicircles overlap the lower glaze points to the same conclusion (*cf.* Coldstream 1968, 157). The other fragment (BM 1955.4–22.9 = Kearsley 1989, 9 No. 6, fig. 1, d) has already been identified as an earlier variety than the majority of psc skyphoi at Al Mina (Kearsley 1989, 144), but it is unlikely to have belonged to the earliest variety of the class as Popham and Lemos suggest. Coldstream describes this fragment as “an unusually deep example of the ‘advanced’ class” (1968, 312) and believes it is from the same pot as a base fragment (Kearsley 1989, 9 No. 7, fig. 1, c). These two fragments do not join but the clay does appear to be the same and both of them are decorated with semicircles in sets of six, hence he is likely to be correct. On this skyphos the semicircles also overlap the lower glaze leading Coldstream to conclude (1968, 157) that it belongs among the ‘degenerate’ psc skyphos fragments from Al Mina. In other words, because of its relatively shallow profile, as well as the shape of its lip, the skyphos is more likely to belong to the intermediate Type 4 variety than to an earlier stage in the development of class; *cf.* Kearsley 1989, 97.

is the fact that even within the large corpus of newly registered pottery in the British Museum's collection there is no local or Phoenician pottery which might indicate there had been a pre-Greek settlement at Al Mina. In Level 9 non-Greek pottery is scarce; nothing at all is labelled Level 10.¹³ If, as has been suggested (*e.g.*, Perreault 1993, 80), it was Easterners who transported the Greek pottery to Al Mina, their own wares might be expected in greater quantity than the Greek in the earliest deposits at the site. As this is far from being the case, the probability that the earliest pottery at Al Mina arrived with Greeks is increased, even while it is likely that Greek pottery found as a minority ware only at other sites in the Near East was being carried and used by Phoenicians or others (Kearsley 1995a, 71).

The Historical Context of Al Mina

In an article published in 1993 Jacques Perreault argued categorically against the description of Al Mina as a Greek commercial establishment (Perreault 1993, 63–68; see, however, *Akten* 1996, 259–60). He concluded that it was a Levantine settlement and that the earliest Greek pottery there was attributable to the activity of Orientals alone. Fundamental to this view was his reconstruction of the chronology of the site. Ignoring the stratigraphic relationship of the earliest Greek and Near Eastern wares he gave priority at the site to non-Greeks. He did this, moreover, on the basis of a chronology for the Near Eastern wares which had been overtaken by studies incorporating the results of more recent excavations (Perreault 1993, 64; *cf.* Kearsley 1995a, 68–69).¹⁴

¹³ There are a few fragments of Black-on-Red I juglet shape (Gjerstad 1974, 108, 115) and now part of a red slip jug (BM 1995.12–12.7). Also from Level 9 are some skyphos body fragments (BM 1995.9–30.1–3, 5) with linear decoration, the so-called 'Al Mina ware' (*cf.* Kearsley 1995a, 47–48, Nos. 181, 187).

¹⁴ For a more up-to-date assessment of Al Mina's chronology from the Near Eastern perspective see: Bonatz 1993, 129–30 n. 18, 140–43. The interface between Levels 8 and 7 is placed by Lehmann (1996, 176) around the turn of the century, an estimate which is in accordance with earlier proposals (Kearsley 1995a, 68 with further references). Lehmann's wide-ranging study provides a very welcome broad perspective on Iron Age ceramic forms; see, too, G. Lehmann, 'Trends in the Local Pottery Development of Late Iron Age Syria and Lebanon, ca. 700–300 B.C.', *BASOR*—forthcoming. At the same time, however, it illustrates once again the difficulty of defining ceramic phases precisely in the face of the long-lasting Near Eastern Iron Age types. Despite the distinction made between Assemblage 1, end-

In an earlier article Perreault had drawn attention to the evidence for military activity by Greeks within the East Mediterranean during the 8th century (Perreault 1991, 402). Yet, although he correctly concluded that scarcely any Greek importations at Al Mina belonged before the mid-8th century (Perreault 1993, 67), his reckoning of Al Mina's chronology prevented the possibility of any connection between this phenomenon and the site emerging (Perreault 1991, 393–94). Nevertheless, the opportunities for mercenary service which existed in the second half of the 8th century should not be overlooked in attempting to reconstruct the historical context of Al Mina's foundation even though commercial enterprise is most frequently deemed to have been the reason for the earliest Greek pottery there (see, e.g., Coldstream 1977, 93–94; Bakhuizen 1976, 28; Bisi 1987, 225–26; Boardman 1990, 185–86; Bonatz 1993, 149–53; Popham 1994, 26; Kearsley 1995a, 80–81, but *cf.* 73).

The uncertainty, which has been frequently expressed (Boardman 1990, 182–83, 185; Snodgrass 1994, 4; Popham 1994, 26), about what the Greeks would have had to exchange with their Near Eastern contacts at that time indicates an important problem which is faced by those who view Al Mina from a purely commercial point of view. Certainly, the distinctiveness of Al Mina when compared with other Near Eastern sites with Greek Geometric pottery suggests an individual approach is called for and that the same interpretative framework is not necessarily applicable to it as to other Levantine sites where Greek Geometric pottery has been found (Kearsley 1995a, 71–73). The Greek pottery at Al Mina was found on virgin soil, not in a native context. Not only is it quantitatively far greater than local wares in the earliest period, it is a far larger corpus than is found at any other single site so far. In other words, although commercial exchange may be postulated with some certainty as the reason for Greek pottery found at sites like Tyre because of the existence of a flourishing local community and the small quantity of Greek imports relative to the total ceramic finds, and even though trade is most likely to have been the rationale for Al Mina later in its history (Woolley 1938, 13; Boardman 1980, 52–53), the evidence suggests

ing *ca.* 720 B.C., and Assemblage 2, ending *ca.* 700 B.C. (*ibid.*, 90), there is an overlap between them of 80.6% in the ceramic forms (*ibid.*, 61). Pottery from Al Mina Level 8 appears in each of Assemblages 1 and 2, and even in later assemblages (see, e.g., *ibid.*, Tafeln. 4, 6, 14–17, 19, 21, 30, 40, 69, 81).

that the reason for Al Mina's existence in the earliest period, that represented by Level 9, was different. The likelihood that Phoenicians and others were also carrying Greek wares is in no way precluded by considering Al Mina in a different light (Kearsley 1995a, 71). G. Kopcke's emphasis (1992, 107–8) on individual impetus in the cultural interaction of this period is likely to be correct and would result in just such a varied pattern.

Greek Mercenaries at Home and in the East

The currency of mercenary service in archaic Greek society is clear from the accounts of Peisistratus' activities in a variety of *poleis* (Her. 1. 61; Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 15. 2) and one individual who is identified by name among his supporters, Lygdamis of Naxos, also reveals the important role played by the wealthy in marshalling and leading such groups of soldiers (Herodotus 1. 61; Ath., *Deipnosophistae* 8. 348). Peisistratus' later installation of this man as the ruler of Naxos (Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 15. 3) makes it clear that Lygdamis was merely a private adventurer at the time of his assistance to the Athenian tyrant and, therefore, that he must have acted according to his own inclination in supporting Peisistratus rather than as the result of any formal decision by his native city.

Evidence for the activities of Greek mercenaries is also copious and diverse for the 7th century. Most pertinently, it illustrates that Greek mercenaries were fighting outside the Aegean in the service of Near Eastern kings.¹⁵ References in Greek literature commence with the contemporary report by Alcaeus (Campbell 1982, 386 No. 350) of the success of his brother in combat when fighting on behalf of the Babylonians. This is followed by the later accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus concerning the dependence of Psammetichus I (664–610) on Greeks and Carians for assistance not only in securing his rule but also maintaining it (Herodotus 2. 152; Diod. Sic. 1. 67. 2–3; see also Sullivan 1996, 185–88).

An inscription of the 7th century from the neighbourhood of Priene in Asia Minor provides valuable and specific documentary evidence

¹⁵ Evidence for an earlier period is less certain but may be implied: cf. Eur., *Ion* ll. 61, 64, 289–97 and the papyrus fragment from Amarna of the 14th century discussed by Schofield and Parkinson (1994, 157–70).

(Masson and Yoyotte 1988, 171–79; *cf.* for later epigraphic evidence also, Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 12–13 No. 7; Steinhauer 1992, 239–45):

Πήδωμ μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὠφίννεω : ἐξ Αἰγυπτῶγαγών : ᾧ βασιλεὺς ἔδωκε
 ὠιγύπτιος : Ψαμμήτιχος : ἀριστήϊα ψίλιον τε χρύσεον καὶ πόλιν ἀρετῆς
 ἔλκεα.

Pedon, the son of Amphinneus, bringing me from Egypt dedicated me.
 To him the Egyptian king, Psammeticus, gave as a prize an armlet of
 gold and a city because of his valour.

Finally, there is a diverse range of archaeological evidence which may point to Greek soldiers active in the East during the Archaic period: a pictorial allusion on a silver bowl from Amathus in Cyprus and the presence of a Greek greave and a shield in the ruins of Carchemish (Boardman 1980, 50–51).

Recognition that literary references to Greek mercenaries in the East is of relevance for the broader picture of Greek activity in the area has existed for some time (Coldstream 1977, 359; Boardman 1980, 44–46; Boardman 1990, 182). A connection with Al Mina in particular has not been proposed previously however, but it presents itself as a possibility now that there is greater certainty that Al Mina's early levels belong stylistically to the Late Geometric period which, according to conventional Greek chronology (Coldstream 1968, 330), includes the second half of the 8th century.¹⁶ For this period and that immediately following there is a range of literary and archaeological evidence which gives some plausibility to the hypothesis that the very first settlers at Al Mina, around the mid-8th century, were a group of Greek mercenaries.

Assyria's Opponents from the Sea: Ionians and Cypriots

In light of the evidence considered above, the occasional appearance in Assyrian sources of the second half of the 8th century of 'Ionians', a term commonly to denote Greeks, is not entirely unexpected.¹⁷

¹⁶ Recognising, nevertheless, the present uncertainties surrounding the absolute chronology of the Geometric period (see, *e.g.*, Aro 1996, 224). Note, in addition, the newly published discussion throwing doubt on the usefulness of Tarsus for the absolute chronology of Greek pottery (Forsberg 1995, 51–81).

¹⁷ There is a discussion of these sources in Braun 1982, 14–21, whose English translations are largely used below. See also Botto 1990, 21–75. *Appendix 1* (109–243)

During this period the Assyrian kings were seeking to extend their power westwards to the Mediterranean Sea in the north Syrian region, as well as in Phoenicia and Palestine. Tiglath-pileser III achieved direct rule over northern Syria and Phoenicia during the 740s–730s B.C. (Braun 1982, 11–12; Botto 1990, 22–25), but his incorporation of the West into the Assyrian empire was by no means accomplished once and for all. His successors, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II and Sennacherib, each faced revolts against Assyrian rule and had to repeatedly campaign against states in the Syro-Palestinean region and in Cilicia (Mitchell 1991, 338–39 [Shalmaneser V], 340–41 [Sargon II]; Katzenstein 1973, 246 [Sennacherib]). All this time the political climate in the areas under threat was characterised by shifting coalitions between states and a lack of unity within the various ethnic groups (Oded 1974, 38–46). It is among the opponents of the Assyrian kings in these campaigns of conquest and subjugation that the men from the Mediterranean described as ‘Ionians’ and ‘Cypriots’ appear. It is probable that there were Greeks among their number for, although the term ‘Ionians’ was used loosely by the Assyrians and referred to peoples from a variety of regions, these included ones where, as in Cyprus, there is evidence for either a Greek presence or Greek contact (Ionia: Forsberg 1995, 77, *pace* Brinkman 56; Cyprus: Boardman: 1990, 183–84; Saporetto 1990, 161 n. 254). Such lack of clarity on the part of the Assyrians when referring to peoples on the periphery of their own world is paralleled by a lack of precision on the part of the Greeks with respect to the area referred to as Phoenicia (*cf.* Katzenstein 1973, 237; Culican 1991, 461).

The Assyrian accounts of the Ionians’ and Cypriotes’ activity vary in nature but, in general, these people do not appear as members of the Cilician, North Syrian or Phoenician states against which the Assyrian expansionist campaigns were directed. On the contrary, they must have been mobile groups which were not closely aligned with to any of the existing political units.

For example, one report, written by an Assyrian official either late in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III or early in that of Sargon II referred to an attack by Ionians on cities which were subject to the Assyrian king along the Phoenician coast:¹⁸

by C. Saporetto contains the Assyrian documents from Tiglath-Pileser III to Assurbanipal, together with Italian translation.

¹⁸ Katzenstein 1973, 237–38; Braun 1982, 15; Botto, 1990, 37. Samsimuruna is

To the king my lord, your servant Qurdi-Asshur-Lamur. The Ionians (^{KUR}Ia-u-na-a-a) have come. They have made an attack on the city of Samsimuruna, on the city of Harisu—, and on the city of...

On the Ionians' involvement in his Cilician campaign of 715 B.C. Sargon II's *Annals* may be reconstructed as follows:¹⁹

[?The Ionians who dwell in (or beside?)] the sea, who from distant days the [men of] Que had slaughtered, and... heard the advance of my expedition... To the sea I came down upon them, and both small and great with my weapons I fought down.

The likelihood that the restoration above is correct is suggested by the two display inscriptions of Sargon II in which he described himself as being:

he who caught the Ionians (^{KUR}Ya-am-na-aya) out of the midst of the sea, like a fish,

and claimed:

I caught, like fishes, the Ionians who live amid the Sea of the Setting Sun

Although the contemporary royal record does not name them specifically, there were Greeks participating in a Cilician rebellion which Sennacherib's generals crushed in 696–95 B.C. according to accounts of the campaign preserved in the much later Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronika* (Braun 1982, 17–18; Forsberg 1995, 77):

- (a) When the report came to him (Sennacherib) that Greeks had entered the land of the Cilicians to make war, he hastened against them...
- (b) Sennacherib... on the sea coast of the Cilician land defeated the warships of the Ionians and drove them to flight.

known to have lain in Sidonian territory (Braun 1982, 15 n. 48) but the location of Kashpuna, the place from which the Assyrian official was writing, can be only roughly placed along the north Phoenician coast (Katzenstein 1973, 237; Culican 1991, 468).

¹⁹ Botto 1990, 40; Braun, 1982, 15–16; Katzenstein 1973, 239, less certain about the exact date of the campaign ('in his eighth [or ninth] year'). More controversial is the question of Greek involvement in the revolt of Ashdod against Sargon II in the year 711 B.C. The name, Jamani, by which the rebellious leader is described in one Assyrian source has sometimes been taken to indicate a Greek was involved, but such a view is held to be incorrect by Assyrian experts (Brinkman, 1989, 56 n. 14). It should be noted, however, that the same man is also called Jadna elsewhere and this may be of some significance in indicating a Mediterranean origin for him (Botto 1990, 41; Saporetti 1990, 161 n. 254).

In Nineveh the following year, men from Cyprus as prisoners-of-war were building ships for Sennacherib together with captured Phoenician sailors (Braun 1982, 19):

Khatti people, plunder of my bow, I settled in Nineveh. Mighty ships after the workmanship of their land, they built dexterously. Tyrian, Sidonian and Cypriot²⁰ sailors, captives of my hand . . .

Unfortunately, the scale of the conflicts involving these men from the Mediterranean cannot be fully reconstructed from such isolated references, nor can their allegiances, if such existed beyond pure self-interest, be discovered. But the probability is strong that such outsiders were drawn into the regional conflicts purely by the desire for personal gain and that rewards received for services rendered as military auxiliaries would have been the motivating force. It was, after all, just such a group which supplied mercenaries for Psammetichus in Egypt in the following century (Herodotus 2. 152) and there is no reason to think that a different situation applied for the many states of the Cilician and Syro-Palestinean regions fighting for their independence against a succession of Assyrian kings.²¹ The refusal of the Egyptian pharaoh Shabako (715–702 B.C.) to assist cities on the Palestine coast in their struggle against the Assyrians (Sullivan 1996, 179) conceivably created a particular demand there for such men in the later part of the 8th century. In the past, Egypt had been a regular source of assistance against the Assyrians for the cities in that area (*cf.* Mitchell 1991, 338, 340).

Ionians and Euboeans

The mercenary Greeks Psammetichus called into service in Egypt were described as Ionians and Carians by Herodotus. No specific case can be argued that the large number of men involved included men from Euboea. However, a motley collection of adventurers probably made up the Greek contingent and even if a narrow geographic connotation does underlie the term 'Ionians' in this case it would not debar the inclusion of Euboeans. Herodotus states that many of

²⁰ See Brinkman, 1989, 56 n. 15 for this correction to Braun's translation.

²¹ Helm 1980, 138–39, 149–50 believes Greek mercenaries do not appear in the East before the late 7th century, however his treatment of the 8th century Assyrian evidence is not comprehensive.

the inhabitants in the 12 cities of Ionia were Abantes from Euboea (1. 146),²² and certainly the Abantes' image in antiquity conformed to the military prowess necessary for such soldiers of fortune.

In the late 8th century the Abantes were described by Homer as fierce spearmen who came from many Euboean cities (*Il.* 2. 535–45; naming Chalcis, Eretria, Histiaea, Cerinthus, Dios, Carystus, Styra).²³ In the first half of the 7th century Archilochus dwelt upon the Abantes' war-like reputation and their favoured style of combat (trans. Loeb ed.: Edmonds 1968, 99 No. 3):

Not so many bows shall be stretched nor slings so many slung when the War-God makes his mellay in the plain; but then shall be the woe-ful work of the sword; for this is the sort of battle the spear-famed rulers lords of Euboea are masters in.

The work of Alcaeus indicates the fame of Chalcidian-made swords meant their distribution and use extended beyond their Euboean homeland (trans. Loeb ed.: Campbell 1982, 305 No. 140; see also Bakhuizen 1976, 43–44):

... and the great hall gleams with bronze: the whole ceiling is dressed for the war-god with bright helmets ... there are corslets of new linen and hollow shields thrown on the floor. Beside them are swords from Chalcis ...

The consistency of the Abantes' fierce and warlike image in Greek tradition is spoken for by the testimony of writers in the Roman period such as Strabo (10. 1. 12–13, C448–49: Loeb ed.) when referring to the struggle between Chalcis and Eretria over control of the Lelantine plain (dated to the late 8th century by Boardman 1982, 760):

... when differences arose concerning the Lelantine Plain they did not so completely break off relations as to wage their wars in all respects according to the will of each, but they came to an agreement as to the conditions under which they were to conduct the fight. This fact,

²² Herodotus goes on to say they were not Ionians even in name, but on Herodotus' tendentious attitude to the Ionians: Lloyd 1975, 117; Hart 1982, 181–82. The dialect of the Euboeans was mainly Ionic (Jeffery 1990, 81) and the political alignments attested between certain Euboean cities and Ionian states (*Hdt.* 5. 99) may denote more wide-ranging links from an earlier period.

²³ A tradition that they came from Aetolia before settling in Euboea appears to have existed (Strabo 10. 3. 6, C465).

among others, is disclosed by a certain pillar in the Amarynthium, which forbids the use of long-distance missiles. . . . The Euboeans excelled in "standing" combat . . .

The warrior ethos of the Abantes encompassed all aspects of life. Plutarch explained the reason for their distinctive hairstyle (Plut., *Thes.* 5.1–3; Loeb ed.; Boardman 1973, 196–97; others in Euboea utilised the same hair-style as well (Strabo 10. 3. 6, C465):

Now the Abantes were the first to cut their hair in this manner . . . because they were war-like men and close fighters, who had learned beyond all other men to force their way into close quarters with their enemies . . .

The resources at the command of such warriors and sea-faring adventurers, as well as the social respect which they both sought and gained in early Greek society is recorded by Thucydides (Thuc. 1. 5; trans. Loeb ed.):

. . . in early times both the Hellenes and the barbarians who dwell on the mainland near the sea, as well as those on the islands, when once they began more frequently to cross over in ships to one another, turned to piracy, under the lead of their most powerful men, whose motive was their own private gain and the support of their weaker followers, and falling upon cities that were unprovided with walls and consisted of groups of villages, they pillaged them and got most of their living from that source. For this occupation did not as yet involve disgrace, but rather conferred something even of glory. This is shown by the practice, even at the present day, of some of the peoples on the mainland, who still hold it an honour to be successful in this business as well as by the words of the early poets who invariably ask the question of all who put in to shore, whether they are pirates, the inference being that neither those whom they ask ever disavow that occupation, nor those ever censure it who are concerned to have the information.

It is the preoccupations of the Abantes combined with the widespread distribution of Euboean pottery contemporary with and within the areas of Assyrian domination in the Near East which provide some basis for suspecting that there would have been Euboean mercenaries among the Ionians and Carians moving around the Eastern Mediterranean in the 8th and early 7th centuries. The distribution of Euboean pottery in the Near East is most striking by its quantity, however it is not insignificant that, only recently, a single Greek sherd long rumoured to have been found at the Assyrian capital



Fig. 4. Pendent semicircle skyphos rim fragment from Nineveh (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery 1989A.343).

Nineveh (*cf.* Kearsley 1989, 56 No. 180) has been firmly identified as a psc skyphos fragment (Boardman 1997, 375) and, despite its uninformative context, can most probably be dated by its shape to the 8th century (Fig. 4).²⁴ A Euboean origin has now been proposed for this sherd on the basis of its fabric (Boardman 1997, 375).

The Euboean Warrior Burials

The existence of a warrior aristocracy in the Euboean cities during the Geometric period is now well known archaeologically (Crielaard 1996, 236–39; Coldstream 1994, 77–86). Burials illustrating the later literary tradition about the Abantes have been excavated at Lefkandi for the 10th and 9th centuries (Popham 1994, 14; Popham *et al.* 1988–89, 117–29),²⁵ and at Eretria for the 8th (Bérard 1970, 13–17). The offerings associated with some of these warrior graves include objects from the Near East (Bérard 1970, 14–16; Popham 1994,

²⁴ Birmingham City Museums and Art Gallery inv. 1989A.343: 0.026 (ht), 0.045 (w.), 0.003–4 (th.), 0.12 (diam of lip); ht of lip: 0.015. Fine, well fired yellowish brown (7.5YR 6/6) clay; unslipped but polished surface. No inclusions. Ext.: to left the top of 3 lines which may be arcs; to the right, possibly traces of arcs at the base of the lip; 2 strokes starting at about 0.5 cm below the lip. Painted lip, brown streaks (7.5YR 4/4–4/6); reddish brown (5YR 5/6) arcs. Int.: painted, streaky bright brown (7.5YR 5/6) with brown streaks (5YR 4/6) on int. of lip and dark brownish black on the wall below. The details are published by courtesy of Dr Philip Watson, Principal Curator, Antiquities Department. For the shape of this fragment *cf.* Kearsley 1989, 59 Nos. 191–92, figs. 29, 39, c.

²⁵ For warrior tombs dated by Attic imports to LPG (Tomb 14) and MG I (Tomb 50), see Coldstream 1996, 139; however *cf.* Popham with Lemos 1996, table 1 where Tomb 50 is dated LPG-SPG I (= LPG-EG I).

14–15) and sometimes also psc skyphoi or plates (Catling 1984–85, 15 = Popham with Lemos 1996, table 1 Pyre 14; Popham and Lemos 1995, 154), hall-marks of Euboean overseas activity in the Near East.²⁶ During the whole period the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi was in use there were many burials accompanied by funerary gifts from the Syro-Palestinean region and Egypt (Popham 1994, 14–22, especially 18–19, figs. 2.5–2.6). Some of the objects allude to a warrior ethos, such as the scale from a suit of armour and the mace; others are purely decorative.²⁷ These latter objects could have been obtained as articles of trade, but the acquisition of some, or all, of them could also have resulted from mercenary service. As the burials may well represent a hereditary community (Popham 1994, 17), it would be natural for such goods to be distributed throughout the cemetery as gifts or heirlooms even if they were gains from military service. The acquisition of such items by mercenaries is illustrated by the armlet of gold listed among the gifts received for military service in Egypt in the mercenary inscription from the neighbourhood of Priene (see above).

Without epigraphical evidence the historical background to the warrior burials in Euboea remains unknown, however the association of many such burials with orientalia demand that they be considered against the backdrop of the political events in the Near East described above. Interestingly also, the tombs at Eretria's West Gate dating to the second half of the 8th century not only contain objects from the Near East, their arrangement appeared to the excavator to reflect the bonds of fealty to a warrior leader (Bérard 1970, 70). If this interpretation is correct, a group such as that led by Lygdamis of Naxos in the 6th century might be envisaged (see above). Aristotle's description of *hippeis* from Eretria (*Ath. Pol.* 15. 2–3) among the mercenaries of Peisistratus speaks for the continuation of this aristocratic ethos within the city beyond the 8th century.

²⁶ Although the 8th century is of particular interest with respect to Al Mina the 10th and 9th century dates of some Euboean warrior burials with Near Eastern objects indicates the phenomenon is worthy of investigation on a broader scale. Kestemont (1985, 143 n. 35) has raised the possibility that there were mercenaries from the Aegean in the royal court of Judah in the 9th century.

²⁷ Bronze cheese-graters are another item which recur in warrior burials. Their function has been explored by Ridgway (1997, 325–44).

The Interpretation of Al Mina's History in the 8th Century

Despite the relative brevity of the period represented by Levels 9 and 8, two distinct phases may be discerned from their divergent ceramic characters. In the case of Level 9 Greek pottery predominates overwhelmingly whereas in Level 8, Cypriot, Phoenician and local Red Slip wares are present in quantity also. This shift in the ceramic compositions of Levels 9 and 8 suggests that there was a change in the nature of the site at that time. The following proposals represent an attempt to account for the change within the context of the political and economic affairs of northern Syria. Ignorance of Al Mina's ancient name means that, even if it is documented by the literary sources, the site cannot yet be directly related to any historical event, hence while the following comments are partly based on evidence from the site itself, some reliance is placed on analogy with Greek activity in the East Mediterranean during the 7th century.

a. Level 9: a mercenary encampment?

Considerable weight continues to be placed on the nature of the earliest structures at Al Mina as a means for determining whether or not Al Mina was first inhabited by local people or by Greeks (*e.g.* Perreault 1993, 64–66; Bonatz 1993, 156). However, the examination of two factors rather than the single one usually considered is necessary before a reliable conclusion can be reached: the cultural context informing the architectural features must be considered hand-in-hand with any associated evidence for the identity of the occupiers.

Determining the cultural context of the early structures at Al Mina, remains problematical. The buildings consisted of linked rectangular units built of mud-brick walls resting on a small pebble base. Floors were of clay which were usually packed directly on the sand (Woolley 1938, 154–55). Because of this lack of distinctiveness in their plans and also in the materials used for the structures, the parallel from Late Bronze Age Ras Shamra initially cited to support a case for their Near Eastern rather than Greek character (Riis 1982, 245) is far from conclusive. The description given by Bonatz (1993, 126) of the common method of house-construction on the the Syrian coast: "... rough ashlar blocks with mud-brick superconstruction ...", does not accord in detail with what is found in Level 9 for example; and,

in any case, conglomerations of rectangular units with mud-brick walls on stone foundations are as much Greek as Near Eastern in the 8th century B.C. Rather than pointing to the origin of the occupants, the form of the structures at Al Mina, as at many other sites within the Aegean, is more reasonably interpreted as a reflection of local conditions and the availability of materials (Fagerström 1988, 110–12; Kearsley 1995a, 73–74).

The finds within the structures are more informative. The pottery is almost entirely Greek and includes a range of ceramic forms (*e.g.*, Kearsley 1995a, 11 No. 7 [krater], 33 No. 119 [plate], 48 No. 185 [plate], 53 No. 211–12 [oinochoai], 65 No. 262 [conical foot, of amphora?]) which speak for the buildings' domestic character. Moreover, while it should be emphasized that skyphoi were not the only vessels found at Al Mina during this period—something which is not always acknowledged (*cf.* Snodgrass 1994, 4)—the predominance of skyphoi may also be acknowledged. The overwhelming popularity of this shape has been recognised as a feature of other Greek habitation deposits of the period (Kearsley 1995a, 74). By contrast, the wide-flung distribution of Greek skyphoi in indigenous Near Eastern contexts is clearly of an entirely different nature and most likely due to the fact that the quality of the fabric and glaze was generally higher than that of local wares.²⁸

The finding of domesticated buffalo horns within some Level 9 structures (Woolley 1938, 155 with Francis and Vickers 1983, 249–51) and the identification, more recently, that the marshy environment suitable for raising water buffalo existed in the Amuq Valley (Yener *et al.* 1996, 51) are also conducive to interpreting Al Mina Level 9 as an occupation site of some sort. In combination with its Greek ceramic character, it may be reasonably viewed as a Greek settlement on present evidence.²⁹ The purpose of Greek settlement at Al Mina in the period represented by Level 9 remains to be explored.

In the years when the armies of the Aramaean kingdoms and of

²⁸ For these reasons also it is not surprising that imitations of the skyphoi were attempted locally. Local production of Greek wares is recognized in Cyprus and elsewhere in the Levant (Coldstream 1995, 194; Bonatz 1993, 146–47), however opinions differ on the question of local production, whether Greek or non-Greek, at Al Mina (Kearsley 1995a, 77–79).

²⁹ The cooking pots (inv. nos. 120, 527) reported from Al Mina and only briefly described (see Kearsley 1995a, 74–75 n. 248) are not from Level 9 but Level 8. The Expedition's 'Pottery Inventory' indicates that they both remained in Antioch.

the Phoenician states were repeatedly attempting to fend off Assyrian encroachment, that is from around the middle of the eighth century until its last decade, Assyrian sources indicate warrior Greeks were taking the opportunity to exercise their skills and, no doubt, reap appropriate rewards in the politically unstable Levantine area. A mercenary encampment of 7th century date was long ago identified at Meşad Hashavyahu in Israel (Navch 1962, 97–99) and a similar identification has recently been proposed for Tell Kabri in a similar period (Niemeier 1994, 31–38; Niemeier 1995, 304–5). That Tell Kabri's occupation may extend back to an even earlier period, however, one which overlaps with Al Mina to some extent is suggested by the reported presence of pottery from the late 8th century B.C. (Kempinski and Niemeier 1993, 259; *cf.* Kearsley 1995a, 40–45 Nos. 13–14). By analogy with these sites, it may be proposed that a mercenary group mainly comprising Euboeans, was living briefly at the mouth of the Orontes. Presumably their presence was sanctioned by the ruler of the kingdom of Unqi which, prior to its incorporation within the Assyrian empire in 738 (Braun 1982, 12; Botto 1990, 22), ruled the hinterland of Al Mina; alternatively, since the northern Phoenician city of Arvad (Arados) was forced to submit to Assyria in the same period (Kestemont 1985, 135–53, especially 147; Botto 1990, 24; Culican 1991, 468) and Phoenician activity in the north contracted (Oded 1974, 46; Aubet 1993, 46–47), Phoenician opposition is unlikely to have been a prohibitive factor should the Euboeans simply have camped on land at the mouth of the river which they knew from earlier visits to the area to be unoccupied. Despite the various reports of conflict between Assyrians and Greeks during the second half of the eighth century in specific campaigns, there is no evidence for a general exclusion of Greek activity from the region (Botto 1993, 40).

Clearly no more than surmise is involved in the above proposals for the arrival of Euboean settlers at Al Mina but each of the scenarios may be illustrated from events in Egypt in the following century. For example, an invitation to settle was extended by Psammetichus I to the mercenaries he employed (Herodotus 2. 154; Diod. Sic. 1. 67. 1). In the case of the Euboeans at Al Mina such a political accord may well be reflected in the strong presence of Greek Geometric pottery at Tell Tayinat (see Kearsley 1995a, 70–73). This latter site has been suspected to be Kunulua (Calneh), the capital of Unqi (Braun 1982, 11). For the arbitrary occupation of land, on the

other hand, the example of the wandering Milesians who took over and fortified land in the Nile delta in the time of Psammetichus (Strabo 17. 1. 18, C801–2) may be cited, even though the possibility that land might be seized in such a manner has been discounted in the past (Braun 1982, 5).

b. *Level 8: Al Mina as a port of trade*

The second phase of Al Mina's history may be recognised in Level 8, for which the period in the latter part of the 8th century from the beginning of the reign of Sargon II in 720 B.C. appears appropriate. It was during this time that the Phoenicians expanded their economic interests into north Syria once more and also resumed their interest in the metal-bearing regions of the Taurus massif in southern Anatolia (Botto 1990, 33–39; Aubet 1993, 48). The appearance of Red-Slip pottery at Al Mina is a material reflection of this re-emergence of Phoenician interest in the north (Bonatz 1993, 143–44, 155). Likewise, the connections with Cyprus which the large amount of Cypriot pottery in Level 8 indicates became very marked at the same time, is also likely to be due to the same phenomenon of Phoenician expansion. Tyre's commercial links with that island had been intense, at least since the foundation of Kition at the end of the 9th century (Aubet 1993, 68). They were still so in the second half of the 8th (Boardman 1990, 183–84; Aubet 1993, 47).

Along with the new ceramic diversity in Level 8 at Al Mina—Cypriot, local Red Slip and Phoenician pottery in quantity alongside the Greek—more substantial structures were built according to a new plan (Woolley 1938, 16). These features combined suggest the arrival of additional inhabitants of non-Greek origin at Al Mina.³⁰ The culturally-mixed assemblage found in Room 8 appears as a microcosm of the intensive interaction which might be expected between Greeks and non-Greeks as a result of cohabitation at the site (Kearsley 1995, 75–76).³¹ Moreover, residence in a social context such as Level 8 appears to represent, particularly if it extended over more than one generation at Al Mina, could explain the debate over the ori-

³⁰ Woolley 1938, 154 reports that there were many Cypriot sherds mixed with the layer of stones forming the floor foundation of Room 8 in Level 8.

³¹ Culturally mixed deposits of a similar kind have also been found in the West Mediterranean in the areas of Phoenician and Greek expansion: Bonatz 1993, 147.

gin of the Gephyraean clan living in Boeotia. They claimed that they were Eretrian but others believed them to be Phoenician (Herodotus 5. 57). Such mixed cultural identities was one result of the settlement of mercenaries in Egypt in the 7th century (Austin 1970, 18–19).

In the final decades of the 8th century, during Level 8, Al Mina emerged as the port of trade which is so clearly revealed in the levels of the Classical period. A ready supply of slaves to offer in payment for Near Eastern goods or metal ore would be available to any who fell into the category of mercenary or pirate (*cf.* Braun 1982, 14–15), hence the development from a mercenary settlement to a port of commercial nature is conceivable from the Greek perspective as well as from the Phoenician and Cypriot.³² Such a process of transformation would not be unique to Al Mina. A similar development has already been proposed with respect to Naukratis in the following century (Perreault 1991, 404–5). At Al Mina, however, the important role of the Phoenicians is far better documented archaeologically (*cf.* Sullivan 1996, 186–87).

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³² The stone weights, and what may be parts of a weighing balance, in Tomb 79 at the Toumba cemetery, Lefkandi (Popham and Lemos 1995, 153–54) suggest that the exchange value received by such Euboean warriors might be in precious material.

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6. THE EXCAVATED HISTORY OF AL MINA

John Boardman

The archaeological and historical importance of Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Al Mina has been the subject of considerable comment in recent years, though little unanimity. The site has veered from being regarded as virtually a Greek colony with a Trojan war pedigree, to being a Syrian town importing some Greek pottery and run by Phoenicians. Dr Kearsley's detailed account of much of the Greek pottery from Levels 10–8 at last gives a good ground for debate about what arrived from Greece in the Late Geometric period, roughly the second half of the 8th century B.C., but of course the story of Al Mina cannot be judged on the record of the Greek pottery alone, and, through no fault of hers, the material she surveyed is incomplete. It is time to return to the archaeology and the full range of the available primary evidence. This cannot be done in a wholly comprehensive manner here, but I hope this will prove a fuller survey of the main classes of all finds and of the circumstances of their excavation than any hitherto, including Woolley's, since he left the pottery for others to study in detail.

Previous accounts of the Greek pottery finds were either highly selective, as that by Martin Robertson published in 1940,¹ or summary, as by the author in 1964/1980 (but based on knowledge of many of the available pieces).² Kearsley's patient work, although perforce with not all the evidence, renders further bibliographical study of most of the 8th-century pottery unnecessary and will certainly not be repeated here, though some attributions may be more positive. For the non-Greek pottery Joan du Plat Taylor made a thorough study, published in 1959, and Einar Gjerstad in 1974 re-studied mainly the Cypriot pottery. These articles record the reported levels in which the pottery was found, based on inked marks on the sherds themselves. There seems to have developed a general consensus that there was a significant break between Levels 7 and 8, and Kearsley's

¹ Robertson (1940).

² *The Greeks Overseas* (1964) 61–70; (1980) 38–46; (1999) 270–72.

article is explicitly about Levels 10–8 only. This is largely because there is much pottery marked '8/9' and much marked '6/7', but almost none marked '7/8'. I demur.³

What has barely been used seriously by anyone, except anecdotally, is Woolley's record of the excavation itself and what he had to say about the character of the various deposits. I had considered enough of it to be sure in my own mind that the major archaeological and historical break at the site was between Levels 6 and 7, not 7 and 8. Now that details of the pottery finds level by level are more accessible it may be timely to look back at the excavator's account and only then consider pottery styles and level numbers written upon sherds. The former is more likely to elucidate the latter than vice versa, and Woolley was highly experienced not only as an excavator but with eastern pottery.

Another factor is the reassessment of a class of pottery at Al Mina which had been largely ignored at first, then treated by me as possibly of local production, and more recently by Kearsley, as of eastern production by Greeks. I suggest the term Euboeo-Levantine for it, without any implication that it has a single place of origin. It plays a larger part in the history of Al Mina than has been thought. There is also a 'Cypro-Levantine' class than needs elucidation.

Excavated pottery is normally published oldest first, but the excavator meets the latest first—Level 1 is at the surface—and the descriptions and value of observed levels and marked finds have to be judged with this in mind. Fortunately Woolley's main description of the digging (Woolley 1938) is logical, from the top down.

Digging an occupation site with mainly earth or clay floors is not easy. My own experience is slight but has proved useful; it was at Old Smyrna (Archaic Greek) and at Emporio (Chios; late Roman),

³ This paper has been largely prompted by Kearsley's article and by work by the British Museum staff on numbering the uncatalogued pottery from the site, which now includes the pieces I alluded to as of a 'private collection': see Kearsley (1995a, 9, n. 2). I am much indebted to Lucilla Burn, Louise Schofield and Sally Ann Ashton for giving me access to this material and database, and discussing problems. The non-Greek pottery is mainly in the London Institute of Archaeology, and I am indebted to Peter Ucko, Nick Merriman and Karen Exell for giving me access to it. I have also looked again at the material in Oxford and Cambridge, thanks to Anthony Snodgrass and Michael Vickers, and my notes on Eton and elsewhere. Chris Mee sent me photographs of the material in Liverpool University, and Edward Robinson that in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney. My comments here do not depend on any exhaustive analysis of the material, such as Kearsley has devoted to some of the Greek pottery of Levels 8–10, but do cover a far greater range.

on both occasions under the experienced guidance of Sinclair Hood. Hood excavated with Woolley and I am indebted to him for discussion of some of the problems: most of them are matters of common sense but not often to the fore in the minds of pottery students, as myself. For example: defining exactly the level of an earth or clay floor is not easy. Distinguishing between what is on, in, and under the floor, which might itself have thickened with use, or been renewed, can often defy the most expert observer, let alone the hired digger. When a level has been dug to its floor and possibly through it, its walls and their foundations are dismantled, the foundation trenches emptied, and the pottery from them is marked by any cautious excavator as jointly of the floor level and that below it, since the pottery embedded within the wall predates use of the floor, but the possibility of contamination from contemporary use (*e.g.* from repairs) is considerable. This may be done before the floor of the lower level is even reached. Hence the common use in the Al Mina reports of joint level numbers. For the case in point, the many sherds labelled 6/7 are most likely to indicate the richness of Level 6 floors and walls, and include much of Level 7, or indeed from lower levels, and the absence of 7/8 need not mean that there was a clear gap between 7 and 8; indeed the exact opposite is the case as we shall see.⁴ Some of the floors themselves had been given pebble foundations which might have made observation easier, except for what was *in* rather than *on* them (see below on Room 8), but on the published plans far less than half the area of the lower levels is marked with such floors. Matters are not helped by the tiresome practice of ancient householders of *not* renewing walls and floors all at the same time and at the same level. Woolley (1938, 6-7) is eloquent about these problems. Thus antiquity effectively militates against those wishing to discern or impose regular patterns of change and development in settlements.

The Al Mina pottery marking did not take place immediately

⁴ Joan du Plat Taylor, an expert excavator, saw the point: Taylor (1959, 92): "It is probable that many of the sherds which are labelled VII-VI come from the clearance of walls and floors of level VI and therefore do in fact belong to the last occupation of level VII, through which the foundations of VI were dug". Nowadays such material would be given a separate level number following methods of stratigraphic excavation which are a refinement of Woolley's method of digging from floor to floor, or rather, from wall complex to wall complex. No 'level' is truly intelligible without some sort of architectural context.

upon excavation, and when the question of dividing material between Antioch and the excavation arose the inventory numbers given (some 650, of all periods) started with the earliest (*i.e.*, latest found). The inventoried pottery is mainly from stated levels, recorded in the list if not on the sherds, but there are very many more with level numbers only, not inventoried, although most must have come from observed levels. At this point it is necessary to remember that Woolley's excavations were very personal affairs. At Al Mina he says his wife saw to the fieldwork and drawings, and he may never have had more than one other person at hand in the trenches, usually himself, apart from the architect. There are brief field notes (in Woolley's hand) of some areas under their eyes, and these form the basis of his published description of the crucial area where the lowest levels were best preserved. He may only have marked level numbers on pottery, and very selectively, after making the inventory for distribution. We know or can recover the level numbers of less than 20% of the diagnostic (*i.e.*, kept) material likely to be from Levels 10 to 7. There are many handsome sherds and even complete vases not marked at all. Working from marked sherds only can produce results which are only roughly representative, and the criteria which determined whether a sherd should be marked or numbered need have had nothing to do with its statistical value as representative of any particular level. What was observed at the time of digging and written up shortly afterwards (this was a golden age of really rapid publication) is of prime significance and is at least as important as what was subsequently kept and marked, possibly with hindsight about what had come to be understood about the context.

We have also to bear in mind the possibility of individual sherds, possibly even groups, being assigned to a wrong level either at excavation (the confusion of pits, wall-fills, mixing baskets of finds) or at the time of marking. Thus, the terracotta fragment MN110, published as from Level 8 and therefore 8th-century, is patently part of a 6th-century Ionian figure vase, and there are several comparable cases.⁵ The plans show that the site was riddled with Arab wells dug through the old levels, an obvious source of contamination, up and down. We have to work from numbers and proportions, and the apparent clustering of types in the various levels, recognising that there was

⁵ Woolley 1938, 169, pl. 10 bottom left.

a degree of seepage between levels and that singletons can prove nothing.⁶

The excavations took place in 1936–7. Woolley wrote a fairly detailed preliminary report on the dig in 1937, followed the next year by the ‘final’ record of the digging, with a separate account giving details of each level and of the finds other than pottery.⁷ All three accounts are relevant, not least that of the non-pottery finds which are commonly ignored.

I offer here a description of the digging, from the top, my sources being Woolley (1937, 4–5, 8–11; 1938, 10–11, 150–5) and his field notes. The whole tell site was only four metres high. The north side where the earliest levels were best preserved had been shorn away by a change in the line of the river. Woolley thought that even earlier levels may have been swept away but we should probably assume that we have evidence for the earliest material though there was clearly much more of the same now lost, and later levels were proportionately more fully represented by the finds. The general area was long occupied after the Iron Age settlements of the 8th to 4th centuries B.C., but it is reasonable to assume that the well-defined (though now incomplete) tell was the focus of this occupation, and any wider strew of evidence from occupation may be the debris of later periods, if not simply the result of intensive field cultivation in the area.⁸

I ignore the Classical Levels, and start with Level 5. There was certainly a hiatus before (below) Level 4, whose buildings were laid out in a different plan, quite apart from the pottery evidence for

⁶ Almost all the Greek pottery is now in the British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge, and the non-Greek in the Institute of Archaeology, London (IAL); and there are small collections in Eton College, Sydney, Liverpool and Philadelphia. All of this has been accessioned by the museums, but for a quantity of mean and meaningness mainly non-Greek sherds in IAL. There is also material in the Antakya (Antioch) Museum and individual pieces went to Aleppo and Damascus. My knowledge is only of the material in Britain and Sydney, and of the rest from hearsay, but so far as possible this has been allowed for.

⁷ The cancelled field notes now in IAL, written by Woolley, are the basis for Woolley (1938, 154–5) and add some detail. I am indebted to Karen Exell for copying these for me; I quote them here and there in this article. Woolley (1953) ch. 10 has a very readable account of the dig.

⁸ D. Saltz, in her unpublished thesis (1978) declared against the likelihood of any earlier period being completely missing. For the strew of sherds today see: Lehmann 1996, 171.

very little activity on the site through much of the 6th century. There is virtually no material labelled Levels 4/5; it would have been from Level 4 walls or the relatively bare underfloor. In one area (J8) Woolley had to dig another 1.45 m below Level 4 before coming upon a 'scrap' of a Level 6 wall since it was a place where Level 5 "had disappeared altogether". Where Level 5 floors were preserved Woolley came upon walls and floors with a fair amount of pottery assigned simply to Level 5. However, below them he found that the Level 5 walls were largely dependent on walls built for the floors of Level 6. Some pottery is understandably marked Levels 5/6 and a lot specifically Level 6. We shall find the Levels 5 and 6 continuum which was noted in the digging matched well by the finds.

Level 6 was substantial, and destroying it and its walls produced much material properly marked Levels 6/7, before any actual floor of Level 7 had been reached. It remained to discover what Level 7 amounted to (remember we are working down in the earth with the excavator, but backwards in time). Below Level 6 he came upon decayed walls of Level 7. These were 0.40 m below the Level 6 foundations at the area described in the last paragraph (J8). There were walls and floors with plentiful pottery. However, it soon became clear that these walls were mainly a reshaping of the earlier Level 8, which in J8 was 0.45 lower. But elsewhere the differences between Levels 7 and 8 were only 0.30–0.40 m; in places Level 7 was quite lacking and for most of the area it seems that there were no floors, simply walls indicated by foundations laid over Level 8 walls. In general "the distinction between [8 and 7] is not always easy to recognise". As a result while the first discovery of some Level 7 floors produced finds that could be confidently marked, the fusion of Levels 7 and 8 meant that most was deemed to belong to the earlier Level (8) and in Woolley's view the two were barely to be distinguished although there were slight differences in the composition of finds from Level 7. This goes far to explain the richness of both Level 7 and Level 8, but also why there is very little regarded as 'Levels 7/8', while there was plenty of 'Levels 8/9' since it was the Level 8 walls and floor that had to be demolished to reach lower, earlier material, and its walls, and often floors, were not distinguishable from Level 7, since the same walls (which defined the level) served more than one floor. In fact, from the field notes it seems that Level 8 came to be regarded as a multi-floor period with walls often repaired or rebuilt

somewhat higher.⁹ The uppermost, where the floors were rarely preserved, were taken as Level 7. It was above, not below, Level 7 that there was a clear historical and structural break on the site, while the contents of Levels 7 and 8 can be seen as a continuum as clear as that of Levels 5 and 6.¹⁰

An interesting reflection on the problems of the digging comes with reference to Level 8, Room 8, which was picked out by later commentators as having finds which seem to have given it some character mainly lacking in the finds elsewhere in the lower levels. Kearsley, basing her deductions on the marked pottery, finds enough Greek material there to wonder whether this was not the home of a Greek (Kearsley 1995a, 75–6; *cf.* Taylor 1959, 63). But it is far from clear how well this chimes with Woolley's observation (1938, 154) of "a vast quantity of Cypriote sherds mixed with a layer of rough stones which were a floor foundation of that room in the Level 8 period". And if we look at the plans in Woolley (1937; 1938) we find that the walls of Room 8 are defined by walls of Level 7, whose floor here, says Woolley, was missing, so that the Level 8 floor may have been of some larger extent than the 'Room'.

Below Level 8 floors and walls Woolley distinguished Levels 9 and 10, with scrappy walls giving no intelligible plans, but of more than one phase. There is a quantity of pottery, mainly marked Levels 8/9 or 9, though he writes also of the pottery of Level 10. Pottery so described in a handlist of the finds for distribution has been noted by Kearsley to have been marked 'Level 9'. A field note remarks of one area:

The walls of Level 9 had the top of their foundations circ 030 below the bottom of those of 8. The walls contained much pottery.

⁹ Woolley (1938, 155) remarks on the finding of the crater with bulls (*ibid.*, 17, fig. 5, in Damascus): "between two layers of cobble floor-foundation, both of which were associated with Level 8 walls".

¹⁰ Saltz 1978, 45–7, suggested that Woolley had in part of the site confused Levels 6 and 7. Certainly, a very few of the more substantial Level 7 walls in the southern area seem to have suggested the lines of some Level 6 walls, which is not surprising, but the majority do not, and Woolley's description of the digging as well as the marked pottery do not vindicate her claim that sherds marked 'Levels 6/7' "indicate that during excavation, VII and VI could not be separated"; I have explained the '6/7' phenomenon above. Woolley 1938, 6–7, pointed out that there was some element of survival between all levels on the site.

Virgin soil (sand) was identified 0.80–0.60 m below Level 8, Level 10's clay floor being "laid directly on the natural sand", "only just above sea Level". The line of at least one Level 9 wall was continued above in Level 8/7. Woolley's field notes reveal some uncertainty over the distinction between Levels 9 and 10, though there were certainly two lower levels at least, and he was not sure whether the "big pottery hoard" (the 'subgeometric') went with 9 or 10:

... of Level X only a narrow strip was found along the limit of our excavation, breaking away where the steep cliff fell to the old river bed.¹¹

The field note is worth quoting *in extenso* since it indicates the nature of the lowest floor and the pottery on it, as well as the multiple floors of what was taken as Level 8 above:

Level 8–9. Room 5. At the SW end of the room, and in Room 14 (which at this low level is part of the same room) there was a definite floor level of stiff clay laid over the sand of the pre-occupation level and the sherds of brown 'local subgeometric' rested on this. The Level corresponded with that on which similar sherds were found below the rough stone floor foundations in room 8 next door. This floor was 120 below the bottom of the foundations of the NW wall of Level 7 in this room. These were laid on the Level 8 wall below it. But at 062 above the floor was a thin burnt ash stratum showing a temporary surface and at 092 was a clay floor (much broken) which would agree well with Level 8. Under the NW wall there were stones not above the floor level which must be a wall of Level 9 running exactly parallel to Level 7: probably Level 8 had a mudbrick wall in the same line (the intervening soil was mudbrick earth).

So much for the digging. I have alluded to the pottery and finds only by their alleged or marked level numbers, not by their character or date. I cannot remedy this here in at all a comprehensive manner, but there is enough available evidence to make certain simple and probably correct observations which do justice both to the excavation and the apparent sources of the finds, and do not depend on the marked pottery alone, or on preconceptions about what Al Mina's archaeological history *should* be. I shall also consider briefly some of the broader historical implications. My deductions accord roughly with Kearsley except over Levels 6–8. The history of Al

¹¹ Woolley 1953, 174.

Mina is hardly likely to be explained by looking only at the Greek pottery found there, so I have tried to put all the pottery finds together in a rather summary way. Only a major exercise, backed by clay analyses, will produce anything close to a definitive result, and the nature of the material rather militates against any serious attempt to do this, but the labours of previous scholars and of museums can take us far.

In Table. 1 I give a chart summarizing the distribution of the various wares by levels, where these are known, but also listing unmarked pieces which can stylistically be properly assigned to the same classes and period. I give proportions of the overall total of diagnostic pottery kept, some 3200 pieces so far as I can judge. Thus, in the chart 10% represents some 320 items, 0.03% a single item. I would readily admit that others would count differently, as might I on other occasions.

This is not, however, a simple manner of identification and counting. A number of the small sherds of decorated Greek skyphos lips could no doubt be associated, even joined, though not many by now, and the same would be true of the non-Greek material. But I have ignored more than 150 Greek skyphos bases and handles (BM) which

Levels	9	9/8	8	7	7/6	None	Total
<i>Greek</i>							
SPG	0.13	0.19	0.19	—	—	0.53	1.03
LG	2.41	2.13	2.38	0.06	1.22	17.27	25.48
Imit	—	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.78	7.68	8.65
Cor	—	—	0.03	—	0.22	0.88	1.13
E.Gk.	0.13	0.06	0.16	0.06	0.72	1.66	2.79
Eub-Levant	0.63	0.38	0.63	0.03	0.09	6.64	8.40
<i>Non-Greek</i>							
Cypriot	—	0.03	2.51	0.38	0.19	28.77	31.88
Red Slip	0.06	0.34	0.91	0.09	0.60	18.65	20.65
TOTAL	3.36	3.19	6.84	0.68	3.82	82.08	100

Table 1. Percentages of pottery found by class and level (where known).

are likely to go with body and lip fragments otherwise counted. There is also a large quantity of non-accessioned and virtually unidentifiable and small sherds in IAL, all non-Greek. Many are quite undiagnostic; from Gjerstad's figures it seems that some 30% of the Cypriot are likely to be from levels above Level 7, and I have reduced my rather rough-and-ready count of these sherds accordingly. I have done the same for 15% of the unaccessioned Red Slip fragments which were saved, a proportion of which must belong to levels later than 10-7. This is not, therefore, a very exact exercise but I do not think it is seriously misleading. Plain wares, storage or carriage amphorae, Woolley (1938, figs. 26-7), were not kept but the shapes were noted and their occurrence in levels relevant to us were recorded. Much plain pottery was thrown away at the time of excavation but the diagnostic pottery that was kept included, it seems, everything with even the slightest decoration or indication of shape (lip, foot), and even the veriest scraps of shapeless Red Slip or black glaze, which is reassuring. There is no indication that any wares, Greek or non-Greek, were favoured in the choice, indeed there are far more quite undifferentiated scraps of non-Greek kept (in IAL) than of Greek (in the BM). There was certainly no discrimination at Al Mina in favour of keeping only nondescript Greek pottery.¹²

The Greek material in the chart depends only in part on Kearsley's catalogue, added to from personal observation, but not intense study, of the collections in Cambridge, Oxford, Eton, London (British Museum and the Institute of Archaeology [IAL]), and photographs from Liverpool and Sydney Universities. Her groups are determined by decoration rather than shape and fabric, and are confined to examples marked Levels 9-8 with select parallels, marked (mainly 6/7) and unmarked.¹³ My survey includes everything marked as Levels 10-7, with all unmarked pottery of the same classes and apparent date.

I identify the main classes in the chart as follows:

¹² Which may go some way to alleviate Jane C. Waldbaum's doubts about the significance of quantities and proportions at the site: Waldbaum (1997, 6) in an important article, especially for other periods whose Greekness I would not presume to judge. Woolley's distribution list indicates very few non-Greek pieces from early levels (some 30) assigned to stay in Antioch.

¹³ This can make for some odd bedfellows (*e.g.* No. 93 kotyle, No. 97 dinos, with skyphoi of group 4), or divide some singles (*e.g.*, group 27: 'Asterisk as filler...'). Of her Orientalising group 22 No. 35 is Cypriot, 36 is Corinthian, 224 and 225 are Wild Goat style, aliens in Level 8.

Greek

1. The sub-Protogeometric (SPG) material ('pendant-semicircle' [PSC] cups etc.; Kearsley group 2). These are generally agreed to be of Euboean origin, most if not all, on grounds of style and composition, but their date and origin require a brief discussion here.¹⁴ Kearsley's careful study of PSC cups in 1989 distinguished a latest type, Type 6, which represents (almost) the only type found at Al Mina, and which she believed to belong to the years 750–700 B.C. This dating has been countered by Popham and others.¹⁵ Thus, there are in fact pieces of her Type 5 at Al Mina. And with so much more Euboean LG from the west now known, the argument *ex silentio* from the relative scarcity of SPG wares in the west remains valid, *pace* Kearsley (1995a, 68), while the examples of Type 6 from other contexts are few and far between. These are cups she thought might have been made in Al Mina, which she took to be the source also of many of the finds in the west, but they appear in Euboea too, and must be judged the latest of this distinguished Euboean SPG series. If Euboean, as most must be, they could hardly have been long if at all contemporary with the very distinctive Euboean LG cups (our next class) which derive their shapes from Attic and are quite unlike the PSC cups in lip profile.¹⁶ In conventional terms this class might belong to the 20 odd years before about 750 B.C.

2. Euboean and related LG. This conflates the material in most of Kearsley's groups and adds much. Most pieces are Euboean skyphoi or kantharoi, with a few other shapes including larger vases, craters

¹⁴ Kearsley still has reservations about the results of clay analysis of what are generally regarded as the Euboean pieces from Al Mina (1995a 77–8; 1995b, 20, 25, n. 25), but I think this is a lost cause, although precise origins may never be ascertained. The analyses are sufficiently unlike such Syrian as has been analysed to rule out local origin for the pieces which are purely Greek in appearance, notably the PSC skyphoi, while the matches with home Euboean are as close as can be wished in the circumstances (M. Popham *et al.*, *BSA* 78 (1983) 281–90; Jones 1986, 691–4). But what I call Euboean might easily include some related pieces from the Cyclades, and surely need not all be from a single source in Euboea.

¹⁵ Notably the review by M.R. Popham and I. Lemos in *Gnomon* 1992, 153–5. SPG III is now subdivided into SPG IIIA and IIIB, the former representing the latest from the Lefkandi cemetery, and IIIB, presumably, the latest of the PSC cups (the gap, at Lefkandi, between the cemetery finds and the start of LG). See now also J.N. Coldstream *RDAC* 1995, 192–3, 203.

¹⁶ *Pace* Kearsley (1995b, 19): "a lip profile in the Euboean Late Geometric manner". The LG lips are mainly tall and almost straight; the PSC of Type 6 shallow and concave.

and the like, some of them figure-decorated. Stray pieces of Cycladic and Attic are included in the count, such as SOS amphorae which might be Attic or Euboean.¹⁷ The skyphos is the typical Euboean shape with rims ranging from the very slightly out-turned to the high vertical, and a range of lip and body patterns (generally metopal) which are very well attested by now in Euboea, at Eretria, Lefkandi and Chalcis.¹⁸ It is assumed that Euboean LG begins around 750 B.C. From the larger vessels found at Eretria it is clear that the Geometric mode continued into the 7th century, and it may well be that the apparently LG skyphoi, and larger vases with added white (sparse at Al Mina) run on beyond 700, perhaps to the 680s B.C., in round terms. At Al Mina the Euboean LG is found already in Level 9, with the main concentration in Levels 8–7, and a possible minor afterlife in Level 6. The examples from Level 9 are on the whole what one might judge to be the earliest, with simple metopal patterns, generally better executed than later. From Level 8/7 come the examples of what was clearly the latest Euboean LG. These include skyphoi with tall rims with rows of dashes. Also the Euboean bichrome (Kearsley group 24 'slip-filled'), which is a very small class of latest LG, mainly low conical cups, using slip to fill some patterns or elsewhere (often on lips) in the decoration, which is basic LG. And the imitation kotylai which appear in our next class. It was the bichrome and the imitations of Corinthian that first suggested a Euboean presence among the Al Mina sherds.¹⁹ There is one example of the distinctive small cup with vertical multiple-brush lines and a black base.²⁰

3. Euboean imitations of Corinthian, mainly kotylai with some skyphoi (chevron).²¹ These are listed separately here since they surely

¹⁷ For the SOS amphorae of Al Mina see A.W. Johnston and R.E. Jones, *BSA* 73 (1978) 104–7. Cf. Woolley's type 11 amphora, examples below and in Level 8, a Greek neck amphora shape, but a composite drawing: Woolley (1938) 151, fig. 27.

¹⁸ The most convenient sources for Eretria are my original study in *BSA* 47 (1952) 3–11, and the finds from Greek and Swiss excavations: A. Andreiomenou in *AE* 1975, 206–29; 1981, 84–113 (skyphoi); 1982, 161–86 (kantharoi, kotylai, craters); 1983, 161–92; J.-P. Descoeudres, *Eretria V* (1976) 13–58. For Chalcis: A. Andreiomenou, *BCH* 108 (1984) 37–69; 109 (1985) 119–75; *BCH* Suppl. 23 (1992) 89–130. J. Boardman and M. Price in *Lefkandi I* (1980) 57–79, and Boardman in *Minotaur and Centaur* (Studies presented to Mervyn Popham, Eds. D. Evelyn *et al.* 1996) 155–60.

¹⁹ Boardman (1957) pl. 2a, b.

²⁰ BM no No. See *Lefkandi I*, 67; the black base is attested at Chalcis and Ischia rather than Lefkandi.

²¹ On the chevron skyphoi see: Kearsley 1995b, 20–23. They are almost certainly Euboean, east and west, and include some shapes without lips, like kotylai

include some of the latest of the LG and were not rare in Levels 6/7. Elsewhere they can be seen to be contemporary with Euboean LG (as in Ischia). Many carry the Corinthian types of wire- and soldier-birds, and use white lines in lips and bowls more freely than does Corinthian. The Al Mina examples are mainly characteristic of Levels 8–7. Some pieces have rays at the base (labelled Levels 8 and 6/7),²² which suggests imitation of Corinthian forms of around or after 700 B.C. I am not aware of these elsewhere, and unfortunately the Al Mina examples do not have their lip patterns preserved.

4. East Greek. These include the LG bird bowls (Kearsley group 19), to which may be added a few fragments of larger vases. The bird bowls are of North Ionian origin, a *koine* from various sources, and they present a steady sequence dated from finds elsewhere. It is not possible to define the place in the sequence which marks the gap between Levels 7 and 6, and I have counted in the heavy-walled ones with patterns (better than mere dots) below the main panels, decidedly earlier than the typical 7th-century three-panel examples which are common in Levels 5–6.²³ I have added pieces of larger vases, craters and oinochoai, which are so far best matched on Samos (North Ionia), notably several heavily slipped pieces with hatched lozenge decoration. These are found in LG Samos, where their 7th-century successors are very similar but generally display a broader use of geometric pattern.²⁴ There is also a good sequence of 'Ionian cups' at Al Mina, the earliest of which are matched on Samos, with stripes and a wavy line at the lip, beginning in LG.

5. Corinthian; LG and Early Protocorinthian (EPC). The few pieces from early levels are from kotylai and there are a very few pieces of ovoid aryballoi.

with inturned rims (*ibid.*, fig. 9). They are not Corinthian (from fabric), and schemes of decoration (like the chevrons) go on longer than on their models. There are no signs of true Thapsos Class shapes, fabric or decoration in the east, as she suggests (see her No. 49 [1995a]) for Neelt's opinion.

²² Oxford 1954.421.3 (8) and 421.4 (6/7), not in Kearsley. Kearsley (1995a) No. 261, Level 9, is clearly out of context, and Corinthian.

²³ For the sequence see: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968) 277–9, 298–301; J. Boardman, *Greek Emporia* (1967) 132–4. Their mainly North Ionian origin (rather than Rhodian, as long assumed) is affirmed in R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (1997) 110–1 (contrast 116–7 in the 1972 edition), and his (1997) *East Greek Pottery*. I am indebted to Dr M. Kerschner for remarks on this matter; cf. *Archaeometry* 35 (1993) 197–210.

²⁴ See H. Walter, *Samos V* (1968) pls. 1–49 for the LG, pls. 52–85 for the 'vorarchaische'. There are several motifs which Samian LG shares with Euboean. There is some Chian at Al Mina but I am not sure that any need be earlier than the 7th century.

6. Euboeo-Levantine, mainly Kearsley's 'linear' skyphoi (her group 15) which have several Cypriot characteristics. They are skyphoi with plain linear, mainly metopal decoration of a simplified Euboean form. Most have plain interiors bearing groups of stripes outlined by heavier stripes, in the Cypriot manner. A few carry bichrome decoration but Greek in content (including a Euboean bird with angled wing) and these are painted within.²⁵ The fabric varies from Cypriot white/buff to pink, paler than the Greek imports, and generally with washier brown paint for those with wholly Greek patterns, also painted within (Woolley's "brown local subgeometric", see below). The matt bichrome examples look more Cypriot. They are all extremely fine-walled, immediately distinguishable from the Cypriot both at Al Mina and in Cyprus, and were surely made and decorated by Greeks, I once thought these could have been made by Greeks at Al Mina, later Cyprus, though analysis was not decisive;²⁶ Kearsley agrees that they were made in the east, perhaps Al Mina itself. See further below.

Non-Greek

For the non-Greek pottery I rely largely on Taylor and Gjerstad, and inspection of the material (by an eye not much expert in eastern pottery styles and fabrics), using Gjerstad's stylistic analysis of the Cypriot material. In his article he austere considered only pieces assigned to a single level, not those of joint levels.

²⁵ Kearsley's (1995a) account of this group is an important step forward in understanding them; she may well be right that there were different eastern sources for them, but they must be Greek-inspired, and from the quality of their potting, I would judge them Greek-made. Note that she omits many pieces I listed (1959, 168-9). These included only pieces in Oxford and two in London shown me by Miss Taylor; pl. 24.1 has the Euboean bird, and pl. 25.24 is strongly reminiscent of Euboean LG amphorae with its vertical thick and multiple wavy lines. Kearsley relegates two (her Nos. 233-4, one with the bare insides) to her group 23 for their exterior decoration. The whole class requires closer inspection and clay analysis to determine and if possible identify different sources. Their distribution is centred on Cyprus, with the north Levant coast, Euboean-infiltrated areas of Italy, and Carthage: just like Euboean LG.

²⁶ Boardman (1959, 163-9); P.J. Riis in *Phönizier im Westen* (ed. H.G. Niemeyer, 1982) 240, 256; Jones (1986, 694-6).

7. Cypriot. Gjerstad (1974, 115) counts examples only from whole levels and identifies the Cypriot Pottery Types (III and IV, of Cypro-Archaic I; these I do not distinguish here). The Black-on-Red, which represents, I believe, less than 15% of all the 'Cypriot', is certainly from the island. Analysis has shown this for all Black-on-Red everywhere.²⁷ Much of the rest of the pottery identified as Cypriot at Al Mina (White Painted and Bichrome) is to be expected to be from the island, but throughout her discussion of it Taylor remarked peculiarities, while Gjerstad observed (1974, 115) that "a considerable quantity is of local origin, *i.e.* made by Cypriotes in Syria. This is shown by the structure of the clay and also by the somewhat uncanonic and peculiar type of ornamentation". This 'Cypro-Levantine' needs closer definition and analysis; I cannot distinguish it here, but note that recent analysis of 20 sherds of Al Mina White Painted and Bichrome failed to identify more than one piece as certainly Cypriot, but was probably inadequately supplied with Cypriot comparanda. Moreover, two of the pieces included were certainly Euboeo-Levantine!²⁸ Syria was probably a major source, perhaps Al Mina itself, which raises the prospect of both Greek (the Euboeo-Levantine) and Cypriot potters at work there. It begins to look as though the Cypriot style in pottery had become something of a *koine* in this north-eastern recess of the Mediterranean; it seems very well represented in Cilicia (Tarsus), in Syria and some little way down the coast to the south.²⁹ At Al Mina it is characteristic from Level 3 up, diminishing in Levels 5/6.

8. Red Slip. This comprises about 40% of all the non-Greek pottery. Most pieces are shallow bowls, and were discussed in detail only by Taylor (1959, 79–85). She notes (79) that "clay and fabric

²⁷ N.J. Brodie and L. Steel, *Archaeometry* 38 (1996) 263–78. It may originally derive from Phoenician heavy-walled juglets but the ware itself is Cypriot.

²⁸ Analyses by Liddy (1996, 481–94). The Euboeo-Levantine are IAL 55/1793, 1795, their compositions not much alike (see Ill. 8, IA 29 and 30). The former is the sherd with the Euboean angle-winged bird; see above. The analyses of the Bichrome and White Painted look broadly homogeneous. It is a common fault in these exercises that the identity of the pieces analysed are inadequately determined or described. A careful assessment of the relation between CG I pottery decoration and Greek Geometric is long overdue. Very many patterns seem shared with Euboean and East Greek.

²⁹ Classical archaeologists might do well to reflect how difficult their work would be if Greek Geometric and Archaic pottery were each a *koine* and local production only distinguishable from clay analysis; also to take care not to be overconfident. Decorated 'Cypriot' and plain Red Slip (see below) remain as little or less well regionally located, as much Greek 'black glaze' of later centuries.

are not identical" to the classic Samaria ware. Analysis of some Al Mina specimens reveals two clusters, either or both possibly local, while analysis of Red Slip from Tell Ajjul and Tell Fara in Palestine shows each also likely to be of local manufacture, or at least unlike each other and Al Mina.³⁰ It should not be long before 'Red Slip' is accepted as being a Levantine *koine*, and at present 'Syrian Red Slip' may be as good a description of the Al Mina finds as any. This was Woolley's term for the ware. At Al Mina the class is prominent in Level 8 but continues through the 7th century.

The dating of the Cypriot periods and the non-Greek pottery still depends largely on opinions about the dating of Greek pottery rather than near eastern, and I use the conventional dates for Greek pottery, not because I am totally confident in them but because I find no sound arguments against them, when used flexibly, and because wherever more pottery is found the dating makes very good historical sense in context.

It will be seen that over 47% of what I have counted as pertinent to Levels 10–7 is Greek or what I characterise as Euboeo-Levantine; the rest Cypriot or Syrian or related. In 1990 I guessed that the 'Greek' was up to about 50% (then some 820 items, now some 1500) of the whole, knowing the non-Greek only from hearsay.³¹ In Levels 9 and 8/9 the Greek and Euboeo-Levantine are as much as 93.3% of all found and marked. In Levels 8 and 7 they are 48.5%. Or, taking the Greek imports alone, the figures are respectively 78% (Levels 9 and 8/9) and 39.8% (Levels 8 and 7). The overall proportions through all the period and levels surveyed may now be viewed roughly as follows, in terms of percentage of all items:

³⁰ Liddy (1996).

³¹ Kearsley (1995a, 9, N. 2) notices that her totals are smaller even than my 1990 calculation (1990, 171–2). This is partly because I included what I judged to be of the period of Level 7 also, though this is basically much the same as what she assigns to Level 8. To add are the 'private collection' pieces now in London (BM), those in IAL, as well as various undifferentiated 'Geometric' that she may have dismissed, as well as many that unquestionably belong with her main groups; not forgetting the two in Cambridge that had wandered into an Histria tray: J. Boardman, *OJA* 10 (1991) 387–90. Thus, I would count over 100 relevant Greek pieces in Cambridge (in 1990 it was 120), while she mentions only 34. My reported 'about 80' for Antakya can be reduced to Kearsley's Nos. 1–43. She rele-

Greek imports	39.0%
Euboeo-Levantine	8.4%
Cypriot and Cypro-Levantine	31.9%
Syrian Red Slip	20.6%

The chart cannot be totally accurate or comprehensive, nor perhaps could it ever be, but it holds some messages. It can take no account of sherds that wandered in antiquity, in the digging and in the recording. This is an added reason for listening closely to the excavator. There are several pieces assigned to a level to which, stylistically, they cannot belong (see above), but of course early pieces may occur properly in any higher (later) level. The proportions between wares within each level may be taken seriously; proportions between levels depend on how much of each level was dug, and we have seen that the earliest levels were only represented at the edge of the site, and so their yield compared with the upper levels looks proportionately less than it should.

The period of use for each level at Al Mina was obviously not equal. This we judge roughly from the nature of the finds and the digging. There is no way of quantifying this accurately. It should not be assumed that Levels 10–9 were of short duration simply because the walls were poorly preserved, given that they were replete with pottery. But in all, Levels 10–7 may not have occupied much more than 80 years, while Levels 6–5 may have filled nearly a century, as we shall see. In relating the pottery to the excavated levels I start at the beginning, with the lowest.

Woolley (1938, 16) wrote that in Levels 9–10, “the pottery, which considering the thinness of the combined strata was relatively abundant, was all of subgeometric type, and while much of it was imported from the Greek islands, some of it was undoubtedly of local fabric”. His words suggest that the ‘local fabric’ was also subgeometric, a point of some importance as we shall see. His ‘subgeometric’ is not, of course, the same as ours today, since we confine the term to a post-Geometric style, he to pottery of any broadly geometric appearance.

gates some relevant pieces to footnotes rather than listing them (*e.g.*, in her nn. 21, 31–2, 40, 54, 99, 107, 142, 156–7, 178). Most important, however, is the mass of material which has been accessioned in the BM only in 1995 and later, and had not been seen by Kearsley or myself; this dramatically increases the count of marked and unmarked sherds.

In the field notes we read of the lowest floor, on virgin sand, "and the sherds of brown 'local subgeometric' rested on this" (referring to rooms 5, 8 and 14; the passage is quoted fully above). Brown is the characteristic colour of the paint on our Euboeo-Levantine skyphoi. He noted no Cypriot, but possibly Levantine amphorae (his type 2) in Level 9 (1938, 154) and a field note places amphorae of type 11 (Greek neck amphorae) below the floor of Level 8 (room 4) and in Level 8 (room 10). This gives the impression that there was an overwhelming proportion of Greek pottery, mainly but not wholly of the restricted range of shapes apparent in the earliest material (cups). The Greek pottery assigned to Level 10 in the distribution list was marked as of Level 9.³² It might be that Woolley decided that any distinction between Levels 10 and 9 in terms of the finds was meaningless. Woolley's field notes show that he was in two minds about whether the "big pottery hoard" should be assigned to Level 9 or 10. Yet in only a relatively small part of the site were these early levels preserved. We have at least a clear description of the lowest level and can identify the pottery upon it. Given the relatively restricted and truncated area of the early levels which was available for digging (see above), the volume and nature of finds, *vis-à-vis* the rest of the site, are remarkable. They are moreover identifiable generically and, many of them, individually.

Kearsley remarks that there is nothing marked of Levels 9–10 which is not equally representative of Level 8, but even in the marked pottery of Level 9 and 8/9 there is the majority of the stylistically earliest pottery (the SPG Euboean), not the latest LG, and almost nothing Cypriot (one piece is marked Level 9), and since Levels 9–10 were real enough, as we can see from the plans of walls and what Woolley says, and highly productive (a "big pottery hoard") we must judge this pottery typical of them. Indeed it is likely that all of our class 1 (the SPG) arrived during the period of occupation of Levels 9–10, together with what must be judged to be the earliest of the LG. Moreover, the SPG cups and dishes are a very small minority of all the Greek wares of Levels 10–7, and must be the earliest of the finds in these levels, which is what all else known about them

³² Kearsley (1995a, 17); her No. 1 does not look Greek to me. Note that the inventory number 149 applies also and better to a sherd from a Corinthian LG kotyle with a dotted lozenge band at the lip, thus also agreeing with the description in the distribution list ('lattice lozenge') and marked Level 9.

also suggests. The Al Mina specimens (most of them her Type 6) should slightly antedate Euboean LG, and so conventionally belong to the generation before about 750 B.C. Earlier dates for the lowest levels at Al Mina, as propounded by Taylor and others (earlier than 800 B.C.), are, as Kearsley has shown, possibly no longer tenable, and the Greek pottery has to define the chronology. The LG from Level 9 is plentiful and varied enough to suggest a conventional date for its end by the 730s B.C.

A very significant number of the Euboeo-Levantine cups are labelled as from Level 9. It is these that Woolley refers to as "brown local subgeometric" in the lowest levels and on the lowest floor (see above).

The implications of all this for the history of the site are profound, were well recognised from early days, but are often now discounted—though not altogether in Kearsley (1995a, 80)—or forgotten. In the 1950s Dunbabin could write:

There is nothing among the finds from the lowest Level that appear to belong to any Asiatic people; in this respect there is nothing to differentiate the place from one of the many Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, or on the Black Sea coast.³³

This is no more than what Woolley says. Woolley, of course, was well familiar with Levantine pottery styles. But the contents of the earliest levels do lend colour to the assumption made at the time that the first occupation of Al Mina had something, perhaps all, to do with a Greek presence, especially when the later levels were also so heavily supplied with Greek pottery compared with non-Greek. We know now that similar pottery of earlier date and the same origin had been carried to other eastern sites, but in very small numbers indeed and not in the unique proportional quantity it had at Al Mina.³⁴ The relatively restricted range of types (cups mainly) suggests Greek use for them, though larger shapes are certainly represented, and there are both Greek and Levantine storage vessels. Later there is the Cypriot, wherever made, and there is very good reason to think that the Greek-style pottery was not a serious item of bulk

³³ In *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* (1957) 25.

³⁴ Boardman (1990, 171–5) for the figures, which could be considerably modified now, given the far shorter period involved at Al Mina *vis-à-vis* the other sites compared—less than 100 years against up to 200 years at the others. Now that so much more material is known the Al Mina record should read: Greek pottery items—1500; Greek items per sq. m.—4.62; Greek as % of total—47%.

trade for easterners at this date, a case I argue in more detail elsewhere.³⁵

At this point it is timely to look away from the pottery and the excavated levels to the site itself. Woolley's observations in his preliminary report are the most revealing (1937, 2–3, 12–13): "The mouth of the Orontes affords a safe and sheltered anchorage". Through a valley road and a level pass the route "debouched on the great Amk plain through which the Orontes winds". Thence "the caravan-route went past Carchemish to Nineveh or down the Euphrates to Babylon". But the mountain range which borders the coast was difficult and dangerous; "from this point of view, too, the Orontes route was incomparably the best".

The Al Mina site was naturally chosen by the original settlers for its convenience as a harbour; apart from that it suffered from every disadvantage, for it lay on low ground, open to attack, and was probably none too healthy . . . I think we may conclude that while Al Mina was the business quarter with its wharves and warehouses [Woolley is writing with later periods mainly in mind] and, presumably, shelters and hostels for sailors, the merchants lived in the walled town of Sabouni where they could enjoy greater security and a more salubrious climate.

Sabouni is a hill site, three miles upstream, and though not excavated, it has yielded pottery (including Greek) of the period of Al Mina but also back to the Late Bronze Age, with Mycenaean.³⁶ In the Bronze Age Sabouni would have been dependent on Atchana (Alalakh) much farther upstream, beyond later Antioch, and in the Iron Age both Al Mina and Sabouni would have depended on Tell Tainat (near Atchana) where plentiful but unpublished Greek 8th-century (and earlier?) pottery has been found. So the creation of a port at Al Mina (Levels 10–9) seems a deliberate bid to open sea

³⁵ In *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Eds., G. Tsitskheladze and A.M. Snodgrass, BAR 1999). The main thrust of the argument is that easterners used, and long continued to use, handleless and usually footless cups, unlike the Greeks and Cypriots, and that there is no suggestion in the plentiful eastern evidence that they were willing to change their ways and accept Greek cups of mere clay. Also that, in this period, and with due regard to the circumstances of finding and production, pottery is a good indicator of the presence and active interest of the producing states. That this is not true in every instance (where it can usually be readily explained) is no reason for discounting its value as an indicator everywhere. Thus, in the west, plentiful Phoenician pottery (with a little Greek) is readily accepted as evidence for the presence of Phoenicians.

³⁶ Woolley (1938, 8–9), and *JHS* 68 (1948) 148, deducing that there must have been Mycenaean at Al Mina too, which seems not altogether necessary.

trade from and to Greece and (Greeks in?) Cyprus, for which there could hardly have been much incentive from inland Syria. Occupation by visitors from the west could have been seasonal but certainly need not have been so modest, and appears substantial, on into Levels 8-7; it would have needed to be if this was, as it seems to be, the major point of egress for the eastern goods that were to fuel the busiest period of Greece's Orientalising Revolution: a matter than need not be demonstrated here. This reassessment of the earliest levels, following the excavator's judgement of the finds and subsequent research on them, makes Al Mina look far more like that near-contemporary enterprise of Euboeans to the west, on Ischia, establishing a post for trade.³⁷ But in the west this quickly developed into Greek occupation of the island in a colonial manner, while in the east the presence was decidedly a limited concession by the local power, just as, a century later, was the East Greek presence at Naukratis in Egypt. The origins of the three phenomena—Al Mina, Ischia, Naukratis (also with no demonstrable earlier history)—are rather more similar than we may have thought.

We turn now to Level 8 and what, from the digging, must be taken to be its latest phase, Level 7. These are the main levels for the arrival of Greek LG pottery and of Cypriot, made clear both at the time of digging and from the marked pottery. Level 7 was well preserved only in parts of the site and its floors often indistinguishable from Level 8. Nevertheless a difference was noted during the digging: a falling off in the Cypriot element in Level 7, compared with what lay in Level 8, which seems borne out by the marked pottery and Gjerstad's analysis of it and identification of the Types involved; but also the fact that the Cypriot of Level 8 "entirely swamps the sub-geometric, which had until then been the normal ware", though in Level 7 there was "a recrudescence of the sub-geometric fashion, and by the end of the period, at least, the two wares are finely balanced" (Woolley 1938, 16, 18). This chimes less well with the marked pottery, and the marked Cypriot of Level 8 alone is not that much more numerous than the Greek, to which

³⁷ A Phoenician role in early years on Ischia is certainly possible, but just as certainly capable of being exaggerated; see the writer in *Apoikia*, 95-100, and in the forthcoming *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale* (Essays in honour of G. Vallet). To judge from the earliest Euboean finds, their presence at Al Mina antedates that on Ischia, roughly by the length of the period of Type 6 PSC skyphoi.

however we have to add a proportion of what is marked 8/9. We may well imagine that the Cypriot was more conspicuous, for its style and the fact that the fragments were from larger vases than the Greek, which are still mainly cups. Gjerstad detected a falling off of the earlier Cypriot (Type III) pottery in Level 7 which suggests that where Level 7 floors could be distinguished there was a real date distinction. To the pottery of Level 7 we have to add a proportion of the pottery marked 6/7, for reasons already explored, and this reveals as probably of Level 7 the Euboean imitations of Corinthian kotylai which, on other grounds, we would judge to be the very latest Euboean LG. The Euboeo-Levantine cups (see above) continued strongly in Levels 8/7.

Other Greek pottery, up to Level 7, is represented by a few pieces of North Ionian LG (bird bowls, like the Ischia cup of Nestor and its fellow in Eretria),³⁸ with some pieces of probable Samian origin, and some Corinthian LG and Early Protocorinthian. Level 8 is the main source also for the Syrian Red Slip bowls.

The presence of so much Cypriot-style pottery in Levels 8 and 7 prompts some reflection on Greeks in Cyprus at this point. It does seem to denote the presence of folk from Cyprus, rather than a pottery trade for which there seems no particular justification or other evidence. The absence of anything significantly Phoenician suggests that they were not Cypro-Phoenicians (if there were many such) and we cannot identify Eteocypriots; but we know that there were Greek-speakers in Cyprus from at least the 11th century, that for them probably the Classical Syllabary had been devised for a dialect which they kept, with the syllabary, for centuries. In 673/2 B.C., when an Assyrian king lists ten Cypriot kings, eight of them may have Greek names. The most economical explanation for the early Cypriot presence beside the Greek at Al Mina is of other Greek-speakers. This should explain features of many if not all the Euboeo-Levantine cups, even if it does not necessarily explain the fuller range of Cypriot shapes from Levels 8 and 7. It is not, however, quite so uncomplicated since, as already indicated, there seems to be a significant, and possibly dominant, Cypro-Levantine element in the finds. So it seems that we have to deal with Greek imports, Euboeo-Levantine production (in Cyprus or elsewhere but mainly affected by Cyprus),

³⁸ A.W. Johnston and A. Andreiomenou, *BSA* 84 (1989) 217–220.

Cypriot imports, and Cypro-Levantine production *not* in the island but elsewhere, perhaps at Al Mina itself.

I think it can be judged that, even though it is difficult to determine the exact pottery horizons of the important Levels 8 and 6, it is still possible from stylistic analysis of what is obviously early and late in the joint levels, and from such pottery as is marked with undivided levels, to have a measure of confidence in believing that Level 8 belongs somewhat after the start of Euboean LG, and Level 6 at about or just after its end. From a closer look at the digging it is clear that attempts to date the 'divide' between Levels 8 and 7, commonly put at about 720 B.C. can only be guesswork. Given the character of the latest Euboean LG, especially the imitation kotylai, and perhaps of the bird bowls, it might be wise to allow for a conventional date for the inception of Level 6 somewhat later than 700, though not much.³⁹

There is no real reason why whatever brought an end to Euboean overseas dealings east and west, generally thought to be some local events (even the 'Lelantine War'), should have corresponded with whatever led to the end of Level 7 at Al Mina. It may be noted that Herodotus alleges (5. 99) that in the war Eretria was allied to Miletus, Chalcis to Samos. The preponderance of North Ionian and Samian wares at Al Mina could then suggest that Chalcis was the leader here in the east. Eretria seems to have won the war, which could have left Chalcis' East Greek allies to continue to reap the benefits of trade through Al Mina. But this flirting with the literary evidence for the war is purely speculative.⁴⁰ Ischia was clearly at the end of a route that started in Syria, but it is interesting to note that the East Greek material that accompanied Euboeans there was not North Ionian at all; indeed only the presumed Rhodian KW aryballoi, unknown in the east.

It is possible that the latest Euboean LG was still arriving in Level 6 but the evidence is not clear, and though there are pieces labelled as of Level 6 and higher, the great quantity arriving with Levels 10–7

³⁹ I do not follow Gjerstad's dating, which is by now generally abandoned for the main Cypriot types and is discussed at some length by Saltz (1978, 52–73). Her dates, however, some quarter-century higher than the conventional for the Greek wares, cannot stand (e.g., after the Bocchoris scarab found with LG II at Ischia).

⁴⁰ On the war and archaeology of Euboea see: Boardman (1957, 27–9). I observe that there was a Chalcis ad Belum 100 km inland, east of Antioch, probably named at a late date: F.G.B. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (1993) 238.

would have been enough to guarantee considerable seepage into later levels. I rather doubt whether Euboean was still arriving, or that Euboeco-Levantine was still being made.

The architecture of the early Levels is uninformative, indeed, barely intelligible since the inhabitants either did not use stone thresholds, or removed them, making room-grouping from the available plans impossible. Foundations were built of river stones and rose for a little above floor level to support mudbrick above; so it was possible to detect wall lines from foundations without having their floors. The floors themselves were earth (clay), sometimes with pebble foundations. It is easy to understand why local building styles (and labour, no doubt) would be adopted for such a venture, unlike the situation in the western colonies, since the settlement was bound to be one only tolerated, even if perhaps encouraged, by the local power. So it is natural to find the buildings most like others of the area with nothing obviously Greek (or obviously un-Greek, for that) about them.⁴¹ They appear to be ordinary habitation, but not wholly for ordinary Syrians.

The small finds from the early levels need more study; Taylor is the only scholar to have considered some of them seriously. The fibulae, some of Level 8, are of types familiar in Syria with some from the south and Cyprus (Taylor 1959, 86–7). The seals of Levels 7–9 are all Syrian (Woolley 1938, 161, MN 432, 434, 451, 191, 316), including one Lyre Player seal, and a cylinder of a well known (As)syrian class (*ibid.*, MN 360, pl. 15).⁴² The scarabs have yet to be studied fully: they include a few of blue frit from the early Levels,

⁴¹ P.J. Riis, *Sukas I* (1970) 163, makes a telling comparison with Ras Shamra. Woolley 1938, 9–11, for comments on Al Mina architectural techniques. In Level 8 Woolley found (field note) some whole bricks which he attributed to Level 6; they measured 40 × 27 × 12. In east Anatolia and North Syria bricks are usually square (R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien* [1971] 50), unlike the rectangular of west Anatolia, and East Greece (for Smyrna, and discussion, R.V. Nicholls in *BSA* 53/4 [1958/9] 100–105), and Cyprus (*ibid.*, and G.R.H. Wright, *Ancient building in Cyprus* [1992] 380–1). But the evidence is not secure enough to say that the Al Mina brickmakers were Greeks or Cypriots, not Syrians.

⁴² Cf. J. Boardman, *OJA* 15 (1996) 337–8. *Ibid.* for the Lyre Player, and *Jdl* 81 (1966) 35, fig. 35; *AA* 1990, 11, further on origin. To my surprise I observe an overlooked Lyre Player at Atchana (C.L. Woolley, *Alalakh* [1955] 265, No. 119, pl. 66) which suggests that the great Bronze Age site was not entirely neglected later. The seal is of Level II, but from the edge of the Temple area as preserved and no doubt out of context, but not out of site.

Egyptian or possibly local imitations.⁴³ Faience alabaster of Level 8 (and one from 6/7) are also (As)syrian, well distributed to the Greek world.⁴⁴ A bronze razor from Level 8 is of the familiar Egyptian shape Woolley (1938, 147, fig. 25, MN 224)⁴⁵ and from the same level came the handle attachment for a bronze (As)syrian bowl.⁴⁶ A stone jewellery mould of Level 8 is of a Syrian type, which spread into the Greek world.⁴⁷ The buffalo horns in Level 9 remain unexplained.⁴⁸ There is a Greek graffito on a non-Euboean cup,⁴⁹ none neo-Hittite, Aramaic or Phoenician of early date.⁵⁰ The only possible direct Phoenician interest in the north may have been in Cilicia, and not in the Orontes valley, where Syrians were being engaged by other seafarers from the west.⁵¹

The decline of Level 7 must have taken place around or even after the end of pure Euboean LG, somewhere in the early 7th century. This is when Assyrian interference in Syrian affairs was at its height and the days of the neo-Hittite states inland were numbered. Given the distinct break in the fortunes of Al Mina some association with the military and political events of Syria is not improbable.⁵² Thereafter, at Al Mina, we are with Level 6 and a totally new layout for the town. Details cannot be pursued here, but it seems that Level 6 is characterised by somewhat less Cypriot pottery, and

⁴³ A.F. Gorton, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs* (1996) 175. G. Hölbl is preparing a publication of the Al Mina scarabs.

⁴⁴ E.J. Peltenburg, *Levant* 1 (1969) 73–96.

⁴⁵ W.M.F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (1917) 49–50, pl. 61, 76–7, cf. 67. Phoenician razors, familiar from Carthage, are a later phenomenon, with different handles: C. Picard, *Karthago* 13 (1967) 55–6, 78–9; J. Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens...* (1945) ch. 8.

⁴⁶ J. Boardman, *JHS* 85 (1965) 13; field notes show that this is from Level 8, as Woolley 1938, 155, *pace ibid.*, 165 (Level 3).

⁴⁷ M. Treister, *OJA* 14 (1995) 159–78.

⁴⁸ These went through a phase of being called ivory before being reidentified by Dr O. Krzyszkowska in 1981, then by G.D. Francis and M. Vickers, *OJA* 2 (1983) 249–51.

⁴⁹ J. Boardman, *OJA* 1 (1982) 365–7; Kearsley (1995a) 19, N. 21.

⁵⁰ Waldbaum (1997, 10) rightly observes that most inscriptions from Al Mina are non-Greek, but these are all 4th-century, and mainly Phoenician, when the port was no doubt operating for a Persian/Phoenician fleet.

⁵¹ A question I discuss elsewhere with other problems and evidence for Greeks in Syria; see n. 35.

⁵² Doubts about any Assyrian destruction at Tarsus which might be recognised archaeologically (cf. S. Forsberg, *Near Eastern destruction datings* [1995]) do not disturb the general picture of turmoil in the area in the early 7th century. On other evidence for Greeks in the east in this period see essays by A. Kuhrt and the writer, forthcoming (see n. 35), and for events in Syria, J.D. Hawkins in *CAH* III.1 (1982) ch. 9.

a quite different range of Greek pottery. The proportion of East Greek increases considerably, sub-geometric in appearance—the continuing bird bowls, and related jugs, larger slipped vases and Samian cups. But there is also a remarkable quantity of Middle Protocorinthian.⁵³ The quantity may be deceptive. It is highly distinctive, even in scraps. Virtually all the pieces are from cups, kotylai with base rays, keeping up the Greek interest in supplying the shape, which before had been more familiar at Al Mina in Euboean imitations; there are very few examples of the aryballoi which are the commonest export elsewhere. Most of the Corinthian seem to belong to the earlier years of the century, and this is somewhat odd. Although the East Greek pottery continues through Level 5, the Corinthian does not to any marked degree, but for a few cups and larger vases. It is almost as though we are dealing with a short-lived mode of special consignments, and not necessarily, of course, direct Corinthian involvement since the ware was widely popular with Greeks, though not much represented elsewhere in the east at this date. Level 5 seems characterized by pottery from East Greece, Miletus and probably elsewhere, in the Wild Goat style, so mainly after about 650 B.C., though some is marked Level 6.⁵⁴ There is a good continuing bird bowl sequence and a little Cycladic. The Syrian Red Slip continues, though not strongly, and the same seems to apply to the Cypriot, but there is a greater range of other finds of eastern origin. We cannot say whether there was still a Greek or (Greco-)Cypriot presence, though it seems highly probable. The excavation shows Level 5 as a continuation of Level 6, and together they represent a new period of involvement with or by Greeks, though mainly of different origin and from a wider area of the East Greek world, and a longer one than that represented by Levels 10–7. The pottery of these higher levels too will repay further study, by others.⁵⁵

⁵³ Robertson (1940) 16–18.

⁵⁴ *E.g.*, Cambridge AL 279; and see Robertson (1940) 10–16; his pl. 2h is even ‘Level 7’ though of 6th-century type. Levels 5 and 6 are fairly well mixed, rather as 7 and 8 have proved to be, with a similar situation of reused walls.

⁵⁵ G. Lehmann’s ambitious study (1996) subjects the Levantine pottery from the 8th century to about 320 B.C. to seriation analysis, yielding 8 assemblages. The Al Mina levels can thus be set in context with the finds from other sites. His assemblages 1, 2, 3, 4 correspond roughly with Al Mina’s Levels 8, 7, 6, 5 respectively. He dates his assemblage 1 down to 720, 2 down to 700, 3 down to 650, 4 down to 580 B.C.; this makes good sense at Al Mina, with appropriate reservations about where its Levels 7 and 8 could or do divide.

A total record and publication of the Al Mina excavation and finds would be a major but not worthless exercise. The site's archaeological history is quite unlike that of other Levantine sites so far explored, in Cyprus, Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia or Palestine, and the many finds made elsewhere since Woolley's excavation have simply made the difference the more emphatic. The 're-excavation' of an old dig from its records, finds and publication, and in the light of new knowledge, is not an easy matter, but the records themselves invite it, and such investigation is as important a part of archaeological research as the publication of new excavation. This paper can do no more than review the evidence summarily, but using all sources, not just Greek pottery finds, and it asks new questions about many of the finds which call for further analysis. The historical significance of Al Mina requires comparative study too of other sites and circumstances, which I and others have in the past attempted, but may need now to revise.

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7. FROM EAST TO WEST: THE EPONYMOUS AMAZON CLETA

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Few myths have aroused so much interest in recent years as the Amazon myth.¹ Not all aspects of this myth have received an equal share of attention, however. One in particular, despite its considerable importance in terms of available evidence, has been studied less often and less carefully than others. This neglected aspect concerns the Amazons as eponyms and in some, but not all, cases as founders of the cities which bear their name. These traditions pertain primarily to the Greek cities of Asia Minor, but were also referred to some cities in the Propontis and in the Pontus (Klügmann 1870). One outstanding exception to these prevalently Eastern locations for the eponymous Amazons is provided by the story of the Amazon Cleta, which we know from some verses of the *Alexandra* by Lycophron (993–1007) and from later sources (*Schol. vet. Lycophr. Alex.* [ed. Kinkel] *ad loc.*; *Schol. Lycophr. Alex.* [ed. Scheer] 995, 996, 1002, 1003; *Serv. Verg. Aen.* 3.553; *Etym. Magn. s.v. Κλειτή*; *Et. Gud. s.v. Κλειτή*). In Lycophron's account the Amazon Cleta, maidservant of the better known Penthesilea, was cast onto the coast of Southern Italy by a storm while on her way to Troy, where her mistress, fighting on the Trojan side, had been killed by Achilles and disfigured by Thersites. Once in Italy, Cleta founded a city and named it after herself. Later, when a party of Achaeans arrived from Troy, Cleta brought them under her rule, which endured until the Crotoniates succeeded in razing the city where Cleta held sway and to which she had given her name.

Few scholars have dealt with the eponymous Amazons. Those who have done so (Klügmann 1870; Leonhard 1911, 42–51, 174–87; Devambez 1976) have left aside the story of Cleta, focusing their

¹ There is a lengthy bibliography on the subject. Recent studies include: Carlier 1979; Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981; DuBois 1982; Tyrrell 1984; Witek 1985; Lefkowitz 1986, 15–29; Hardwick 1990; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 128–35; Blok 1995; Deacy 1997; Dowden 1997.

attention on the eponymous Amazons of Asia Minor, which is considered the preferential ground for the growth and spread of such traditions.

Research into the Cleta myth has been carried out by scholars interested primarily in the history and traditions of the West. Their explanations have been varied. Some may be set aside at once as unfounded, such as the suggestion put forward by Geffcken (1892, 187) who linked this tradition to a presumed, but never historically attested, party of colonists from Ephesus, or the hypothesis maintained by Cazzaniga (1968) who connected it to an equally fictitious pre-colonial group from the area of Amyclae.

Two other interpretations are of greater note, if only because of the number of scholars who have agreed with them. The first came from De Sanctis (1914, 687–88) and the second from Ciaceri (1901, 284; 1928, 175–85).

De Sanctis interpreted the Amazon's story as having developed in the West in order to provide an aetiological explanation for indigenous customs in which the female element was especially prominent. Since, however, we know nothing about these presumed customs, De Sanctis' theory is not so much an explanation as the kind of assumption which can be neither proven nor disproven with any certainty, leaving us only the option of attempting to find a more convincing hypothesis.

Ciaceri, on the other hand, referred to the matrilineal organisation typical of Locrian society and came to the conclusion that this tradition must have developed in Locri Epizephyrii. Even the position of maidservant ascribed to Cleta by Lycophron was seen by Ciaceri as evidence pointing to a Locrian association, since it might echo the tradition of servile origins attributed to the colonists of Locri Epizephyrii (for the relevant sources, Bérard 1957, 202).

The 'Locrian' interpretation put forward by Ciaceri is premised on a number of suppositions, all of which are doubtful. The first is that the Locrian matrilineal organisation could have given rise to Amazonian traditions. This is clearly not the case since, if it were so, Locri Epizephyrii is the prime location where we would expect to find Amazon myths, and yet there is so far no evidence of there ever having been any such traditions.

The second supposition is that there were relations between Locri Epizephyrii and the place that Lycophron calls Cleta, and that these

relations were close enough, at least in certain periods, to explain why Locrian traditions should have formed around the figure of the eponymous Cleta. This in turn implies a third supposition, on which the whole of Ciaceri's reconstruction turns, namely that the hidden identity of the Amazon's city is Caulonia, founded during the 7th century by the Crotoniates and later, in 389 B.C., besieged and destroyed by Dionysius I, who assigned its territory to the Locrians (De Sanctis 1914, 688–95; on the founding of Caulonia *cf.* also Giangiulio 1989, 221–23 and on Dionysius' siege De Sensi Sestito 1984, 108–10). Ciaceri held that after Caulonia had fallen into Locrian hands—if not already at an earlier date—the Locrians developed an 'Amazonian prehistory' for the city, through which they expressed their hatred of the Crotoniates by representing their Achaean forbears as subject to the dominion of a woman of servile condition. Thus in Ciaceri's account the city of Cleta was a mythical forerunner of Caulonia, invented by the Locrians.

Clearly, Ciaceri's interpretation hinges on associating Cleta with Caulonia, since his 'Locrian' explanation of the Cleta myth can only hold good if Cleta and Caulonia are one and the same place.

Ciaceri was not alone in upholding this view. Several other scholars, though not necessarily supporting his 'Locrian' interpretation of the Cleta myth, have nonetheless taken the city of that name to represent a real or mythical forerunner of Caulonia and, in consequence, have viewed Lycophron's verses on the subject as nothing other than a reference to Caulonia. First put forward by Holzinger (1895, 312–13 *ad vv.* 993 and 1007) and accepted by De Sanctis (1914, 685–88), although, as we have noted above, the latter preferred to view this myth as an aetiological explanation of non-Greek customs, the identification of Cleta with Caulonia has been taken up both by historians of Magna Graecia (Dunbabin 1948, 28; Bérard 1957, 158, 365; Giannelli, 1963, 183–85; Mele 1984, 25–26) and in commentaries to the *Alexandra* (Mooney 1921, 106–107; A.W. Mair 1955, 404 n. a; Fusillo, Hurst and Paduano 1991, 273–74, *ad vv.* 993–98), becoming in the course of time one of those oft-repeated and never questioned assumptions that end up by being regarded almost as established facts.

But on what basis has Cleta been identified with Caulonia? The argument does not rest so much on the geographical hints scattered by Lycophron in order to locate the site of Cleta, since these are

hard to decipher and thus easily lend themselves to any prejudicial interpretation,² but rather on the statements made in his commentary to the *Aeneid* by the so-called Servius Auctus, who records that Caulonia was founded by an eponym named Caulus, son of the Amazon Cleta (Serv. *Verg. Aen.* 3. 553: . . . *alii a Caulo, Clitae Amazonis filio, conditum tradunt*). The mother-son relationship binding the two eponyms has been considered as a sign of continuity between the two cities and invoked in the interpretation of the verses by Lycophron.

The association between Servius' statements and the passage dedicated to Cleta in the *Alexandra* is, however, valid only in part. It is certainly true that the reference to an Amazon named Cleta in Servius Auctus presupposes the tradition of Lycophron, but Lycophron's verses do not presuppose a tradition regarding Caulus, who never appears in either the verses of the *Alexandra* or in other Greek sources. From Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1 F 84) to Pseudo-Scymnus (318–322), from Strabo (6. 1. 10) to Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Καυλωνία) to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*s.v.* Αὐλωνία), the place name Caulonia was unanimously linked to the noun αὐλὼν (hollow, valley).³

On the whole, nothing indicates that Caulus was a traditionally acknowledged heroic figure rather than one of the many eponyms that proliferated in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁴ We should not therefore take into account the tradition regarding Caulus when interpreting the verses of the *Alexandra* dedicated to Cleta and then

² The scholiasts had already been unable to locate what Lycophron calls the "Tylesian hills" and the "promontory of Linos" (993–994): *Schol. vet. Lycophr. Alex.* (ed. Kinkel) 993 ss.; *Schol. Lycophr. Alex.* (ed. Scheer) 993 e 994; cf. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τυλησσός; Eust. *Il.* 2. 295 *ad v.* 585.

³ Caulonia was indeed sited near a valley (Orsi 1914, 702–03), but the place name is not derived from αὐλὼν. The views of the ancient authors on the subject may be seen as a pseudo-etymology possibly based on a back-formation from the actual geographical situation (Bérard 1957, 159). Modern authors have on occasion been prone to equally specious etymologies: a series of examples is given in Oldfather 1921, 69.

⁴ One instance is Locrus, eponym of Locri Epizefirii, referred to only by Conon (*FGrHist* 26 F 1.3), who tells a story modelled on that of the eponym Croton (Diod. Sic. 4. 24. 7; Iambl. *VP* 9. 50). As to the descent of Caulus from Cleta, put forward by Servius Auctus, it may be explained as a consequence of the Locrian perspective adopted by the Vergilian commentator, who certainly paid particular attention to the Locrian phase of Caulonia, given that he even records a Locrian foundation for the city (. . . *a Locris conditum*). That the commentator or his source were possibly aware of the matrilineal lineage in Locri (cf. Polyb. 12. 5. 6) may have led Caulus to be linked to a female figure.

conclude, on that very basis, that the part of the poem which deals with Cleta pertains to the history or 'prehistory' of Caulonia.

There is a further reason why the identification of Cleta with Caulonia cannot be taken for granted. Lycophron's allusions to events involving Cleta are hard to reconcile with what we know of the history of Caulonia and its relations with Croton. Caulonia was an Achacan foundation, had lasting ties with Croton and was never attacked by the Crotoniates, while Cleta seems to have been a mixed Greek and native centre (on the vast number of mixed Greek and native settlements, Asheri 1996, 96–97), subjugated by force by the Crotoniates. The majority of its population would appear to have been non-Greeks, if this is what the poet alluded to when referring to Achaeans subjected to the harsh rule of the Amazon after their return from Troy.

It is worth remembering that the Crotoniates did not restrict their influence to the Ionian coast south of their city, through the foundation of Caulonia and later of Scylacium. They also won access to the Tyrrhenian Sea, extending their control both to the basin of the river Savuto, where they replaced the Sybarites in the dominion of Temesa and its territory, and to the plain of Sant'Eufemia, where they founded the subcolony of Terina (Valenza-Mele 1992, 167–169). Lycophron seems well aware of this situation when he recalls the subjugation of Temesa to the Crotoniates (*Alex.* 1067–1074).

The Tyrrhenian coast and its hinterland have indeed been regarded for centuries by local historians as a possible area for the location of Cleta. Following the opinion of Barrius and Marafioti, the site put forward for Cleta was in the vicinity of Aiello (Cosenza), more specifically the place called Pietramala until 1863 (Barrius 1738, 184–85; Marafioti 1601, 223b; Fiore 1691, 116–17; *cf.* also Romanelli 1815, 35). The distinction between the area of Cleta and that of Caulonia was also maintained by Corcia (1847, 130–31, 221), Pais (1894, 203 n. 4, 245) and Nissen (1902, 931, 950–51), although it was Corcia and Pais themselves, with their reference to Amazon traditions in Caulonia, made on the basis of Servius Auctus, who opened the way to the superimposition of the two cities which would be so influential in subsequent research.

The belief of local scholars that Pietramala was the site of ancient Cleta led to the town being renamed Cleto after the unification of Italy.

The renaming of modern centres after ancient cities, unless based

on firm evidence, was severely criticized by Lenormant (1881, 23–27), whose warnings should generally be heeded.⁵ In this specific instance, however, the persistence in local usage of the names Cleto/Cleta deserves to be taken into account. As may be deduced from the observations of Amati (1868 [?], 7 *s.v.* Cleta), a stream between the rivers Torbido and Savuto was already called Cleta before Pietramala was renamed Cleto.

Lenormant himself, although disputing the identification of Cleta with Pietramala, as proposed by Barrius and later writers who followed his opinion, was convinced that Cleta was sited on or near the Tyrrhenian coast. He suggested a site at Capo Sùvero (Lenormant 1881, 23).⁶

At present no single locality can safely be identified as the site of ancient Cleta, but that there was indeed a town named Cleta should be admitted.⁷ That this was distinct from Caulonia should also be acknowledged, while a site for Cleta on or near the Tyrrhenian coast, between Temesa and Terina, is more than plausible.

Together with the claim that Cleta and Caulonia were one and the same, we should also set aside the 'Locrian' interpretation of the Cleta myth since, unlike Caulonia, Cleta was never, as far as we know, under Locrian influence or dominance.

Once freed from inappropriate connections with Caulonia, the Amazon Cleta mentioned by Lycophron appears isolated and alien to the traditions of Magna Graecia.⁸ Where eponymous Amazons were

⁵ The place name Caulonia is a case in point. It was taken in 1863 by the town of Castelvete which does not correspond to the ancient Caulonia, located by Orsi at what is today Monasterace Marina, *cf.* Sabbione 1987, 183.

⁶ *Contra*: Ciaceri 1928, 176–77, who notes that Lenormant erroneously associated the Tylesian mountains with the promontory of Linos, while for Lycophron they were separate, and also misidentified both as what is now Capo Sùvero. This undoubted inaccuracy does not, however, invalidate his proposed siting of Cleta near the Tyrrhenian coast, which Ciaceri wrongly disputed.

⁷ There is no entry for a centre called Cleta in the *BTGGI*. The sources pertaining to Cleta are annexed to Caulonia: Iannelli 1992, 190.

⁸ The only reference to a possible connection between the Amazons and Southern Italy is found in Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ἀμαζόνες . . . ἔστι καὶ Ἀμαζονία πόλις Μεσσαπίας). The source of this annotation is unknown, as is the possible site for the city (Nenci 1984). The Amazons occur in the iconography of Southern Italy and Sicily as a 'Panhellenic' myth, without specific local mythical connotations, *cf.* Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 647–48 and *passim*.

part of the local cultural heritage, as in Asia Minor, the Amazon was frequently portrayed on coins from the late 5th century until the Imperial period (Cf. Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 626 Nos. 620–624; 627 Nos. 637–640; 629 Nos. 696–706; 635 Nos. 794–796, 799–800; 635, Nos. 801–802). On coins minted in the West, on the other hand, the type of the Amazon is not recorded.

Unlike the eponymous Amazons of Asia Minor, Clea appears to exist exclusively in literary records and even then is very much a case apart. This is made obvious if we compare the references to her with those to Penthesilea, also evoked in the *Alexandra* and specifically in connection with Clea, since it is after the death of Penthesilea that Clea set out on the journey which would take her to Italy. While the myth of Penthesilea is firmly grounded in both literary and iconographical sources (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 161–71; Berger 1994; Blok 1995, 195–239), no Amazon called Clea is ever mentioned before Lycophron's verses, nor is there any later reference completely independent from them.

The figure and story of Clea are inextricably linked to the *Alexandra* and should thus be numbered among the innovations introduced by Lycophron. The creative license which the Greek poets always allowed themselves in the field of mythology is well established (March 1987; Shapiro 1994, 2–4).

Literary inventions contributed to the continuous transformation of myth in the classical world (Horsfall 1993), but additions and variants often elaborated on pre-existing stories (Bettini 1989, 20). For Lycophron, constantly on the lookout for precious embellishments to his work, an obscure Western place name, which in Greek may have sounded like Κλήτη, must have provided an opportunity to produce a story that was new, yet woven from recognizable strands which cultured readers would pick up from earlier tales. As has recently been observed, with regard to the *Aeneid* but in terms which are also perfectly suited to the *Alexandra*:

Il *poeta doctus* presuppone il *lector doctus* (...) ogni nome proprio (di personaggio o di luogo), ogni aggettivo nominale, ogni scelta tra varianti narrative, (...) ogni atto religioso, ogni oggetto materiale, a parte quelli comunissimi è, o può ben essere, una sfida lanciata dall'autore all'erudizione, memoria, intelligenza, letture, perspicacia del lettore. (Horsfall 1991, 55–56).

Although the mythical heritage which Lycophron and his *lector doctus* could draw on was vastly greater than our present store, we may

yet pick up the possible threads from which the story of Cleta was woven. In particular, it may be helpful to consider the story of a different Cleta. In actual fact, not one, but two other female figures bearing the same name are recorded: one of the *Charites* in Sparta (Paus. 3. 18. 6 = Alcman frag. 223 Calame; Paus. 9. 35. 1) and a female figure linked in literary tradition to the episode of the saga of the Argonauts set in Cyzicus.

An attempt has been made in the past to link the Amazon Cleta with the Spartan *Charis* by a daring series of conjectures (Cazzaniga 1968), but attention should rather be focused on the other Cleta, as was suggested, albeit indirectly, by the *Etymologicum Magnum* which, under Κλειτή, referred first to the Amazon and then to the heroine connected with Cyzicus.

The earliest account of the story of this latter Cleta comes from the local historian Dei(l)ochus of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 471 FF 6 and 10). His version inspired the more detailed narrative by Apollonius Rhodius. In his *Argonautica* (1. 961–88, 1012–69), Cleta was the daughter of Merops of Percote and newly wed to Cyzicus, king of the Doliones and eponym of the city. When the Argonauts landed in Cyzicus they were hospitably received by the Doliones and their king, but their departure was beset by a tragic misunderstanding. After they had put to sea, storm winds drove the Argo onshore and they were forced to land again at night in the territory of the Doliones. In the darkness their recent hosts failed to recognise them and gave battle. King Cyzicus fell mortally wounded, as fate decreed, by Jason himself. Cleta, unable to bear the grievous loss of her beloved, hanged herself. From the tears shed by the Nymphs over her death arose a spring named Cleta.

The story of the unhappy bride of the eponym Cyzicus is clearly an *aition*, with a distinctly local flavour, which we also find in another author from the city, Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrHist* 84 F12), who, like Dei(l)ochus (F10b), explained the existence of a spring by the name of Cleta in Cyzicus by connecting it to the tears of Cleta. (The same *aition* is found in [Orph.] *Arg.* 594–600).

That Cleta, wife of Cyzicus, was the daughter of Merops of Percote is amply attested in literary tradition (Ap. Rhod. 1. 975–976; Dei(l)och. *FGrHist*, 471 F 6; Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 184; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Κλειτή; cf. Neanth. *FGrHist* 84 F 11). As for Merops himself, he was already mentioned in the *Iliad* (2. 831–834 = 11. 329–332), in which the place name Percote also frequently occurs (2. 835; 11. 229; 15. 548).

The name was subsequently adopted by the colonists, from Miletus or Phocaea, for the city which they founded during the 7th century on the Asian shore of the Hellespont (Ehrhardt 1983, 35), in an area that was geographically and culturally very close to Thrace.

The affinity between the populations in the northern part of Asia Minor and Thracian peoples has often been stressed by ancient authors and particularly by Strabo, for whom the Bithynians, Phrygians, Mysians, Doliones of the Cyzicus region, Mygdonians and Trojans were all of Thracian origin (Strabo 12. 4. 4).⁹

It is not therefore surprising that Euphorion, in the *Apollodorus*, described the bride of the eponymous Cyzicus as coming from a background so close to Thrace as to be one with it. The opinion of Euphorion and his version of the story of the hero Cyzicus have reached us in a scholium to Apollonius Rhodius (*Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1063). This presents a number of textual problems which must be considered before proceeding further. The text of the scholium as preserved in the manuscripts is as follows:

ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος νεόγαμον τὸν Κύζικον καὶ ἄπαιδα ἱστορεῖ, Εὐφορίων δὲ ἐν Ἀπολλοδώρῳ μελλόγαμον, τὴν δὲ Κλείτην οὐ Μέροπος λέγει θυγατέρα, Θρηῖσαν δὲ τὴν Πιάσου, οὐδὲ παθεῖν τι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὸς θανάτῳ, ἀπαχθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, κτλ.

More than one scholar has recognized the need for emendation; the reading which has been most widely agreed with is: τὴν δὲ <γαμετὴν> οὐ Κλείτην <τὴν> Μέροπος λέγει θυγατέρα, Λάρισαν δὲ τὴν Πιάσου (Scheidweiler 1908, 24 frag. 4; Powell 1925, 30 frag. 7 F; this correction, usually ascribed to A. Meineke, was in fact made by H. Keil, cf. de Cuenca 1976, 36–37). The insertion of γαμετὴν and τὴν appears justified, while the same cannot be said for the alteration of Θρηῖσαν to Λάρισαν. The name Λάρισαν, written over Θρηῖσαν in the *codex*

⁹ On the Thracian origin of the Bithynians see also Hdt. 7. 75. 2; Strab. 12. 3. 3; on the Phrygians: Hdt. 7. 73; Strab. 7. 3. 2 = Posid. frag. 277a Edelstein-Kidd; Strab. 10. 3. 16. Concerning the Mysians, Herodotus held that they were originally from Asia Minor and emigrated from there to Europe (7. 20) while Strabo rejected this opinion (12. 8. 3) and supported with great conviction the opposing view that they had migrated from Thrace to Asia Minor (7. 3. 2; 7. 3. 10; 12. 3. 3; 12. 4. 4; 12. 4. 8; 12. 8. 1). According to Strabo the people called *Moesi* by the Romans were the descendants of the Mysians who had remained in their native land (7. 3. 2–4 = Posid. frag. 277a Edelstein-Kidd; Strab. 7. 3. 10). Modern scholars tend to agree with Strabo (Crossland 1982, 849).

Laurentianus of the scholia to Apollonius Rhodius, is indeed inferred from Parthenius (*Erot.* 28), who writes as follows:

περὶ Κλείτης· ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, τὰ ἐξῆς Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀργοναυτικῶν α.

Διαφόρως δὲ ἱστορεῖται περὶ Κυζίκου τοῦ ἱταίνεου. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ἀρμოსάμενον Λάρισαν τὴν Πιάσου, ἣ ὁ πατὴρ ἐμίγη πρὸ γάμου, μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν. Τινὲς δὲ κτλ.

Parthenius undoubtedly intended a reference to Euphorion when he reported the existence of a version different from that of Apollonius Rhodius, included in the *τινὲς* subsequently named, but the impression is that his account is not particularly faithful to Euphorion's version. What seems to have misled him is the mentioning of Piasos by Euphorion and the fact that a character with that name, the father of Larisa, was honoured at Larisa on the Hermus despite the unedifying story bound up with his name: his daughter Larisa, whom he had abused, threw him in a cask of wine in which he drowned (Strabo 13. 3. 4; Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 12).

The bride of Cyzicus, however, had nothing to do with this story (Hanslik 1941, 1185); nor, probably, was the Piasos whom Euphorion took to be her father in any way connected with the father of Larisa. Whoever added Λάρισαν to the *codex Laurentianus* was obviously familiar with the text of the mythographer Parthenius and his digressions, but these do not justify the acceptance of the name Λάρισαν in place of Θρηῖσσαν in the scholium text.

The most recent editor of Euphorion came out in favour of retaining the term Θρηῖσσαν and, more generally, against any emendation of the *scholium* text as it has come down to us (van Groningen 1977, 27–28). He viewed Θρηῖσσαν not as a proper name, however, but as an ethnic specification. In his opinion the scholiast maintains that Euphorion did not deviate from tradition, as represented by Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus' local historiography, by altering the name of the protagonist of the story from Cleta to Thracia, but rather followed his predecessors on this point: he did no more than alter the name of the girl's father from Merops to Piasos and add an ethnic specification.

Thus there are two possibilities. If we allow the proposal most widely accepted so far, namely the integration of γαμετὴν and τὴν, rejecting however the emendation of Θρηῖσσαν to Λάρισαν, then we must think that Euphorion regarded the bride of Cyzicus as a girl

with the evocative name of Thracia,¹⁰ the daughter of a Piasos about whom no more is known than his name. If, on the other hand, we agree with van Groningen, then we must see Euphorion as having followed tradition in calling her Cleta, albeit departing from it in stating that she was not the daughter of Merops, but of a certain Piasos.

The first hypothesis is perhaps to be preferred. If Euphorion had indeed wished to write a variation on the story of Cyzicus and his bride, he would have been more likely to change the name of the protagonist herself, from Cleta to Thracia, rather than restrict himself to changing her father's name from Merops to Piasos, a detail which does not seem particularly relevant to the story.

Whichever of the two hypotheses we accept, the Thracian connotation of the protagonist remains intact, expressed in the first instance by her name itself, and in the second by the ethnic qualification.

This Thracian connection, whose premises are to be found in the tradition that Cleta came from Percote, that is from an area permeated by Thracian culture, was made explicit by Euphorion, but it lies at the core of Lycophron's transformation of Cleta into an Amazon. Already in the *Aethiopsis* Thrace is the homeland of Penthesilea (cf. Blok 1995, 265–73; for other localisations of the Amazons, Devambez and Kauffmann-Samaras 1981, 586; Blok 1995, 275–76, 437), the Amazon that Lycophron connects with Cleta, creating the role of nurse to Penthesilea for Cleta and in practice making her story begin where that of Penthesilea leaves off.

Two further features of Lycophron's version should be noted and considered together with Euphorion's fragment. First, by making Cleta into an Amazon, and thus endowing her with a martial spirit and warlike character (cf. Lycophr. *Alex.* 1005–1007), Lycophron made her incompatible with the institution of matrimony (on the Amazons and matrimony cf. Tyrrell 1984, 52–54; Blok 1995, *passim*). Second, by moving her to the West he implied that she outlived her beloved.

Both of these implications are taken up in Euphorion's version of the story of the hero Cyzicus. According to the scholium reproduced above, the eponymous king Cyzicus, who was νεόγαμνος for Apollonius

¹⁰ This anthroponym is attested at Kos in the form Θράϊσσα (*LGN I*, 226) and widely in Attica in the form Θράϊττα (*LGN II*, 227).

Rhodium, for Euphorion was μελλόγαμον, that is, betrothed but not yet wed, which in turn means that the παρθένος promised to him had remained such. Furthermore, while Apollonius Rhodius, who followed the local tradition of Cyzicus, dwelt on Cleta's despair and suicide, Euphorion maintained that the maiden survived the death of her betrothed and was once again consigned to her father, who took her home (οὐδὲ παθεῖν τι . . . ἀπαχθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός).

Euphorion was familiar with the *Alexandra*, as has been established (Fusillo, Hurst and Paduano 1991, 42; for the [early] chronology of Lycophron, *ibid.* 17–27; on Euphorion's biography and related chronological problems, Fraser 1956, 578–82). He must therefore have known the version of the Cleta story developed by Lycophron and taken up its salient features, working them into the *Apollodorus*. In his poem, the maiden did not appear as an Amazon, but he did give her the necessary attributes to take on this role: a Thracian connotation and the status of παρθένος. As a cultured reader of the *Alexandra*, Euphorion did not fail to see the premises, associations, and shifts which were the basis of the version worked out by Lycophron, and he revealed them to his readers by making explicit those aspects of the Cleta story which had formed the background of his predecessors' verses. The probable alteration of the maiden's name from Cleta to Thracia, together with the change certainly made to her father's name, are part of the game of revealing and concealing played by Euphorion.

His version, inasmuch as it presupposes to a great extent the developments in the Cleta story contained in the *Alexandra*, presents us with a useful tool for reconstructing the mythical path followed by Lycophron. Euphorion, here *lector doctus* more even than *poeta doctus*, proved uniquely able both to understand the ways of his forerunner and to reveal them.

In conclusion, what emerges from examination of the verses of the *Alexandra* dedicated to Cleta and their comparison with the fragment by Euphorion is that Lycophron took as his starting point an obscure Western place name, which in Greek must have sounded like Κλήτη. Its location was very probably on or near the Tyrrhenian coast in an area which, during the 5th century, had been controlled by Croton. This place name suggested to the poet an association with Cleta, a female figure belonging to the local tradition of Cyzicus and linked to the story of its eponymous king. As daughter of Merops and originating from Percote, Cleta was considered to be of Thracian

descent or at least to come from an environment culturally close to Thrace. In the epic tradition, represented by the *Aethiopis*, Thrace was the place of origin of one of the most famous Amazons, Penthesilea, and it was precisely with Penthesilea that Lycophron connected the figure of Cleta. In his version the maiden became an Amazon in her turn and took on the role of nurse to Penthesilea. The shift of her story to the West thus derived from her intended journey to Troy, where Penthesilea was killed by Achilles and disfigured by Thersites. Since the Amazons were by definition averse to marriage, Lycophron's version presupposes that, contrary to local Cyzicus tradition, Cleta never became the bride of Cyzicus but was only his betrothed, and was taken home by her father following the death of her beloved, as stated explicitly in the fragment by Euphorion.

Lycophron thus brought together in the story of the Amazon Cleta elements of the local tradition of Cyzicus and aspects of the Amazon myth. Freely associating different mythological components, he produced a new story and a new character, the Amazon Cleta whose premises have been sought in vain in local Western tradition. The myth of Cleta has no basis in the West other than a place name which may have been associated with the name Cleta.

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8. MEDEA IN ITALY: BARTER AND EXCHANGE IN THE ARCHAIC MEDITERRANEAN*

C.J. Smith

Introduction

In this article I wish to focus on certain problems posed by objects found away from their point of production. As the archaeological record grows, we become more acutely aware of the extreme difficulty of using distribution maps as evidence for direct trade. From a methodological point of view, it cannot be correct to use a single find as an indication of a lost pile of the same or similar objects; or to infer bulk of trade from size of the recovered sample. Amongst other problems, there is much material whose provenance can no longer be ascertained, and much unpublished material which might well indicate that trade to Central Italy was much greater than we might think, but there is no way of telling whether this applies across the board or only to certain classes of artefact.¹

In order to circumvent this problem, scholars have attempted to use theoretical models by which to test their evidence. The model derived from Polanyi's work has been of particular influence (Humphreys 1978, 31–75). Crucially, however, it is still hard to deal adequately with the question of much wider significance that underlies the distribution maps with which we are all familiar, which is the degree of cultural interaction which was taking place at the same time as the trade. Essentially, we may define the question as one of the cultural

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¹ See Jurgeit 1996 for an apparently Sardinian figurine, dated to the 7th century, found at Lanuvium, indicating a link which is now hard to specify or define, but indicates once again the central importance of Sardinia's role in the Western Mediterranean, on which see: Ridgway 1992b, 91; Tykot and Andrews 1992; Smith 1996, 26; and Webster 1996. Bartoloni 1989 notes the presence of Sardinian objects in female graves, and speculates on the possibility of intermarriage.

baggage which an object carries from its point of production to its point of consumption and eventual deposition. In this paper I wish to address this question with specific regard to a bucchero vessel found at Cerveteri from around 630 B.C., which depicts the myth of Medea (Rizzo and Martelli 1993).

In the course of the paper, I intend to indicate the context for the vessel from Cerveteri by considering some aspects of figurative art from the Geometric and Orientalising periods in Italy, and to discuss the iconography of the vessel. This has led me reconsider the problem of the nature of the society of Central Italy in the early Archaic period and of the contacts which it had. In the past I have approached this issue with particular focus on Latium, and on the excellent observations by Appadurai and others (Smith 1996, 16–21), but I hope to carry the argument a little further. Finally, consideration of this find, and of the kinds of contacts which may have contributed to its production, raises questions about the complexity of Archaic trade. I shall begin with some methodological issues.

Theories of Economic Exchange

The work of Karl Polanyi has been central to most accounts of trade in pre-capitalist society, embodying as it does the crucial observation that trade cannot be understood in isolation from social and political relationships at this period, but is embedded in those relationships (Humphreys 1978, 31–75). This concept of embeddedness has prompted some of the most sophisticated accounts of early economy, but the larger project of Polanyi (who did not himself focus on the Greek world) has been challenged in Sitta von Reden's recent account of exchange in ancient Greece (von Reden 1995, 1–9).

Von Reden has two disagreements with Polanyi's account. The first questions the concentration by Polanyi and his followers on those institutions which are parallel to the market in pre-market economies. This important point may be illustrated by reference for instance to T.R. Smith's theoretical approach to Mycenaean trade which is heavily dependent on a market-led conceptual framework, and indeed by much work on Central Italy which has focused on the port sites of Pyrgi, Gravisca and Rome (Forum Boarium) to create a picture which is consonant with the system of dendritic exchange and ports of trade that Polanyi mapped out as a model (Smith, T.R. 1987;

Smith, C.J. 1996, 121–3). This, in von Reden's account, neglects "culturally specific, and in particular religious factors." Central Italian port sites are remarkable in the density of religious symbolism concentrated in the harbour areas, and so this aspect of trading relationships has not been overlooked (Coarelli 1988). For this account, the most important point is the freeing of the concept of exchange from the rigours of an essentially commercial function (however embedded), and the broadening of the category of what may be exchanged in given circumstances. Von Reden's second disagreement, that Polanyi was wrong to assume that reciprocity was an institution rather than a socially embedded mode itself dependent on social ideologies, marks an important and general move in economic theory away from an entirely institutionalised analysis to a more personal and psychological approach.

Von Reden develops her argument in the context of the development of the classical Greek economy. She notes Sahlins' scale of reciprocities, and the reformulation of this by Bloch and Parry to distinguish transactions related to long-term social and metaphysical order and short-term individual well-being and social competition. It is in the long-term transactional order that the changes in social horizons and communal comprehension of the world has most effect, and the development of *polis*-based institutions requires transformation of the concept of reciprocity and the objects felt to be appropriate to such exchange.

Recently, reciprocity understood both as gift-exchange and also in a wider sense has come to be a central theme of ancient historical research (Seaford 1994; von Reden 1995). In economic anthropology, however, there has been a turn towards other forms of exchange which do not have the essential emotional affect of reciprocity. Humphrey and Hugh-Jones (1992b) have drawn attention to the specific social and moral connotations of barter, which had been regarded as an undeveloped form of market exchange.² The essays in their volume (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992a), particularly that of Gell (Gell 1992), emphasise that barter has a separate identity and may in fact be prior to gift-exchange in the development of links between peoples in peripheral areas. It is not necessarily a debased form of monetary exchange, or a commodified version of gift exchange. This will become important for our understanding of the trajectory of pre-colonial and colonial contacts with Central Italy.

² Humphrey 1985 established that this view was incorrect.

Scholars have long endeavoured to come closer to a definition of the volume and nature of the trade between east and west, and the kind of transformation involved in the move to fully colonial trading links. The nature of the direct links between traders and natives are hard to uncover in the absence of literary evidence from either side; some models start from "silent trade" and escalate from there to more intensive contacts (Smith 1996, 121–3).³ Coldstream has recently emphasised the possible importance of intermarriage (Coldstream 1993; 1994, 53; cf. White 1991, 60–2 for a comparative case study in Canada), and it is now thinkable that the "tombe principesche" which are characteristic of the whole region of Central Italy represent not simply the products of trading or raiding exchanges, but also the results of high-level aristocratic gift-giving along the lines of the Homeric model, with the same or similar rules of reciprocity (Cornell 1995, 89–92).⁴

The focus which Humphrey and Hugh-Jones lay on barter with its limited reciprocity and emotional affect lead us away from this advanced situation back to the earlier contacts between traders and natives, and require a rethinking of the scale, basis and motivation for the exchange of objects. Humphrey and Hugh-Jones isolate four sets of social relations created by barter:

³ This is not meant to suggest that there is an evolutionary scale for barter; silent trade is a special form of trade within specific circumstances, and might take place instead of normal barter or commodity exchange. One of the major achievements of the recent work on barter is to question the teleological trend of assessments of economic exchange with preconceived values of what is primitive and what is advanced.

⁴ Thomas 1991, 14–6 makes some very important comments on gift theory in the light of more recent research. As von Reden has done, Thomas stresses the interpenetration of gift-giving and personal status; he quotes T. Tanner, *Adultery and the Novel: Contract and Transgression* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins 1979) 341: "To the extent that a recognition of meaning is withheld from the sign, so too it is withheld from the relationships and bonds that it is supposed to signify." Thomas also points out (22) that "a capacity to generate debt is not inherent in every prestation; it is not necessarily the case that the donor acquires some superiority." Compare von Reden 1995, 32, using Barthes' concept of the *récit-contrat*: "The value of a text is conceptualized here as the degree to which it means something to its recipient. Value expresses the desire of the recipient to gain meaning from a text. In other words the value of a text is determined by the validity of its context. . . . The way poetry is rewarded is thus not only dependent on the social and economic conditions under which it is produced but also on the varying desires of each particular audience." For text and poem, one can read objects traded or gifted.

- 1) the act of barter is complete in itself, and requires no further transaction.
- 2) at the same time, the necessity of information about the location and trustworthiness of bartering partners tends to encourage a barter system in which there is an inbuilt tendency to act fairly.
- 3) the objects involved are essentially dissimilar and incomparable. The bartering partners do not refer to an abstract and common standard of value.
- 4) the continuing inequality required by gift-exchange in order to maintain the cycle is absent from the bartering environment where "the aim is to end the transaction feeling free of debt" (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992b, 11).

I mentioned earlier the trend in recent economic analysis to move towards more psychological theories of economic motivation. The model questioned has been described as that of Rational Economic Man (REM) or "Homo Economicus", and stems partly from a series of attempts by students of modern mass organisations to create the stable basis for a hypothetico-deductive methodology. Whilst this approach has been largely absent from studies of the ancient economy (so much so that some scholars have, wrongly, been prepared to reject any ability to think rationally about economic factors from their pictures of the ancient world), the revisionism of the past twenty years has salutary implications for our approach to the interaction of foreign and native traders in the colonial period.

MacFayden describes rational economic man as "a selfish utility maximizer who makes completely efficient use of available information in order to select the most highly valued position open to him/her" (MacFayden 1986, 25). In the debates about the nature of pre-colonial and colonial trade, the increasing evidence for calculation of profitable sites, exploitation of available markets, and even recently for a kind of 'product research' at least in the context of the Nikosthenic workshop (Arafat and Morgan 1994, 115-6; Hannestad 1988; Small 1994; see n. 9 below), and possibly in a greater number of instances, has tilted perceptions of this early exchange towards a more rational engagement with the market. There are elements in Homeric pictures of Phoenician traders and in the generally prejudiced attitude of some sections of Greek society towards the trader of a focus on profit over morality and an appropriate reciprocity (see for instance Homer *Od.* 14. 288-9; 15. 415-7). Moreover, as we shall discuss

later, there is every reason to include the exchange of symbolic goods in the ambit of rational activity. That is to say, it is at least arguable that the exchange of symbolic goods, or the investment of goods with symbolic value, was a rational strategy in terms of maximising behaviour.

One criticism of the REM thesis is that it works better in a world of perfect certainty than in a world of risk and uncertainty, which is patently the world of ancient microeconomics. REM is thus only a model, and risks being much at variance with "real man." To be fair, economists have long recognised the necessity of modifying the model to conform more accurately to the real world, for instance in the von Neumann-Morgenstern utility function, which tries to put utility and probability into the same equation and take risk-avoiding and risk-pooling behaviour into account. Nevertheless, this still requires that risky alternatives be assigned a probability factor, and where uncertainty is great, this is extremely difficult. Any probability can only be deduced by averaging experience or working at a level of generality which obscures the fundamental part which individual calculation and personality plays. Frank has criticised the utility function as understood in purely rational terms, by introducing what he calls "irrational" motives like taste, commitment, status, conscience, vengeance and rage.⁵

In a far-reaching contribution, Chadwick-Jones has pointed up an interesting aspect of the general branch of social sciences with which we are here engaged, which has been dubbed social exchange theory (Chadwick-Jones 1986). Social exchange theories, he claims, often borrow their terms from economic exchange, and rely on a maximising model. As he points out, the Polanyi-style merging of social and economic can imply that any economic relationship which does not mobilise non-economic motivations is probably dysfunctional, producing social strain (p. 251), and insists (p. 262) that in social behaviour many of the exchanges that happen do not fulfill the criteria

⁵ Frank 1986; cf. Fine 1995 and Lunt 1995 for similar criticisms. Schelling and Elster in various ways expand this whole interface of economic and ethical thought; see Schelling 1984 and Elster 1984. Crucially, we can make more sense of behaviour which is on the face of it irrational or which extends beyond the scope of generalised and more limited expectations of the maximisation of utility, and allows us to cope with the concept of a "psychic income" which is central to the argument which I am advancing here. See also Schneider 1974, 130-1 for the incorporation of friendship as a parameter of an economic value system.

of rational-choice theory. In other words, Chadwick-Jones is suggesting that even the social scientific theories of exchange are not free from the assumptions underlying the REM model.

There is a link between the economic analogy in social exchange theory and a kind of functionalism, in which the apparently redundant aspects of any act are tied in by some term like reciprocity or embeddedness to become part of a rational (even if not fully reasoned) exchange at a mutually satisfying level. This is productive of some far-reaching and perceptive analyses, but it is potentially too neat an explanation of the world. Although Chadwick-Jones was criticising social psychology's excessive reliance on individual choice as the index for its testing, the criticism might also be levelled at studies of microeconomic activity in antiquity, which also maximise profit in a social sense, and thus tie reciprocal exchange into the evolution of stable polis structures.

To return to the example of barter, it is clear that Humphrey and Hugh-Jones' account avoids many of these problems in a variety of ways. The process is understood fully in the social context; it is embedded and not simply a matter of individual maximisation of profit, though it is rational in the sense that an endeavour is made to come to an agreement on fair valuation of dissimilar objects. Secondly, because barter is to a degree the method of exchange at peripheral points (as well as a process internal to the community), and because it does not necessarily set up a long-term personal relationship, it need not be implicated in strategies of political stabilisation as has been argued for reciprocal gift-exchange. Thirdly, barter need not be implicated in a process of exploitation or competitiveness, since the barter, once concluded, terminates the relationship until it is re-opened by mutual consent. Obviously, there is the possibility for barter to become exploitative and involuntary in a colonial context, but it is stressed by Thomas that we should not leap to assume exploitation when the intrinsic value of objects exchanged are unequal, since that is to assume a standard of valuation which may not pertain (Thomas 1992 and below). Fourthly, and interestingly, barter introduces the idea of desire into microeconomic relationships, but goes beyond the simple model of cupidity at a macroeconomic level which I have explored elsewhere. In discussing the difference between barter and gift-giving, Humphrey and Hugh-Jones remark that gift-giving creates a contrived asymmetry, "but in barter the difference is that items held by others already are objects of desire and this is

the only situation in which one will accept an object. Paradoxically, the presence of desire in barter, which might imply an inner compulsion, also suggests its own solution—the exchange—which nullifies demand . . . In a sense the very aim of barter is to create and quench desire in oneself and the other” (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992b, 18). This is not to say that gifts are undesirable, but that desire is crucial when one is negotiating exchange for a specific object; a bartered object is desired for itself, whilst a gift is desirable in a general sense.

In the rest of this paper, I wish to explore the evidence for the kinds of trading relationship which occurred in Central Italy between foreign and native traders, with particular focus on the Orientalising period from the later 8th century onwards; to discuss in a general sense the concept of acculturation; and to apply the theoretical issues raised here and elsewhere to a particular remarkable vase.

The Impact of Greek Art on Central Italy

Figurative representation may be found in isolated instances from close to the beginning of the presence of the Greeks in the west; the famous example of the shipwreck scene found at Pithekoussai, itself one of the earliest Geometric figurative vases from around 740 B.C., is a vivid if gruesome representation of the dangers of the new colonial venture, seen through Greek eyes (Ridgway 1992a, 57–8). Tracking down myth in figurative art before the middle of the 7th century is hard, though, and Brendel goes so far as to suggest that this is a characteristic of Italian society; whilst the Greeks had a huge fund of stories awaiting their medium, the Italians had no such mythology, and failed to create a narrative art except through the impact of Late Geometric and subsequent Orientalising Greek art. Their representations are merely generic (Brendel 1995, 52–3).

There is an assumption at work here which has had a long history, at least as old as Varro. I wish only to make one point here, that the presence of vases in funerary contexts which show a fight scene, for instance, may have had a narrative specific to the death or the funeral of the deceased which cannot be recovered. Brendel’s point is that the stories are generic and not recoverable in the way that Greek myths were specific and their iconography recognisable;

but the absence of readability does not necessitate the absence of a narrative gift amongst the Central Italians.⁶

The development of the figurative representations on the funerary amphorae of Attica might be taken as a case in point, since whilst they cannot be claimed for the mythical, they can be claimed for the self-identification of an élite with the heroic *ethos* fostered by the spread of epic poetry within Greece (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 217–8; Whitley 1994). A similar heroic *ethos* may easily be identified in Central Italy; Coldstream has seen parallels between burials at Cumae and the West Gate burials at Eretria (Coldstream 1994, 54–5), and at a later date, the choice of mythical subject mirrors the force of individual prowess in the highly hierarchical and deeply military context of emergent city-states in Etruria and Latium.

Moreover, it is worth noting that myth is only identified by the presence of human figures, which cuts out the majority of the Corinthian tradition, eagerly and skilfully copied by Etruscan painters, of frequent representations of unreal, sometimes even surreal animals.⁷ Sphinx and chimaera are obvious examples. Whilst allowing that the representation does not permit the reading of a narrative in the way that Attic black- and red-figure frequently does, the invention of a world based on visible reality but different from it may mirror the process of myth, and the fact that we cannot supply the stories behind these representations, or prove that consciousness of a world of otherness may reflect Central Italian attitudes to the expanding horizons of the Mediterranean, is not a good argument against the presence of a mythological tendency in 7th and 6th century Etruria.⁸

⁶ In his important article, Szilágyi gives an account of Etruscan art from the 8th to the 6th century, and also questions the idea that the Etruscans were without a mythology of their own, referring to a possible reference to Vanth on a piriform aryballos from Marsiliana (Szilágyi 1989, 624). Martelli is sharply critical (Rizzo and Martelli 1993, 55); her argument is that local mythology cannot carry the load of prestige and paradigm that is available from imported vessels. We might consider in this context the Tragliatella oinochoe which appears to indicate a version of the *lusus Troiae* and a whole complex of shared myths about labyrinths, heroes in the mould of Theseus, and fertility and funerary behaviour; the incised decoration is Etruscan from the second half of the 7th century B.C., but the influences are wider (Small 1986; Menichetti 1992).

⁷ See for instance Amyx 1988, 689–90 on the Pescia Romana painter; cf. Szilágyi 1989.

⁸ See Shanks 1995 for an attempt to read Corinthian art as a subtle reflection of techniques of the self, particularly with regard to concepts of risk, control and

According to Spivey and Stoddart (1990, 100, fig. 51), there are twenty or so figurative representations of Greek myth in Etruria between *ca.* 650 and 550 B.C. Painted or inscribed pottery is one of the media, but bronze, ivory, jewellery and terracotta are also represented. Heracles and themes of the Trojan War are popular, and remain so into later periods. By the later 7th century, both in painted pottery such as that of the *Pittore dei Caduti* (Amyx 1988, 692; Brendel 1995, 67 fig. 38), and in "heavy bucchero" (Brendel 1995, 137–40), it is clear that the process of the cultural transformation of orientalising influences has begun.

It is Attic pottery which is the defining figurative mode of the 6th century, and here we find a limited range of extremely popular mythological themes represented and possibly commissioned for the coastal sites of Etruria, and imitated for consumption in the hinterland. As Arafat and Morgan demonstrate (1994, 108–34; *cf.* Small 1995), the nature of the themes suits the society which was consuming the artefacts, and from this point onwards at least it becomes impossible to separate the objects from their cultural baggage. If we take the theme of Aeneas and Anchises for instance, there are around a hundred examples of this iconographic theme, the majority of which are found in Etruria (Boardman 1974, 230–1). Even taking into account the different rates of and reasons for survival of pottery in Etruria and Attica, the very presence of this theme in the 6th century in Central Italy indicates the possibility of the choice of a theme deemed appropriate by the market, but potentially sold as such by the traders.⁹

power in battle and aristocratic lifestyle. Whilst the paper is open to numerous criticisms, expressed in the same journal, it reminds us that Corinthian iconography deserves to be read as Attic iconography frequently is, especially in the context of iconography which is exchanged.

⁹ As Greenblatt nicely puts it, "contact, where it does not consist entirely of acts of wounding or killing, is very often contact between representatives bearing representations" (Greenblatt 1991b, 119). Osborne 1995 takes these arguments a good deal further, particularly in the context of Attic exports to Etruria, claiming to see a world of interdependent markets. Even if this were to be true for the 6th century B.C., Osborne's desire to press this back to the evidence from Pithekoussai may be to go too far. In addition, the whole of Osborne's programme rests on a series of assumptions that come close to the models of rational economic activity which I have criticised above. The centrality of profit narrowly understood is worrying; this paper suggests, at the least, that Osborne may be focussing on only half the equation. Hannestad 1988 insists that the Nikosthenic workshop is unusual. Moon 1983b, 97 denies the significance of the Aeneas/Anchises representation, but

It is important to recognise, as Arafat and Morgan do, that there are strong reasons to assume that the consumers had a hand in the choice of the subjects. Etruscan presence in Greece is attested by sanctuary dedications from the 9th century onwards (Morgan 1990, 34, 40, 142; Kilian Dirlmeier 1985), and we have recent confirmation of this interplay in the inscription of an Etruscan found on a piece of Laconian pottery (Cristofani 1994) found at the sanctuary of Aphaea at Aegina, dated to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.¹⁰ Shared knowledge of mythology, and therefore of mythological iconography is a crucial factor. As I argue throughout this paper, after the earliest exchanges, we should assume a rapidly developing facility amongst the Etruscans in the manipulation of the new ideological and iconographical framework provided by the Greeks. This is not to say that the Etruscans used the material in the same way, or for the same purposes; it is possible that the Etruscans took up a representation that fitted their own purposes. Again Brendel is right to acknowledge the differences between the reception of the orientalis-ing movement in Greece and in Italy, but the consequences should be interpreted within a framework of creative energy.¹¹

In particular, if the argument of Arafat and Morgan that "much of the attraction of Attic vases lay in the value of their complex myth scenes for reinforcing the elite's exclusivity in their ability to read, comprehend and use such information" (117), we need also to accept that the vases were retained as objects within a limited group, and comprehended to a significantly lesser extent outwith that group; like the elaborate floor mosaics of late Roman villas, they are for the enjoyment of the owner and his friends, and presumably only the occasional awed glance of those outside the circle. Although there has been a recent attempt to suggest that Greek mythology was widely accepted at all social levels within Central Italy (Cornell 1995, 162–3), the consequences of the argument advanced here suggest that the spread of mythology as a language and conceptual framework accessible to all, as it must have been in the Athenian world by the

only on the grounds that the potters in Athens were of too low social status to travel and interpret foreign tastes.

¹⁰ The inscription reads *mipl[...].xinur*; Cristofani asserts that it represents the admission of an Etruscan into the cult of Aphaea, and reflects the commercial partnership that now existed.

¹¹ See Spivey 1987, for instance, as an example of how a sensitive approach to Etruscan pottery can reveal both artistic strength and individuality.

5th century for Attic drama to work, was a later and slow process.

Greenblatt (1991a) makes a relevant distinction between resonance and wonder as aspects of the gaze. Although I am concerned with one particular vessel in this article, I have tried to situate it in its proper archaeological and art historical context (what Greenblatt regards as a resonant view

a sense of the cultural and historically contingent construction of art objects, the negotiations, exchanges, swerves and exclusions by which certain representational practices come to be set apart from other representational practices that they partially represent. [p. 45]).

The experience of wonder has as much to do with relationship between the viewer and the possessor, the collector, and participates in a discourse about power. Greenblatt's distinction, as he recognises, is too sharply drawn, and his positioning of the generation of the wondering gaze in the Renaissance and the resonant gaze in the 20th century is unhistorical. Imported objects will have been perhaps the source both of resonance (though not of the same kind as a modern art exhibition with its textual overlay, catalogue and so forth evokes) and wonder; the resonance I mean is the awareness of the provenance of social forms and their representations such as the symposium, and the consciousness of the history or the genealogy of an object. We need only think of Homer's descriptions of the various owners of a specific object to see that the ancients were capable of creating resonance, and we should remember that valued imported objects will most likely not have been displayed alone but in context with other objects of various provenance, age and style. Even in the relatively small chronological spread of funerary depositions, we need to recall that the objects were probably displayed on their way to deposition in procession, in a context that is both resonant and wonderful. We may then slightly reformulate Arafat and Morgan; insofar as the objects were displayed they will have been a source of wonder to all; their resonance might vary according to social status. If we allow considerable possession of imported pottery in Italy (and I am not at all sure that this can be sustained), we thereby retain a differential sense of values within the receiving culture.

One should not forget either that in the Orientalising period, the influences are not solely from the Greek world, but also from further east. Figurative scenes on imported Syrian and Phoenician objects, such as the gilt silver bowls found at Cerveteri and at Palestrina, represent elite activities such as processions and hunts, and serve

similar functions in legitimating the hierarchical structure of the society (Markoe 1984 for a catalogue; Markoe 1992; Muscarella 1992). In addition, the appearance of Egyptian and Egyptianising objects in Central Italy from the beginning of the period of colonisation opens up a further possibility of cultural interchange. The reception of Greek art and iconography is now (and surely was then) hard to isolate from the manifold other traditions available.¹²

Finally, we should address a problem specific to the relation between mythological narrative and the emergence of narrative art. Corinthian ware uses a relatively less complex presentation of figurative art, in which ornamentation is more significant than narrative in comparison with Attic art, though the simplicity of Corinthian art should not be overstated. The introduction of Attic ware may mean that the ways in which the Etruscans thought about narrative changed, but it surely does not mean that the exchange of a mythological tradition can be traced from meagre beginnings to immense popularity on the same curve. The absence of mythological iconography is not in itself an indication of the absence of myth. The change is in the use to which this framework of thought is put. Despite the limited spread in Etruscan society of the material representation of myth, the appearance of myth in quantity in imported Attic pottery reflects the commodification of that discourse in the 6th century, not that it was being introduced for the first time to the élite market.

In many ways, the pattern which I am sketching here is similar to that traced by von Reden in her account of the commodification of song in Archaic Greece (von Reden 1995, 67–74); there is a distinction

¹² This is close to creolisation, as discussed for instance by Hannerz 1987 which emphasises the “‘management of meaning’ by which culture is generated and maintained, transmitted and received, applied, exhibited, remembered, scrutinised and experimented with.” Drummond 1980 suggests that it is becoming harder to see separate cultures as opposed to one Culture from which people pick and choose symbols as identity-markers, and symbols of the group to which they aspire to belong. What is most attractive about Drummond’s article is that he does not conclude that people think of culture as undifferentiated; the Guyanese mother-in-law who defends the drunken nature of the wedding festivities at her house to her Hindu half-brothers by saying “Dis an English wedding! Dis na coolie ting” (365), as Drummond points out, had a concept of ethnic stereotypes, though these concepts were confusing and troubling the already complex social relationships of Guyana’s heterogeneous population. We should not suppose, I think, that the Italian perception of the Mediterranean was of an undifferentiated Culture, but that they chose specifically appropriate cultural emblems, retaining a perhaps stereotypical awareness of their origin.

between stories told for the sake of rewarding their author (commodity) and stories told for the sake of rewarding the recipient (gift), and the position of the song on this 'scale of reciprocities' reflects the relationship between author and recipient. If we are right in claiming that Attic pottery takes up a much more active role in the political and ideological structuring of Etruscan society, and that the 6th century trade in Attic pottery is more structured and directed from all sides than the earlier trade, then we might also suggest that the iconography and its explanation brings about a reward for the seller, whilst being utilised as a tool by the buyer. Again, if we are right in suggesting barter as a key concept for early trade, then the descent from gift to commodity might be questioned in the Central Italian context. As we shall see, the mythological exchange may well reflect a non-economic, non-reciprocal event.

What this trajectory shows, I think, is that the exchange of mythological information begins early, but develops an iconographical tradition slightly later, which then becomes transformed by a social development and an artistic revolution which serve to reinforce each other's position. Figurative art enters a field of social reproduction, and the nature of the exchange is thereby radically altered.

Acculturation

I wish in this section to raise at a general level some questions about the nature of our understanding of acculturation with regard to the Central Italian context.¹³ On the whole, this issue has been most successfully discussed with regard to the introduction of Greek symposiastic customs or eastern prestige objects into Central Italy and elsewhere, where the objects and customs transferred can be seen to bolster existing or evolving political hierarchies (Rathje 1990). My

¹³ White 1991 speaks of a middle ground defined by 'the willingness of those who created it to justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partners' cultural premises . . . In attempting such persuasion people quite naturally sought out congruences, either perceived or actual, between the two cultures' (52). The impermanence and limited nature of Greek settlement in Etruria makes this model of less direct relevance here than in Campania and Magna Graecia, but White's reference to Giddens (52 n. 4, 53 n. 6) permits the application to this subject of the important social scientific model of structuration. The creation and evolution of structures of knowledge and behaviour recursively inform the social environment in which these contacts took place.

particular concern is with the transfer of myth from its original home to new areas; an issue which we have already touched on in the analysis of importation and imitation of Greek pottery and gems which have mythological scenes. How does this fit into our models of barter and reciprocity?

In the first instance I think it is reasonable to exclude any missionary element in the spread of Greek mythology. There is no evidence that this process was conducted at the behest of a dominant colonial power, or that the Greeks had the kind of religious proselytisers we would associate with Christianity. Nor do I wish at this stage to engage in an argument about the social spread of Greek mythological thinking in Central Italy, which I hope to address elsewhere. For the moment I am concerned only with the growing awareness amongst an élite of the stories which the Greeks told about themselves and the world which they had come to know.

One reason why it would have been sensible for the Greeks to exchange their myths with the people of Central Italy is that, if we are right to identify a choice of market for certain stories, that market will have been created potentially through a kind of sales pitch. If we believe that Etruscans for instance saw in some heroes figures whom they might choose to emulate, then that perception might have been encouraged by traders who explained the stories which the vases depict.

At the same time, if we are serious about the fundamental importance of myth and mythological thought as a process of describing and communicating perceptions of the world, it would be natural to use myth as a means of communication which, whilst having the advantage of promoting myth-laden objects, also creates a communality of perception and experience that may transcend the purely economic.¹⁴

¹⁴ I wish to point out here the important pages in Thomas 1991, 126ff on the centrality of curiosity in the British and French colonial experience. Thomas notes a distinction between the childlike fascination with novelties or curios, an unstructured apprehension of diverse things, and the scientific project which increasingly drew material culture into a hierarchical appraisal of the world through ethnological and philosophical speculation. The situation is not precisely analogous in our situation perhaps since material culture, whilst it is the medium by which we recognise contacts between east and west where literary sources are absent, is not a strong medium for the appraisal of that relationship in antiquity. Comments on Persian clothes and Persian gold by the Greeks are a stronger parallel. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge first that we may be missing a range of perishable objects

Once we are beyond a phase of silent trade, we may hypothesise a tradition of exchange in conceptual thought that was driven not only by commercial but also by psychological motives. A simple pattern of embedded pre-market exchange would leave the matter at a social context for economic exchange and would accept the rationality, but I wish to explore other motivations.

Knowledge is power not in the sense that the possession of knowledge requires the existence of ignorance, but in the sense that knowledge creates new opportunities. As other aspects of acculturation show, it is the transfer of knowledge that opens the space for profitable exchange; syncretism would be a good example, especially in the context of the identification of deities at harbour sites such as Pyrgi or the Forum Boarium. This is a kind of barter; there is a mutual creation and quenching of desire that forms the conduit for material exchange, and the incommensurable objects are the matters communicated. Exchange is communication in this and other senses. My concern is that this exchange need not be interpreted functionally. If we regard the process as the product of rational economic motivation, then the functional argument would be strong. However, after Polanyi and other critiques, we have seen that this is not an adequate explanation. In part the process of the exchange of ideology is an aspect of the embeddedness of the pre-market economy where modern capitalist thought has as its counterpart a moral and social discourse that is for the Archaic Greek world constructed through the modalities of mythical thought.

As von Reden stresses however, this merely seeks for an equivalence of the market situation in the pre-market world, and institutionalises reciprocity, which for the pre-colonial and early colonial period is anachronistic. An argument through the process of reciprocity also requires the construction of an ongoing and unequal/asymmetrical relationship. This constructs a relationship in which the opening up of a mythical discourse immediately places the native

from the west and a discourse at traders' level upon them, and second that given that Italy was a Mediterranean country like Greece, the differences may not have been as acute as between the British and the Pacific peoples in the 18th century. The moral discourse was in place at least by the time of Theopompus' critical comments on the Etruscans. Crucially, curiosity is situated by Thomas (and by the British of the 18th century) at the heart of the drive to explore and engage with native peoples, and this is another part of the emotional motivation which is being constructed here. On this see also Helms 1994.

trader in a position of indebtedness through the requirement to respond. A barter relationship terminates the indebtedness.

In this circumstance we have to construct the objects of desiring, whilst acknowledging their incommensurability. Situating the transfer of ideological information within the context of a commodity however is part of the functionalist argument that I criticised earlier. The desire to communicate, the pleasure of telling and hearing stories ought to be built into the model of this exchange; the preparedness to listen has a value of its own. The mutuality of the desire is created by the pleasure of the act, and quenched in its consummation. There is no essential relation of inferiority; there is no essential requirement of return; there is no necessary creation of a social bond such as current accounts of reciprocity posit, though this may occur.

Gell's view of the nature of these exchanges, drawn from Melanesian society, reminds us that the peacefulness of the earliest exchanges ought not to be overstated; men meet other men at the boundaries of social systems in war and trade, and trade partnerships can be seen as subversive of conflictual exchange.

Traders do not meet to exchange compliments, but to exchange commodities; the voluntaristic amorality of a partnership 'against all the world' can only be sustained through the transactional schema of object-exchange, because, lacking 'personal' referents, the relationship can only be established with reference to things, which are all that the parties to it have in common. In exchange, objects are focalised, quantified, valued, and so on; and there is recognition of debt, credit, and reciprocity. It is the transaction of these objects, now commodities, which sustains the partnership, and, because the partnership-relationship is valued as an end in itself, the objects involved carry a symbolic charge stemming from this source; they are over-valued because their presence evokes a valued relationship and a privileged kind of social interaction. Where there could be enmity and danger, lo!—there is this shell, the axe. . . . (Gell 1992, 159).¹⁵

¹⁵ Gell's account conflates the alienation of objects through barter and the commodification of those artefacts in ways which I would dispute, and invokes reciprocity in a way which I eschew precisely because I am questioning the all-embracing socio-economic model which seems implicit in the term as currently used. Given a more limited use of the words, the passage is entirely consonant with my own approach. The reciprocity indicated here, I think, is simply the difference between plunder and barter.

Gell's account highlights the fragility and marginality of the early trade exchange in the context of an almost moral obligation of defence and aggression. His account of the valorisation of the object, as being the only thing which the parties have in common, may be extended in our case by the ideological exchange I have hypothesised, which might in the case of heroic deeds be regarded as a deferral of the potential violence.

The concept of altruism is not intrinsic to this approach, since I do not wish to deny the potential recognised advantages to traders of this ideological exchange. I do wish to suggest though that it is important first not to see the creation and exchange of myth simply as a colonial discourse, and second that it is worth trying to imagine the nature of the earlier exchanges that preceded the transfer of myth-laden objects.

Kopytoff identifies two aspects of the process of commodification (Kopytoff 1986). A thing becomes a commodity when it is no longer regarded as singular or unique but becomes commonly available; and a thing becomes a commodity when its biography, or history, ceases to be relevant. The transfer of mythical ideology becomes commodified, I have suggested, first when it becomes readily available in the figurative arts of the time; and second when its role as a mode of communication becomes universally accepted (somewhat like a dead metaphor). It is not clear though that this process is entirely complete in the Archaic period, since it seems that there is a continuing flow of information and interpretation well beyond the end of the 6th century. I would like to suggest that the period of Attic imports comes close to a period of commodified ideology, for reasons discussed above, but that the nature of this ideological exchange, which is so hard to trace and so difficult to imagine, was not and cannot be confined within a functional or inclusive model of exchange.

Finally, barter does give a very clear methodological framework for the principle of the inflation and transformation of the value of an object between cultures. Thomas gives a number of good instances of this in his account of early exchange on colonial peripheries in the Oceanic islands, and concludes that the image of the naive hunger of newly contacted tribal peoples for iron and trinkets is inappropriate:

the moral vision of the injustice of trading in cheap junk itself contains an injustice, in the sense that the indigenous sense of these transactions is forgotten. New things were assimilated to extended categories,

appropriated, constituted and used in ways mostly beyond the vision of the foreign transactors. While native peoples appeared to be being seduced by foreign values, they were actually drawing novelties into persistently autonomous strategies and domains.

Although in time the conditions of autonomy came to an end, "this process of dispossession was grounded in another interplay of intrusion and reaction, and did not grow out of the dynamic of peripheral exchange" (Thomas 1992, 38).

Gell gives some reasons for this change, when he comments that the market cannot exist without a

"hegemonic power to exert the peace of the market-place" (Gell 1992, 159), and concludes that "at the social margins, a constructed world comes into being, mediated by flows of objects along transactional pathways, which increasingly infiltrate the reproductive sphere from which it was originally excluded, but not without itself undergoing a sea-change" (*ibid.*, 167).

For Gell, a masculine commodity exchange is replaced by an exchange in brides and bride-service that mimics, sustains and expands the transactional exchange. For our case study, the increasing infiltration of the hegemonic ideology of Central Italian élites into the modalities of exchange transform the constructed world of early barter. It may also be true that if Coldstream is right to suggest the importance of intermarriage between Greeks and Central Italians, and if the picture of a Central Italian society which became more open through the development of a social élite marked by access to a similar range of value-laden prestige objects is correct, then the issue of social reproduction through exchange of women which is central to Gell's account may also become an issue in the transformation of the barter world.¹⁶

Medea at Cerveteri

Rizzo and Martelli's excellent publication of a bucchero olpe from around 630 B.C. found in a wealthy grave at Cerveteri (Monte Abatone) gives a specific case study for the topic of Greek influences in Central Italy (Rizzo and Martelli 1993). The piece fits clearly into

¹⁶ The models do not work in exactly the same way; Coldstream's intermarriage takes place at the beginning of the colonisation process; Gell's as a second-order process. Bartoloni 1989 indicates further possibilities.

the tradition of 'heavy bucchero' and the adoption of Greek myth and figurative iconography; the tomb from which it came is a typical example of the élite burials found across the region at this time. The openness to Greek myth, the use of Greek myth in native art as part of a social discourse, and the reworking of an external tradition within an indigenous context are all illustrated by this remarkable find.

The piece came from a tumulus tomb which had been heavily robbed; the presence of other imported pottery and ivory in this and a neighbouring burial indicates their status. The piece itself is divided into two registers. The top register is decorated with panthers. The bottom has a number of figures in a continuous sequence. Two figures appear to confront each other across a wall or altar; one is carrying a sceptre and wearing a dress that covers her body completely; on her dress the name METAIA is inscribed. The other, male, appears to be trying to rise from a cauldron in which half of his body is submerged. Behind the woman, six young men are carrying what appears to be a carpet or cloth with tassels at the ends, and bearing the Etruscan inscription KANNA; the nearest of the males to METAIA appears to be hailing or greeting her. Behind the male in the cauldron, two young men are fighting; each wears a shoe on one foot. In between the fighting men, and the six young men with the cloth, facing in the same direction as the latter group, is another male figure, wearing a dramatic item of clothing that reaches from his shoulders to his feet, and curves at the end; his hands are raised in the air, and next to him is an inscription reading TAITALE. Rizzo and Martelli do not hesitate to identify the named figures as Medea and Daedalus. A few other scraps and fragments of bucchero seem to carry comparable scenes, and the figure with a lituus or sceptre seems common to them. Judging by the distribution of these pots, the point of production was fairly certainly Cerveteri itself.

The most interesting and difficult part of the interpretation of this vessel is the meaning of the scenes represented on it. Citing scholiasts to the first hypothesis of Euripides' *Medea* and to Lycophron *Alexandra*,¹⁷ Rizzo identifies the scene between Medea and the man

¹⁷ Schwartz 1891, II 137–8:

About his father Jason, the author of the Nostoi wrote as follows:

Immediately she made her dear boy Jason young, stripping off his old age with her skilful mind, boiling many drugs in golden cauldrons.

in the cauldron with a story about the rejuvenation of Jason after being boiled by Medea. Other representations of similar scenes are unhelpful for firm identifications; the apparent youth of the man in the cauldron makes it difficult to connect him with Pelias, the old man whom Medea also cooked in a pot, but without beneficial side-effects. The group with the cloth is identified as the Argonauts after their victory at games at Lemnos, the prize for which was some kind of garment; the source for this is Pindar's fourth *Pythian Ode* with the scholiastic comment on 450b–451. The two fighting figures fit into the same funerary game context; closer identification is probably hazardous. Finally Daedalus is represented in flight, his arms raised underneath his artificial wings.¹⁸

The knowledge required for this production must in the first place have come from a Greek, though the nature of the transmission of the story to the artist is quite unknowable. It is quite possible that the knowledge was gained by someone who travelled from Etruria to Greece, possibly even to Corinth itself, where, if Eumelos was writing about the Medea myth in the mid- to late 8th century,¹⁹ the story was taking shape in literary form. Whatever the process it does not seem possible to find a single story in which all parts of the decoration fit together. This is an eclectic account of Medea and the

Pherecydes and Simonides say that Medea having boiled Jason made him young. Sch. ad Lyc. 1315:

They say that Jason having been boiled by Medea in a cauldron, became young again.

¹⁸ The vase is also discussed by Schmidt in *LIMC* 6 s.v. Medea, where the author raises the questions of why Jason is not armed, and whether the "kanna" is the same as the *kanna* of Ar. *Vesp.* 394, where it fairly plainly means some kind of carpet made out of osiers next to a shrine. The second question seems unanswerable, though the link with a shrine there might be significant. On the first question, Neils writes of Jason in *LIMC* 5 s.v. Jason (p. 636), "I. has no distinctive attributes in classical art. He is usually depicted either simply nude, or as a traveller with a cloak and hat. Rarely is he represented monosandalos (*monokrepis*, Pind. *P.* 4.75), that is with a sandal on his r. foot only. . . . The sandal is perhaps characteristic of an adolescent during initiation." The two fighting figures are also shown in our vessel with only one sandal. Jason seems a relatively indistinct character, who might be thought to have been recognisable once Medea and Daedalos had been identified, and it is clear that he is not the focus of attention in this representation. Tsatskheladze 1994 notes the relative popularity of Medea outside Greek art.

¹⁹ The dating goes back to Paus. 2. 1. 1 and 4. 1. 1; see Easterling and Knox 1985, 108 and *RE* s.v. Eumelos, vol. 6 cc. 1080–1; the dating is disputed, and might be 7th century. See also Tsatskheladze 1994 on the Georgian perception of Medea; Koshelenko and Kuznetsov 1996 on the colonisation of Colchis; detailed account of the early versions of the Argonaut myth in Dräger 1993, 12–149.

Argonauts, which gives extra credibility to the attempt to seek for meaning behind the choice by an Etruscan of scenes with which to adorn an Etruscan vessel.

Rizzo introduces two ideas. First she assimilates Daedalus the great artisan to the metalworking skills of the Etruscans;²⁰ secondly she adduces the link between Lemnos and the Tyrrhenians or Pelasgians, which has attracted so much attention in the past (Cornell 1995, 45–7; Drews 1992 for bibliography and sceptical account). Undeniably, both suggestions might be possible, though it should be noted that the second rests on a series of hypotheses that are fragile. I think certain more basic structural aspects of the story should be considered as well. If we assume that the vase alludes to the exploits of the Argonauts, then there is good reason to consider what the Etruscans made of that story. Like the story of Odysseus visiting the Cyclopes, which has often been taken as a reflection of colonial ventures in the west, and an unflattering one which nevertheless may be found both in Greek and in Italian art from an early stage,²¹ the Argonautic myth describes the contact with a different culture, one equally strange and in some respects at least, equally barbarous though more easily assimilable. The goal and end product of this venture is an object of unimaginable wealth that reflects the rich material culture of the distant peoples around the Black Sea. It is, as a myth, an enticement, and a transformation of reality; and it is crucially an attempt to encapsulate the nature and consequences of the Greek contact with a foreign other.²²

If we now consider that this complex is figured by an Etruscan

²⁰ On Daedalus see: Morris 1992, which indicates the centrality of this figure with regard to the creative arts both in Greece, and as a mediation between East and West, since Daedalus has a close connection with the Ugaritic and Semitic figure (Kothar 99–101, and note there reference to stories being spread in a trade context).

²¹ The Chiusi pyxis would be one instance; see Spivey and Stoddart 1990, 100; Brendel 1995, 64–6.

²² Tsatskheladze 1994 gives reasons for doubting any early precise locating of the myth in Colchis, and for not using the myth as evidence for colonisation before the later 7th century when it becomes archaeologically visible. My argument here is for a much looser and vaguer acknowledgement of otherness located in the East, which is already present in Eumelos. Although the greater part of this colonising activity was undertaken by Milesians, the presence of a tradition of Corinthian activity at Sinope and some Corinthian pottery should indicate that some Corinthians may have been involved in some way at an early stage (though Corinthian pottery *does not* require physical presence of Corinthians).

hand on an Etruscan vessel buried with an Etruscan noble at Cerveteri, and if we are prepared to allow the kind of complex and subtle thinking that Dougherty for instance has isolated in Greek accounts of their meetings with natives in the west (Dougherty 1993), we might speculate on where the Etruscan who commissioned this piece saw himself in relation to Greeks and others. Did the Etruscans, whose religious customs tended to be regarded as somewhat mysterious, cultivate an appearance as the mysterious other to the Greek norm, potentially as life-giving, miracle-working victors over nature? Or did they see themselves as similar to the Greeks, sharing in a love of athletic competition in highly-charged socially competitive situations, and encountering a world whose horizons were expanding and becoming at once alluring and dangerous?²³ Such questions cannot be answered from our evidence, but perhaps deserve to be asked.

Unless we take the line that the choice of decoration was fortuitous, for some reason it must have been thought appropriate for the resting place of the deceased, and the funerary context may well have influenced the depiction of funerary games, similar to those we find on Etruscan tomb paintings of the 6th century. The subject matter is naturalised to the extent that it may be depicted on a piece of bucchero and the figures given the Etruscan forms of their names, and insofar as one can make out the nature of the other pottery in this style, there is a context of religious action and/or political power, represented by the *lituus*. The vessel and its story are part of the discourse about the social persona of the deceased.

If we can assume that the grave was originally as wealthy as other "tombe principesche," then the bucchero vessel will have been part of an assemblage of local and especially imported prestige objects. By *ca.* 630 B.C., we tend to posit a society in Etruria capable of operating to some degree on a par with the Greeks, and models of Central Italian society at this period borrow the concepts of reciprocity, gift-giving and self-identification with a heroic ideal from the Greek world. Alongside various models of exchange, we need also to consider the kind of process that allowed the transmission and naturalisation of the Medea myth at this particular time and place. I suggest that the psychologically motivated desire for communication, understood

²³ Thuillier 1993 contains a number of essays on the importance of games in Etruria, which supplements his own volume (Thuillier 1985). The presence of paintings of games in tombs adds considerably to the nexus of connections.

perhaps in terms of the barter model rather than the reciprocity model, might be one approach. The rarity of figurative mythical narrative, whilst it can be overstated, indicates that the ideological exchange may not yet have become commodified as it was to be in the 6th century through the impact of Attic pottery. After a century or so of contacts between East and West, Greek myth will not have been unfamiliar, but its role as a social tool in Central Italy was still developing.

Conclusion

The Cerveteri vessel stands at the heart of the processes which have concerned me in this paper. Precisely because it is not a standard piece of imported Greek manufacture, but a naturalisation of Greek myth in an Etruscan context, it forces us to confront the exchange of ideas and philosophies, which are usually given a smaller role in our accounts because they are so difficult to pin down through the material record.

In order to give a theoretical framework for exchange on this level, I have considered models for trade in general, and concluded that those models which are predicated on the basis of the Rational Economic Man theory are inadequate as explanations of behaviour. I have also indicated that these problems are not necessarily avoided by the model of reciprocity, which is of particular prominence at the moment.

In the model of barter, we have seen a framework of exchange which does not involve a recurrent status of inferiority and debt, and which may well be the basis on which a reciprocity system is based. We have explored ways in which the barter situation could lead to the exchange of ideology as an epiphenomenon of the economic activity, but also as the conduit for prolonging the trade partnership. Since barter is embedded in social relations, the transformation of trading networks and of the society which engages in them radically alters this relationship, and we have identified in the appearance of figurative Attic pottery a commodity which marks a distinct change in the motives and consequences of exchange.

The Cerveteri vessel is embedded in this process of transformation. It represents the effect of a century of movement around the

Mediterranean, and it embodies a knowledge which was being used in other ways as a marker of social status and a means of reinforcing a social hierarchy, of the reproduction of social asymmetry. At the same time, however, and perhaps more importantly, it represents an engagement with the ideology and iconography of the Greeks through the mediation of both indigenous values and ideas, and also ideologies of non-Greek peoples which were being conveyed to Central Italy at precisely this time. This ideological engagement has its own potency as a malleable and vital discourse, made all the greater perhaps through the absence of canonical traditions and the overwhelming availability of narrative representation. The very readability of Attic vases may have been useful in the context of the crystallising social hierarchies of Central Italy represented by the development of a structure similar to the *polis*.

To return, finally, to the theory of barter as developed by Humphrey and Hugh-Jones, the fact that barter does not entail recurring debts does not thereby imply that it involves a reciprocal independence, as Marx suggested, a mutual turning of backs once the transaction is over. A barter system involves "the perception on either side of the 'other', and the location of these perceptions in the economic-political relations between individuals and between social groups" (Humphrey and Hugh-Jones 1992b, 13). Both in the structure of its production, and maybe even in the choice of its iconography, the Cerveteri vessel stands as an example of this perception of the other, and of the barter between Central Italy and the world of the East.

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9. EUBOEAN COLONISATION IN THE GULF OF NAPLES

Bruno d'Agostino

1. *New Data*

In the last few years, the study of the earliest evidence of Euboean presence in the Gulf of Naples has been quite eventful. In 1993, the publication of the Pithekoussan tombs excavated by G. Buchner between 1952 and 1961 finally saw the light (Buchner and Ridgway 1993).¹ Since 1992, archaeologists have been excavating a small settlement on the opposite side of the island, at Punta Chiarito (Fig. 1.4). Like the handicraft settlement of Lacco Ameno (Fig. 1.2), in the area of Mazzola, this site reveals two phases, the more ancient of which goes back to the latter half of the 8th century, while the second one can be dated between the end of the 7th and the first years of the 6th century B.C.² The preliminary report on this discovery has appeared in the same volume as a report on other sites (Fig. 1) located by Buchner in the course of his long activity on the island.³

This harvest of new data has resulted in a more vivid and complex picture of the early Greek settlement, challenging the image of Pithekoussai as an *emporion* and handicraft settlement, lacking an agricultural hinterland.⁴ But I shall return to this point further on.

A. *Cumae*

Up to now, recent data on the early years of the Euboean settlement at Cumae (Fig. 2) have been lacking. In fact, the most ancient

¹ *Pithekoussai I*, where 723 tombs are published, 591 of which are dated between the 8th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Cf. review by d'Agostino (1996a).

² C. Gialanella, in *Apoikia*, 69–209.

³ S. De Caro, in *Apoikia*, 37–46.

⁴ *Apoikia*. On these issues, cf. Tsatskheladze and De Angelis 1994. Further important contributions have come from the International Meeting "l'Eubea e la presenza Euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente" which took place in Naples (See *Euboica* 1998).

testimonies are provided by graves excavated in the final decades of the last century,⁵ which date back no earlier than the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. (LG II = EPC). A revision has recently been undertaken of the materials from the digs conducted by E. Gabrici in 1912 in the area of the temple of Apollo on the acropolis.⁶ The most ancient fragments belong to a few isolated examples of Thapsos cups with panel, and hence do not challenge 730–720 B.C. as the traditional date of the founding of the settlement. However, data emerging from recent excavations directed by the present writer on the northern walls of the ancient city are rather disconcerting.⁷

The city is made up of two sectors: the slopes of Mount Grillo, and the plain dominated by the rock of the Acropolis, which was originally bathed by the sea.

The most vulnerable part of the city was a flat, slightly sunken area, lying along the northern limit of the town, at the foot of the acropolis. The walls encircling the ancient city first followed the slopes of Mount Grillo and then descended to this flat area, where they were meant to withstand the attacks of any potential enemy. In the short tract between this stretch of the walls and the presently dried up lake of Licola, the most dramatic events in the history of the city took place, from the joint attack of the Etruscans, the Umbrians and the Daunians in 524 B.C. to Hannibal's siege in 215 B.C.

The excavation yielding the evidence discussed here was located in this area (Fig. 2.A), near the gate from which a road issued, which ran along the western shores of the lake towards Liternum, as the later Via Domitiana. The excavation⁸ has revealed a wall which, in its final phase, reached a thickness of 11 m. The most ancient phase discovered in this area⁹ dates from the last years of the tyranny of

⁵ Cf. most recently G. Tocco Sciarelli, in *Napoli Antica* 1985, 87–99. For a critical analysis of the sources on the foundation of Pithekoussai and Cumae, cf. Mele 1979, 28ff.

⁶ The materials from Gabrici's excavations are being re-examined by Dr Maria Rosaria Borriello, Director of the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Napoli.

⁷ The excavations have been conducted between 1994 and 1996 in the framework of the Kyme project, supervised by Superintendent Prof. Stefano De Caro. On the state of research, cf. Pelosi 1993; Pagano 1993; P. Caputo *et al.*, 1996.

⁸ The excavation was directed by Dr Francesca Fratta and the present writer (d'Agostino and Fratta 1995).

⁹ Today we know that there existed at least another Archaic phase, earlier than the one unearthed in this excavation. This more ancient phase was identified further to the East, beyond the modern road, in the vicinity of the gate from which the road to Capua issued, in an excavation conducted by Dr Antonio Salerno.

Aristodemus, or to the beginning of the oligarchic restoration in the early years of the 5th century B.C. (Fig. 3). The Archaic wall, about 7 m thick, is composed of two curtains made of tuff blocks (orthostats), each reinforced by a stepped structure made of tuff stones. The space between the two revetments was filled in by an earthen rampart.

Although it is an unusual construction, combining the concept of the double-curtain stone wall with that of the agger, a technique that was much in favour in the Italic world, this wall is very like the late Archaic walls of Megara Hyblaea, brought to light by P. Orsi.¹⁰

With time, the external curtain must have been damaged or, at any rate, was considered insufficient, so that in the course of the 3rd century B.C. a new, much more advanced curtain was built, connected to the old one by cross walls made of courses of stone blocks laid flat. The compartments between the cross walls were filled in with an *emplekton* consisting of tuff scraps. The last renovation, which hid the old curtain completely, probably dates from Sullan times.

In the Archaic phase, which yielded the data that concern us here, the construction of the rampart called for large-scale excavation works, presumably in connection with the digging of a ditch.

Most of the very abundant pottery found in the earthen rampart dates from the 6th century B.C., the most recent date being supplied by a few sherds of Attic cups of the Bloesch C type. However, a small group of fragments datable to the third quarter of the 8th century B.C. (LGI) has also come to light. They are the most ancient materials found in Cumae up to now.

The most significant piece (Fig. 4.2) is a tiny fragment of the rim of a skyphos, of a type which is normally dated to MG II, and at any rate is the most ancient type found in Pithekoussai up to now,¹¹ being earlier than the Aetos 666 kotylai of the most ancient tombs in San Montano (we shall return to this point further on). A fragment of an open-form vase with a distinct rim adorned with the figure of a bird (Fig. 4.1), from a Cycladic workshop,¹² may have

Unfortunately, it was not possible to define a more precise chronology for this phase.

¹⁰ Orsi 1890 pl. 2; Treziny 1986, 187f.

¹¹ The fragment is of the same type as one from Pithekoussai mentioned further on. For *comparanda*, see *infra* n. 20.

¹² Fragment with a high rim presenting a chequer decoration: it could be a skyphos or a kantharos. If it is indeed a skyphos, due to the height of its rim it would be similar to the well known type with concentric circles on the rim (*cf. e.g.*

belonged to a skyphos or possibly a kantharos. The kotylai sherds with rows of chevrons (Fig. 4.3–5) belong to kotylai of the Aetos 666 type,¹³ of which Euboean imitations also exist. The Thapsos cup with panel dates between 740 and 720 B.C. (Fig. 4.7), while the other, without the panel (Fig. 4.6), is possibly slightly more late.¹⁴

This modest group of fragments, so similar to the most ancient materials from Pithekoussai, poses some problems. They certainly come from tombs that were dug into during excavations undertaken to provide earth for the rampart. This is proved by the finding of small fragments of burnt bones and typical grave goods, such as two Egyptian-type scarabs.

Of course, these materials could come from pre-Hellenic tombs and hence attest contacts anterior to colonisation. From a topographical point of view, this hypothesis is not implausible. In fact, in this sector the walls are built over the pre-Hellenic necropolis, enclosing a part of it within the Greek city.¹⁵ In the indigenous tombs, however, Greek vases are extremely rare, consisting of merely three chevron cups of MG II found in two burials.¹⁶ Furthermore, the only indigenous burial ritual is inhumation, while the bone fragments found in the earth of the rampart are burnt, as are some of the sherds, a detail that invites a comparison with Pithekoussan cremations, in which the grave goods were generally placed on the pyre together with the body of the deceased.

No conclusion can be drawn from these few fragments. As L. Cerchiai has suggested to me, they could derive from the occasional Pithekoussan visits along the Phlegraean coast even before the foundation of Cumae. Indeed, it should be kept in mind that, immediately after the middle of the 8th century B.C., Pithekoussai had regular intercourse with the indigenous communities of Campania, on which it relied for its food supply. However, it is intriguing that these fragments have been found exactly in that area, and that there are clues pointing to the ritual of Greek burials. If this hypothesis were cor-

A. Andriomenou, *AE* 1981, 89f, pls. 21–23. For comparable kantharoi, cf. A. Andriomenou, *AE* 1982, 162f, pl. 21, 1, fig. 1 (with lozenges on the rim). Neither type, however, features a chequer decoration.

¹³ On the Aetos 666 kotyle, cf. Neeft 1975.

¹⁴ Neeft 1981, Dehl 1982.

¹⁵ E. Gabrici 1913, 21 n. 3, where it is clearly said that the Early Iron Age tombs occupy a wide strip of land extending both inside (Fondi G. d'Isanto, F. Capalbo, Orilia, where the Osta tombs were found) and outside the walls (Fondo Corrale).

¹⁶ Tombs 3 and 29, cf. C. Albore Livadie in *Napoli Antica* 1985, 70ff.

rect, it would be unquestionable that these tombs already show a relationship with the definition of the urban area.

I do not intend to draw hurried conclusions from these scraps of evidence, but one cannot help thinking of N. Coldstream's consideration: "As for the date when the Euboeans settled at Kyme, it still lies in an archaeological lacuna".¹⁷

B. *Pithekoussai*

As to Pithekoussai, even the chronology of its early foundation cannot be said to be defined once and for all. In an important contribution, D. Ridgway presented eight sherds from the dump on the Acropolis, stressing the fact that they were typologically anterior to the LG I period, the phase characterised by the renowned Aetos 666 kotylai, the most ancient vases found in the necropolis. The most significant of these sherds belongs to a skyphos of the same type as the Cumae specimen mentioned above (Fig. 4.2) and, in his opinion, it is of Corinthian production. This detail is not unimportant, as the chronology of Corinthian pottery is much more accurate than that of the Euboean and local ones. Nevertheless, Ridgway prudently concluded: "The minute quantity in which this—as I believe—basically MG material is present at Pithekoussai inhibits any attempt to assess its chronological and historical significance too precisely".¹⁸

As Ridgway observes, it is certainly probable that this type of skyphos precedes, although briefly, the most ancient types found in the earliest tombs of Pithekoussai. Actually, up to now only a single, out of context specimen has been found in the necropolis.¹⁹ The type must have been more common, instead, in the settlement area, as it has been identified (Fig. 5.1) among the sherds found by G. Buchner in Pastòla, an area midway between the handicraft settlement of Mezzavia and the sea, where the "Stips of the Horses" was found.²⁰

The fragment of the chevron skyphos No. 1 from Pastòla is of the same type as those from Monte Vico and Cumae (Fig. 4.2). Like the latter, it seems local to me, and attributable to the same workshop²¹

¹⁷ Coldstream 1994, 53 n. 3.

¹⁸ Ridgway 1981, 52.

¹⁹ *Pithekoussai* 1, Sp 4/4, 703f, pls. 209, 245.

²⁰ d'Agostino 1994–5, and comment on fr. 1, 44.

²¹ I have shown the two sherds from Cumae and Pithekoussai to P. Pelagatti and F. Villard, who think they are imported, but neither Euboean nor Corinthian.

that produced a similar cup found in the Sarno Valley,²² in a burial datable to the local Early Orientalising period which is also characterised by the recurring of Aetos 666 cups and other Late Geometric types of Greek pottery.²³

As I have already suggested in 1982, with reference to the specimens from the Sarno Valley, it seems to me that this type of chevron cup is the most recent of the series. It must have been present in the most ancient tombs of Pithekoussai, which were certainly few, and are yet to be found. Furthermore, it is natural for the first signs of occupation to be earlier than the first burials. It should also be conceded that the local workshops must have been active from the very first years of life of the site, and that the settlers must have displayed from the beginning a keen interest for the indigenous environment, as the LG I cups from the Sarno Valley bear out.

2. *Problems of Interpretation*

In the light of these new data, Pithekoussai appears to be a much larger scale phenomenon than it was thought to be up to just a few years ago. The need has arisen to update our interpretation of the site.²⁴

Whatever solution we wish to give to the problem of the chronological relationship between Pithekoussai and Cumae, it is necessary first of all to verify if a structural diversity between the two settlements can still be argued for. The answer was much simpler in the past when—compared to colonial foundations with their *oikists* and *chorae*—Pithekoussai was regarded as an *emporion* with an economy founded on handicraft and technological know-how (*techné*) in addition to trade.²⁵

When all that was available were Buchner and Ridgway's preliminary articles, it seemed that the data from the necropolis fitted

²² Cf. d'Agostino 1979, 61 nn. 7, 9; discussed in d'Agostino 1982, 57, pl. 9 fig. 2, where I already place this cup "in the tradition of the Middle Geometric II period", distinguishing this type from classic chevron cups.

²³ On the chronology of the Early Orientalising Period in the Sarno Valley, coeval to phase II B of Tyrrhenian Etruria, cf. Gastaldi 1979.

²⁴ A reconsideration of the character of Pithekoussai in the light of these recent discoveries has been proposed by the present writer in *Apoikia*, 19–28.

²⁵ Cf., e.g., d'Agostino 1973; later republished in Coarelli 1980.

this model very neatly, as they appeared to reflect a society lacking major social and economic inequalities. Among generally homogeneous burials, the existence of a slightly more eminent group (Ridgway's upper middle class) was indicated by the presence, in female graves, of noble-metal parures (silver and, more rarely, gold and electrum). How do things stand today, now that a substantial sample of the graves has been published with exemplary accuracy? The previous interpretation of the site still retains its full validity, but further complications can be perceived. The observations²⁶ that follow must be regarded as a mere provisional balance of a work in progress. The method I have adopted is that of the study of funerary variability and of structural analysis (oppositional and quantitative) of necropoleis.²⁷

The necropolis of Pithekoussai is well-known. The published tombs occupy two adjacent areas of the burial ground lying in the valley of San Montano. In the period between the middle of the 8th and the first half of the 6th century B.C., three types of burials have been identified:²⁸ cremation tombs surmounted by a tumulus, inhumation fossa tombs, and *enchytrismoi*. In the cremation tombs, the stone tumuli cover a lens of carbonous earth containing the residues of the pyre, *i.e.* the remains of the bones and grave goods, which were also generally burned together with the body of the deceased.

The three types of grave are grouped together according to the following pattern: the fossa tombs and *enchytrismoi* are clustered around the tumulus of a cremation tomb. When, within the same group, the tumulus of a new cremation tomb is erected, it adjoins the earlier tumulus, and thus is superimposed on the inhumation and *enchytrismos* tombs surrounding it. These grave clusters correspond to kinship groups, and have been defined by Buchner and Ridgway as 'family plots'.

These three types of burial generally correspond to as many age groups. Cremation is reserved for adults, whereas inhumation, generally in a supine position, is used for adolescents and children, and *enchytrismoi* for infants. It is a criterion that we could call 'horizontal', as it is a 'descriptive reconstruction', within the funerary space,

²⁶ This investigation was undertaken by myself and Patrizia Gastaldi for the meeting "Nécropoles antiques" organised by the Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen of Lyon in January 1995.

²⁷ For these concepts, *cf.* d'Agostino 1983; 1990.

²⁸ Buchner 1977a; 1977b; 1982a; Ridgway 1992.

of the image of the community, without hierarchical, rank or status implications. From this point of view, it could be said that the choice of one or the other burial ritual is arbitrary.

On the other hand, these age groups correspond to different degrees of social integration. This means that the image of the community reconstructed in the funerary space is also socially structured. Reasoning from this standpoint, it becomes obvious that the distinction between 'horizontal', 'descriptive' and 'vertical', 'hierarchical' criteria is ambiguous. The choice of different ways of disposing of a corpse is anything but haphazard, on the contrary, it implies a well-defined hierarchical relationship between the burial rites, and between the age-groups they stand for. In the case of Pithekoussai, it is easy to verify this proposition: in spite of the fact that cremation is the rite reserved to adults, not all adults are cremated. Over 40% of them are inhumed (if we sum the sure cases with the probable ones). Of these, over half are devoid of grave goods. Of course, there are tombs devoid of grave goods in the other age-groups as well, but these amount to only 20% of the inhumations and 13% of the cremations. The scarcity of grave goods in the tombs of inhumed adults is a sign of the subordinate status of this rite when it is used for adults who, unlike children and youths, are old enough to be *pleno iure* members of the community. Several elements confirm this hypothesis. The trenches of these tombs are often shallow and lack a wooden coffin, and the body is frequently deposited in a contracted instead of a supine position, a deviation from the norm. The only contracted burial containing grave goods²⁹ is that of a woman who only has the two fibulae necessary to pin her dress, a feature also found among women inhumed in a supine position.

Even in the adult fossa tombs that do present grave goods, ornaments of noble metal are absent, while they are frequent in cremation tombs and in those of youths and children, and only the strictly necessary bronze fibulae are featured. The only valuable ornaments are the seals found in just two male tombs. Vases, when they are present at all, are few in number, and impasto specimens are not uncommon. The latter are also featured in the only inhumation tomb presenting a remarkable burial equipment, *viz.* the tomb of the 'carpenter',³⁰ a 21 year-old man buried with a kit of 9 iron tools (an axe, three chisels, two bradawls, a knife).

²⁹ *Pithekoussai* 1, t. 404, 432f. On the contracted graves, *cf.* d'Agostino 1984.

³⁰ *Pithekoussai* 1, t. 678, 657ff. *Cf.* Mele 1979, 70f; Lepore 1983, 890f, n. 122.

The evidence from the cremation burials, reserved to adults, is completely different. It is important to remark that there is a remarkable similarity in the quality of the grave goods between the adult cremations and the inhumation graves of children and youths. This means that these two ways of disposing of the body are regarded as those appropriate to the respective age-groups, and are hence adopted for the members of the well-to-do class.

In both categories, the grave goods of female tombs are far richer and more striking than those of male tombs, which as a consequence are also more difficult to distinguish. In the female graves, from the middle of the 8th century B.C. on, remarkable bronze and noble-metal parures are featured. The vases are scarce in the most ancient period, but increase markedly in the last quarter of the 8th century, due to the presence of numerous aryballoi and other containers for cosmetics. Even in the few tombs that are certainly identifiable as male, the silver fibula is featured. Seals and scarabs, which are scarce in adult burials, are commonly found in the tombs of children, while they are less frequent among youths. Of the male cremation tombs, the only one presenting a remarkable burial equipment does not belong to an adult. It is the celebrated tomb 168, from the last quarter of the 8th century, the one containing 'Nestor's Cup', with its Homeric-style inscription.³¹ It belonged to a youth who was little more than an infant, and hence should have been inhumed. He was cremated instead in homage to his rank which, as the composition of his burial equipment bears out, must have been exceptional: no less than four craters (a form that is never found in coeval burials) and numerous other symposium vases. The exceptional character of this burial is confirmed by the presence of the inscription *theo* (*theou*) in the painted decoration of the foot of one of the craters. The use of cremation as a sign of extreme social distinction further confirms the privileged character of this burial rite.

The same concept can be expressed in different terms, as in the burial of a female child³² which is the only inhumation tomb excavated up to now to be surmounted by a tumulus giving it the external appearance of a cremation tomb. This burial is placed among the cluster of tumuli surmounting the cremation tombs in the plot

³¹ *Pithekoussai* I, t. 168, 212ff. The most recent contributions on the inscription are by O. Murray, in *Apoikia*, 47–54; A.C. Cassio, in *Apoikia*, 55–68; Faraone 1996.

³² *Pithekoussai* I, t. 483, 482ff.

of 'Nestor's Cup'. Its grave goods include an imported Phoenician-type amphora, as well as a great number of vases and a rich parure of bronze and silver ornaments.

In sum, it can be said that, in Pithekoussai, burial strategies are more complicated than appears at first sight. Two different rites are employed for adults: cremation, reserved to *pleno iure* members of the community, and inhumation, adopted for an extensive lower class, part of which must have had a condition *metaxy eleutheron kai doulon*.

The existence of a lower class comprising almost half of the adult population fits well with what we know of ancient society in general. It is rather surprising, instead, in Pithekoussai, especially if we insist on regarding it as an *emporion*, founded exclusively on handicraft and trade.

At any rate, this is not the only aspect of social hierarchy that can be inferred from the funerary evidence. A remarkable mortuary variability is observable also among the adults entitled to tumulus cremation graves. In spite of what I have said before on their general wealth, quite a few of them are completely devoid of grave goods (about 14%). Of course, the absence of grave-goods cannot be taken *tout court* as a sign of poverty, and sometimes it expresses just the opposite. In fact, Buchner and Ridgway identify the cremation tombs lacking grave-goods with the burials of the 'upper-middle class'. But this hypothesis, although intriguing, is not immune to objections, as I have tried to show elsewhere.³³

Inequality is more evident in the female tombs. Although, as I have mentioned, they are generally the wealthiest, no less than three tumuli only have one or two bronze fibulae. If we draw a diagram using the number of vases, fibulae and bronze and precious metal ornaments as indicators, the result is a continuous ascending curve.

A comparison with the inhumation tombs shows that this trend is no coincidence: the curve of the diagram for these tombs, if we exclude the adult burials, has the same overall shape.

These data, rather than suggesting the existence of sharply diversified classes, seem to point to a social continuum dominated by a restricted eminent group. This pattern is characteristic not so much of the *oikos*, where the same social status is shared by all the members, and each *oikos* belongs to a given social and economic class, but rather

³³ Buchner 1982, 284f; Ridgway 1992, 50f. For a critique of this interpretation, cf. now d'Agostino 1994-5, 85.

of the *genos*, within which there is significant individual variability.

An element in favour of this interpretation can be found in the plan of the necropolis itself, especially in those areas in which the tumuli, fossa tombs and *enchytrismoi* cluster in an orderly fashion, revealing, in the permanent occupation of the plots, the continuity of the *genos*.

However, this is not the only mode of organisation observable in the necropolis. A swarm of inhumation and *enchytrismos* tombs, almost all from the last quarter of the 8th century B.C., belonging to adults, adolescents and children of both sexes, occupies the south-east sector of excavation area B, where tumuli are almost absent. It is exactly in this area that most of the wealthy inhumation tombs have been found, all belonging to children. Some of them seem to be grouped together, as in the case of four wealthy tombs belonging to adolescents and children³⁴ connected to the tomb of a low-ranking woman about 20 years old and her three-year-old little girl. Of course, it is possible that this group has some connection to the only two tumulus tombs in the area, one of which, No. 243, belonging to a woman,³⁵ has a burial equipment that is quite remarkable. If so, these tombs too would fit in the general model.

On the other hand, it is possible that the necropolis was subdivided into specialised areas. Some spaces were meant for the cremation burials of adult *pleno iure* members of the community, around whom were concentrated a limited number of tombs of infants, children and adolescents, and individuals of subordinate status, the latter generally dug in the interstices between the tumuli. Other areas, adjacent to the latter, were set aside for the inhumation burials of all those who were not perfectly integrated into the community, *i.e.* both the adolescents and children of the well-to-do classes and the inhumed adults. This second hypothesis finds support in the fact that wealthy child tombs are rare in the area dominated by the tumuli. Hence, it is necessary to imagine that a strong social complementarity existed between the different areas.

³⁴ More specifically, two belong to female children (t. 651, 627ff, t. 652, 630ff), one to a male child (t. 654, 637ff) and one to a female *juvenis* (t. 653, 635ff), and all are connected to a bisomatic tomb (t. 655, 641).

³⁵ *Pithekoussai* I, t. 243, 297ff.

3. *Conclusions*

It is time to return to our point of departure, and try to establish whether, at the present stage of research, Pithekoussai still maintains, from the structural point of view, a special character setting it aside from the other colonies, including Cumae, the one that is closest to it in space and time. The first of the new data to consider is the extensive occupation of the island. Is it a phenomenon that can be put on the same plane as the control of a colonial *chora*? The answer is suggested by the ancient sources themselves,³⁶ which praise the island's *eukarpia*. The term alludes to a quality agriculture, *i.e.* wine and olive production, which already existed in the land of origin of the founders of Pithekoussai. If, on the one hand, this provides sufficient reason for taking over the island and controlling the moorings, on the other hand this type of agriculture is more closely connected to trade, and is hence quite different from the wheat production that characterises the great *poleis* founded for the purpose of exploiting an agricultural *chora*.³⁷ It is no coincidence that the presence of Demeter as a guide of the Euboean colonists refers to the foundation of Cumae rather than Pithekoussai.³⁸

As for the archaeological record, the precocious and abundant presence on Pithekoussai of transport amphorae speaks strongly of the importance of wine and oil in the economy of the island. The fact that they are modelled on the Phoenician ogive-shaped ones could indicate that there was a connection between the flourishing trade of these products in the Near East and the development of the Pithekoussan production.³⁹

³⁶ Strabo 5. 4. 9, probably going back to Posidonius and Timaeus, *cf.* Mele 1979, 30ff.

³⁷ On this subject, *cf.* the observations of Mele 1979, 22f n. 8, 51, 75f. The plain of Lelantus, as Theognides makes clear (vv. 891–94), is itself an *oinopedon*. The problem is rather delicate. In fact, according to Mele “*prexis* trade deals in *biotos*, cereals and wine . . .”; “ancient olive-growing . . . is the business of *basilees*” and the trade of oil starts out as *prexis* trade (74), while wheat-growing *emporía* are generally associated with tyrannies (104f).

³⁸ *Cf.* Velleius Paterculus 1.4.1 and the observations of Mele 1979, 37 n. 71, developed in the paper he delivered at the meeting “Incontro Scientifico in omaggio a G. Vallet”, Roma-Napoli, November 15–18, 1995. On the cult of Demeter at Cumae and the tradition on *frumentationes*, *cf.* Mele 1987, 170.

³⁹ Buchner 1982b, 286f. Fig. 10; see now, on the relations between Pithekoussai and the Phoenician world, R.F. Docter and H.G. Niemeyer, in *Apoikia*, 101–115. On the relationship between the oil and wine trades and the work of the potter, *cf.* Mele 1979, 75f.

There is no need to recapitulate here the evidence, already mentioned above, for Pithekoussai's specialisation in *techné* and trade. It is time instead to draw some conclusions from the foregoing examination of the necropolis. The cremation tomb of the type found at Pithekoussai, with secondary deposition and a tumulus surmounting a lens of carbonous earth containing the residues of the pyre (cremated bones, burnt grave goods) has no close parallel in Euboea. The tombs of Eretria from the necropolis near the sea⁴⁰ are apparently quite similar, but Kourouniotis maintains they are true pyres, a type now well documented at Lefkandi as well.⁴¹ The evidence from Oropos is problematic. Here too one finds cremation tombs covered by stone tumuli that seem to be clustered in family plots.⁴²

The most significant data is that even in Cumae there are no parallels for the Pithekoussan tumuli. It is true that our knowledge of the most ancient tombs is very approximate, but the few known cremations, also featuring secondary depositions, are all of the cyst type with stone slabs, the bones being placed in a bronze lebes and often collected in a silver urn. The composition of the burial equipment shows remarkable analogies with the tombs of the *Heroon* at Eretria, although the Homeric funerary customs that are so typical of the latter appear to be 'barbarised' in Cumae.⁴³ In Pithekoussai, this type of tomb is not attested. Of course, one could object that in Eretria, too, these tombs are concentrated in an area outside the main necropolis, and hence their absence in Pithekoussai could be fortuitous.⁴⁴ But it cannot be ruled out that it depends instead on a lack of 'princes' in a tendentially less hierarchical society.

Let us abide by the positive evidence: whatever the genesis of the Pithekoussan tumulus tombs, the norm according to which "cremation is reserved for adults, while children are inhumed and the bodies of infants are placed inside vases" is widely attested in Greece⁴⁵ from the 9th century B.C. on. It is the expression of a structured community in which the strategy of funerary ritual has a strong normative aspect and selects for each of its members a treatment reflecting the level of his integration in the political community. An examination, albeit cursory, of the mortuary variability of the published tombs

⁴⁰ Kourouniotis 1903.

⁴¹ *Lefkandi* 1, 209–216.

⁴² Mazarakes Ainian 1997, 37.

⁴³ d'Agostino 1977.

⁴⁴ Buchner 1977b, 139f.

⁴⁵ d'Agostino 1996b, 449.

suggests that the social structure is centred on the *genos*, which provides the framework for a complex spectre of social conditions. These two aspects, one connected to a 'political' order, the other to the individualistic structure of the *genos*, reproduce the tensions already existing in the homeland, where the cities are themselves on the eve of their 'political' phase.⁴⁶

It is in this historical climate that the first *apoikiai* take place, which Thucydides himself has trouble defining. They are connected to *emporía*. They are different from the colonial cities, drawing their legitimation from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and founded by *oikists* according to the prescribed rite. The perplexity of the Greek historians is apparent in their definition of these centres as pirate settlements,⁴⁷ which actually embraced very different realities, such as early Zankle and Pithekoussai. While the former was probably indeed nothing else but a pirate den, the second evolved into a highly structured settlement.⁴⁸ But the difference between Pithekoussai and Cumae, in the eyes of ancient historians, was even greater. At present it is still difficult to ascertain whether this difference was only functional, or chronological as well.

⁴⁶ E. Greco, in *Apoikia* 1994, 11–19.

⁴⁷ Thucydides himself (1. 5) gives the most illuminating explanation of what this definition means him, as I have already observed in *Apoikia*, 21f.

⁴⁸ This conclusion agrees, in my opinion, with that of Giangiulio 1981, 152.

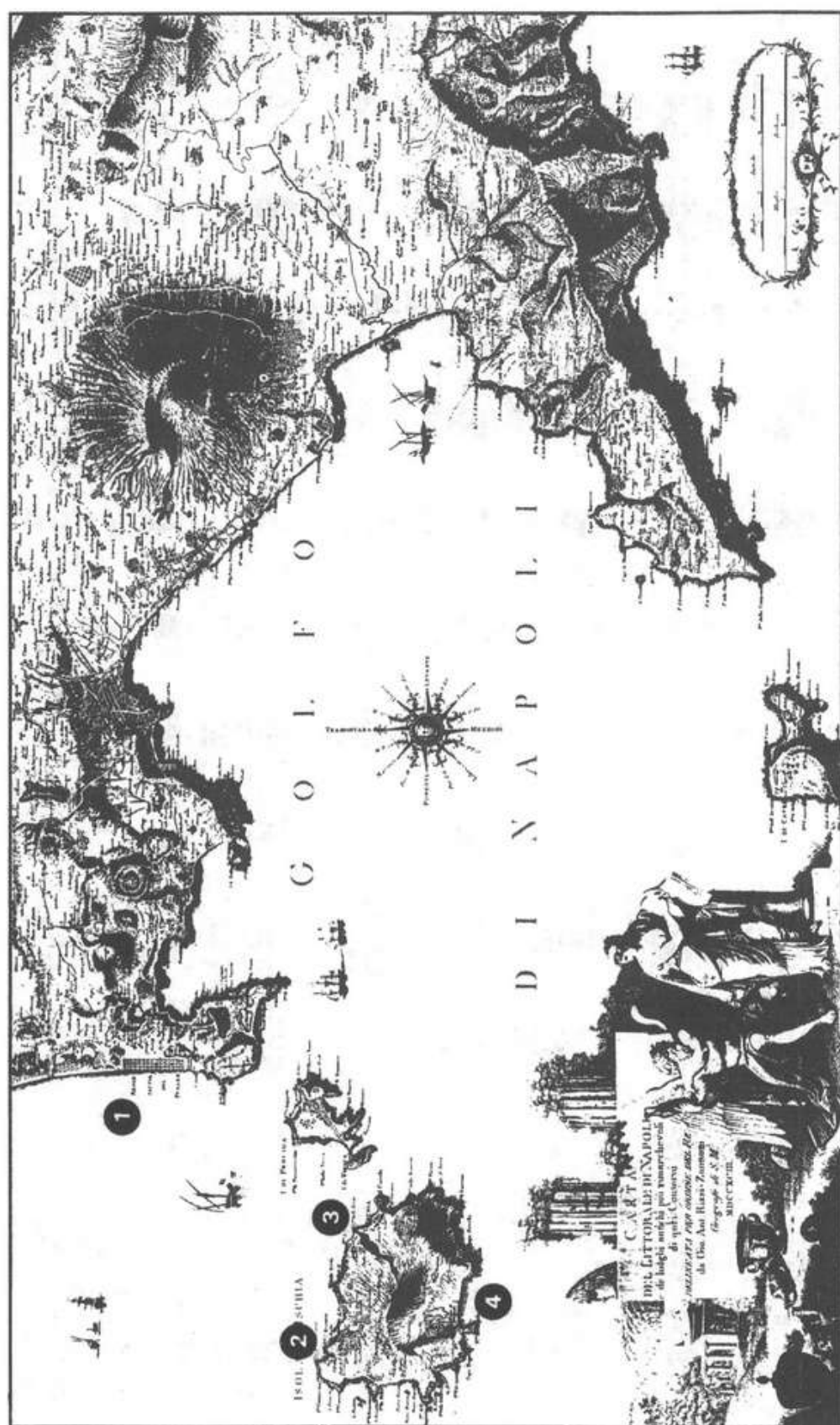


Fig. 1. The Phlegraean Fields (A. Rizzi Zannoni 1793) – 1. Cumae; 2. Lacco Ameno; 3. Porto d'Ischia; 4. Punto Chiarito.

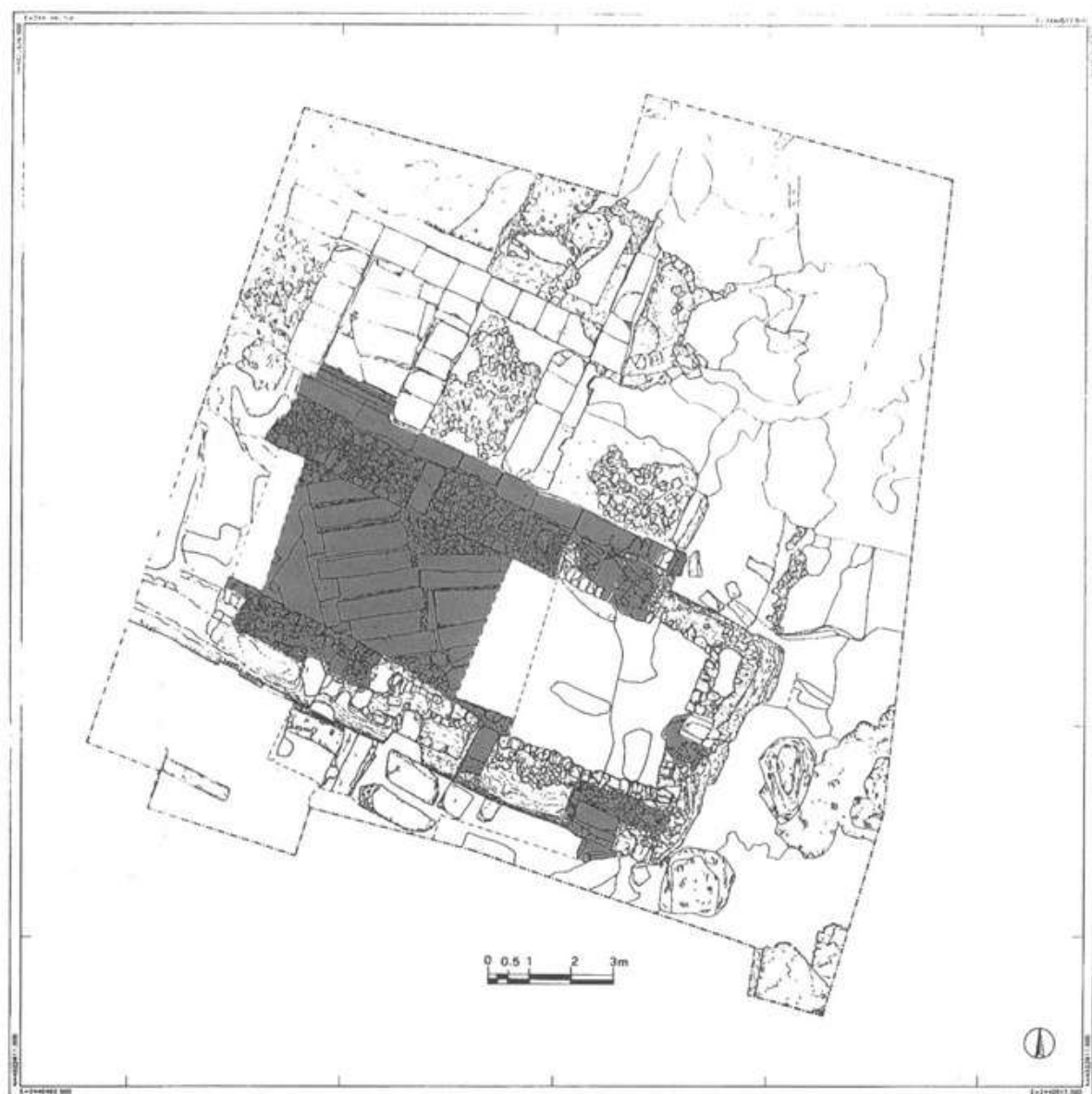


Fig. 3. Cumae – The main excavation of the North Wall (Plan by architect I. Calcagno).

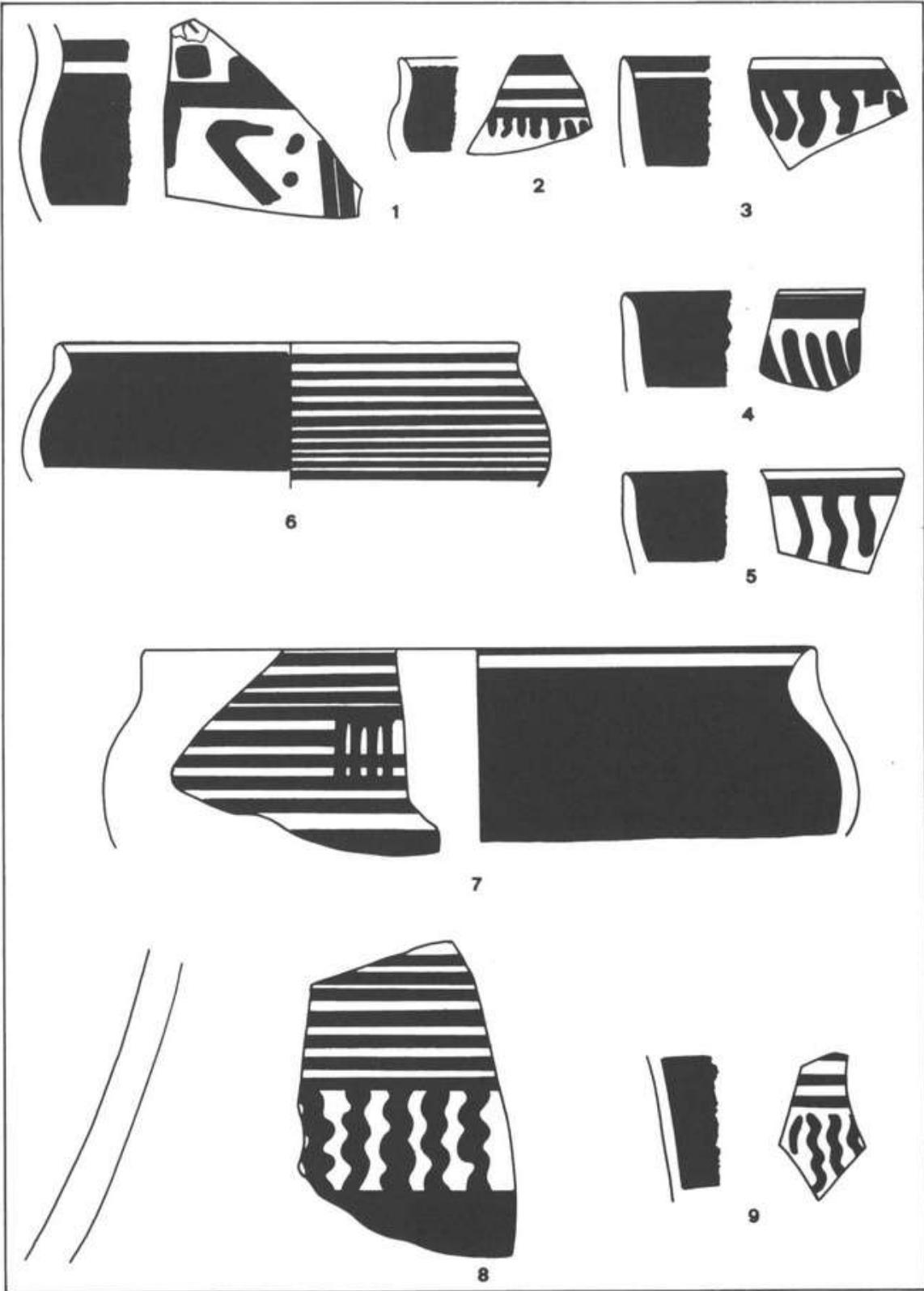


Fig. 4. Cumae – The most ancient sherds from the excavation of the North Wall (reproduced at 74% of the original size; drawing by A. Beatrice).

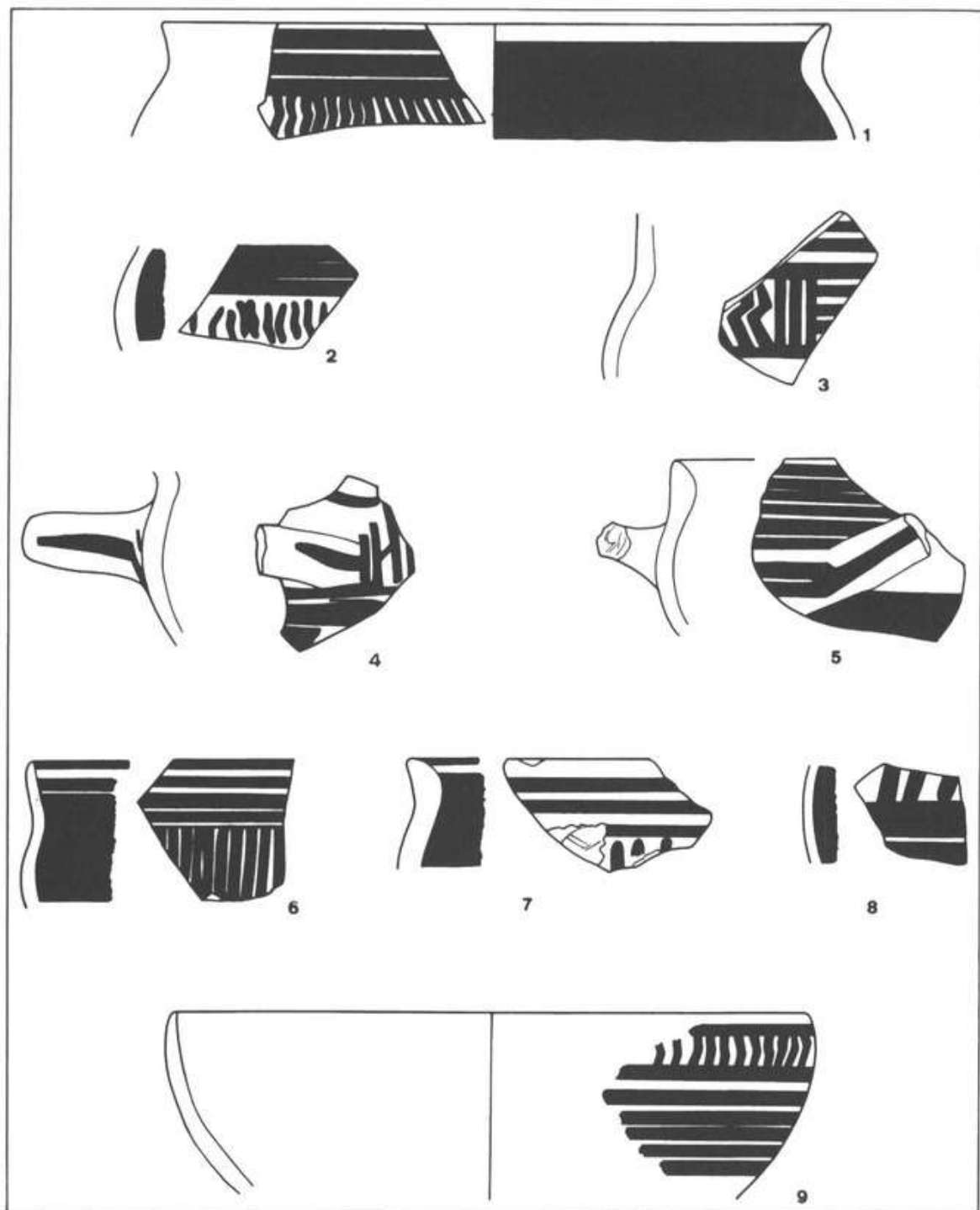


Fig. 5. Pithekoussai – The most ancient sherds from Pastola (reproduced at 74% of the original size; drawing by A. Beatrice).

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10. FROM DEATH TO LIFE THE CEMETERY OF FUSCO AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EARLY COLONIAL SOCIETY*

Rune Frederiksen

The importance of the western colonial cemeteries has been emphasised continuously since the first of them were excavated in the final decades of the last century. First of all we owe our chronological framework to the appearance of aryballoi and other shapes of the Protocorinthian class in the graves of these cemeteries, a fact that was made clear during the first decades of the present century (Johansen 1923; Payne 1931).¹ The richness and variety of objects in the graves have given us a tremendous source for the nature of commerce between these communities and the East as well as the North, just as the graves and their contents can inform us about the habits and social organisation of the colonists compared with their mother cities. The Fusco cemetery at Syracuse is one of our principal sources since it is very large and has graves of all periods from immediately, or at least not very long after the colonisation proper and down to late Roman times. In this article I will focus on the grave goods of the Protocorinthian period, roughly 730 to 625 B.C.

My aim is to investigate the meaning or meanings of the grave goods, and then see what they tell us about the social organisation of the Syracusans in this period. With this approach follows the inevitable question of the value of the different objects. First comes the question of the meaning of and relation between these objects (ceramics, metal objects and 'other objects') in the sense of religious or ritual value, and then the question of significance of and difference between these objects in the sense of 'cost value'.

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¹ Already in connection with the earlier excavations in the Fusco Cemetery Orsi (1893, 450) observed the possible chronological significance of the globular aryballoi.

Some of the objects present no difficulties: they were obviously used in daily life and then followed the dead as personal belongings,² for example the group of personal ornament, toys, etc. The ceramics are more difficult to interpret, both their religious/ritual value and the cost value. In general we are uncertain of the cost value of ceramics. Some shapes are considered as mere containers, secondary in significance to what they contained *e.g.* the aryballois as suggested by M. Robertson (discussion in Rasmussen 1991, 65–66). But even if this is true it still does not place the containers on an unambiguous cost value level. The religious/ritual value seems to vary from place to place, in the instances where it is identified.

The focus on cost value of the different objects has been prevalent in the frequent evaluations of the Fusco Cemetery as being “rich” (*e.g.* Young 1964, 52; Lanza 1989, 111; Neeft 1994, 188) because of the high number of ceramics, metal and other objects found in some of the graves; and the first impression is indeed one of affluence. But as soon as a more detailed examination is undertaken the picture turns out to be more complex. The number of graves at the cemetery amounts to about 700,³ of which at least some 100, by different types of object, are dated roughly to the Protocorinthian period as such, or by ceramics more precisely to phases within it. However, we have a further 150 graves of the Greek type which probably also date to this period;⁴ many of these are without grave goods (graves without grave goods seem to be a widespread phenomenon in the period, see below page 249 and note 44). Another *ca.* 75⁵ graves probably also date to our period: they contained metal-objects, but no ceramics of datable type. Yet another group of graves contained vessels which we find in both the Protocorinthian and Corinthian periods, and finally there are graves with gifts not described precisely enough by Orsi and which are not available for study in the museum in Syracuse, about 85 graves altogether, of which a great part may belong to the period (only a few of these graves are found under dated ones of the period and can

² The question of the actual ownership of the objects will often have to be open (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 209).

³ Excavated up to 1915. Orsi 1915, 183 and Orsi 1925, 177. Since then only a few graves have been brought to light from the Fusco area.

⁴ Some of the painted vases used for *enchytrismoi* are datable in the period. For a treatment of some of these see: Pelagatti 1982, 149–153 (with references).

⁵ Not a few graves as, on the contrary, Hencken states (1958, 259).

thus be dated *ante quem*). Different levels of wealth, or different ritual habits, may very well have caused the differences between some of the broad groups of graves mentioned above, but we must ask more precisely what constituted this richness or these rites, in order to be able to make a reasonable judgement about all the graves.

Furthermore, it is obviously necessary in this case to explore the connection between burial-type and contents. If there are any socio-economic or perhaps 'ethnic' explanations for the differences in grave types, we will probably find the same differences in the grave goods.⁶

I will concentrate first of all upon the contents of the group of graves securely dated within phases of the Protocorinthian period, about 60, of which 30 are of the sarcophagus type, 11 are fossae and 18 are of other types. Parts of the material have been studied on different occasions since Orsi's publications (Johansen 1923; Payne 1931; Vallet and Villard 1952; Hencken 1958; Pelagatti 1982; Neeft 1987; Amyx 1988; Lanza 1989; Shepherd 1995) and I have myself studied the material on exhibition and that which was available in the store rooms of the museum in Syracuse (unfortunately only a minor part of the material from Fusco that once must have been stored there).⁷

My analysis covers the whole Protocorinthian period as such and will also, when relevant and possible, compare three rough phases, namely Phase 1: down to about 700 B.C. (EPC), Phase 2: between 700 and 650 B.C. (MPC) and Phase 3: from 650 to about 625 B.C. (LPC-Transitional Corinthian). Of course, the absolute dates of these phases should not be taken too strictly.⁸ The above-mentioned difficulties in attributing a not insignificant number of graves securely to phases within the Protocorinthian period, mean that comparative analysis of phases of the period will be made only with the well dated graves and this is of course an artificial selection of the material—it includes only the burials containing objects which we by accident, as always, are able to date. The other graves will be included as far as possible, in order to make the investigation more complete.

⁶ The number of graves, diverging sufficiently from the common types so as to indicate settlers from other *poleis* than Corinth, is not very high, Shepherd 1995, 54. For suggestions of origin, see: Coldstream 1977, 234 and Salmon 1984, 66.

⁷ The cause is apparently due to the War (Hencken 1958, 259).

⁸ The discussion about the absolute chronology of the phases of the Protocorinthian period is far too complicated to be commented on in detail in this study. For a recent treatment see: Neeft 1987, 361–380. See also Dehl-von Kaenel 1986, 15–19.

This obviously leaves some room for the objection that the study is incomplete as I am working with one or two grey zones, which is of course true. This study could therefore be classified as preliminary, but not necessarily incomplete as the necessity for absolute preciseness of sources depends on the conclusions that are drawn.⁹

Preliminary datings of the graves dealt with in the discussion of development down to about 625 B.C. are given in an *Appendix*.

The Graves

Before turning to the examination of the grave goods I will discourse briefly about the site and the burials. The Fusco Cemetery is by far the largest necropolis of Syracuse. With the other cemeteries of the period it forms a semicircle around the area of the Archaic city.¹⁰ The most popular grave types are fossa and sarcophagus burials, but at least five other types are found.¹¹ The fossae are simply cut in the soft layer of tufa which lies not very deep below the surface and most of them are covered with slabs. The sarcophagi, usually of limestone, were mostly set in fossae, or we could say trenches in the tufa. The graves were found not very far below the surface, which of course meant that the chances for preservation of built structures above the graves, whatever type, or other grave markers, unfortunately were few (Orsi 1895, 110). Knowledge of grave markers, such as tumuli, as we know from Pithekoussai for example (Buchner and Ridgway 1993), would have provided invaluable data to set up against possible tendencies in the grave goods.¹²

For the entire period the majority of the graves are single burials, but instances of two or more individuals in the same grave occur

⁹ The state of publication of the cemeteries of Syracuse could admittedly be better (Salmon 1984, 388; Shepherd 1995, 53 n. 4, 68–69). But the hope that any future colleagues might rework all the material in detail, is fading, as a lot of the material is apparently missing. It would, however, be an invaluable contribution to classical archaeology.

¹⁰ Orsi 1903, 524, fig. 8; Orsi 1925, 177; Boardman 1980, 173, fig. 211; Lanza 1989, 111.

¹¹ In two articles of the 1890s (the largest part of the publications of the graves of the Protocorinthian period), Orsi lists the different types of Greek graves and also gives their frequency (Orsi 1893, 448–449; 1895, 110–113).

¹² On the importance of this issue in general see: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 203.

(more than two individuals only in the sarcophagus group).¹³ Epidemics have been suggested as one explanation for several individuals in one grave, but it is also reasonable to suppose that some graves were used by families (Orsi 1895, 111; Hencken 1958, 259), with some years separating the deposits. The number of multiple graves increases during the Protocorinthian period, and the 'family' explanation may be reinforced by proof of family burials in Pithekoussai in the same period (Buchner 1982, 278). The exact provenance of objects in relation to individuals is not always clear, probably first of all because of the state of preservation of the skeletons. It is impossible to determine the span of time that may have existed between burials of individuals in the same grave and we will therefore have to deal with this problem as if the individuals were laid down at the same time.

Some deposits are easily separated, if they constitute a division both physically and chronologically between the individuals and the objects, as for example with grave 428: a sarcophagus, containing a young individual, with some external objects which were clearly connected with this funeral,¹⁴ dating from the third quarter of the 7th century; and a second burial on the lid dating to the third quarter of the 6th century. This phenomenon is seen elsewhere in the cemetery (Orsi 1895, 111; Neef 1994, 197 and n. 50). But we know nothing of the relationship between the two buried. There could have been some kind of family links, as is suggested for the multiple burials, but it is also possible that the lid of the sarcophagus just served as a floor, as good as any, for a later unconnected burial.¹⁵

The objects were usually put inside the grave, but in some cases the offerings were on the lid of the sarcophagus or, as we have seen, in the space between the sarcophagus and the wall of the trench dug to contain it, and we have numerous examples of a combination of both inside and outside deposits in the same burial (*e.g.* graves 85, 302, 412 [sarcophagi]).

¹³ For example fossae 308, 387, sarcophagi 132, 160, 465 (all three with more than two individuals). I have used arabic numerals for the graves throughout this piece including the index. Orsi used Roman numerals to distinguish between Greek and 'barbaric' graves. References to the publications are given in the index. References to the graves not dated within phases of the Protocorinthian period are given in the text.

¹⁴ They were found in the upper space between the sarcophagus and the sides of the fossa cut for it (Orsi 1895, 167; Hencken 1958, 261).

¹⁵ Orsi (1895, 110, 112) suggested that the deposited individuals on the lids of sarcophagi could be slaves. See, however, Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 215.

It is clear that a great deal of the interpretation of grave goods is to be found in the context of the burial (if not the whole interpretation, Morris 1992, 184): what kind of person do we find in what kind of grave? are objects found inside or outside the grave? and also, what is their exact provenance in relation to the body or the grave? But because of the circumstances described above, and because Orsi gives age data for about 70% and sex for about 20% of the well dated graves included in this investigation, it may be difficult if not impossible to get any further for some categories of information. Thus, the conditions of preservation and excavation may have confused the contexts of the grave deposits, although the exact degree of this state of confusion is hard to determine; investigations elsewhere, for example in Tarentum, do not show any pattern of the exact location of special types of grave good in the burials.¹⁶ We are sometimes able to tease out answers even when the statistical value of a category of information is low; and sometimes categories of information that derive from evidence in the negative give us important answers. For example, it seems that we can exclude here the existence of a profound and widespread death-cult in Syracuse in this period (*cf.* Pithekoussai, Buchner 1982, 281), as there are no specific shapes that occur in a consistent manner and in higher quantities outside the graves (such cult could of course have existed using rituals that have left no traceable archaeological remains). But the extra-burial offerings here indicate if anything immediate post-burial rites,¹⁷ as suggested by Hencken (1958, 261) who noted that the vases were perhaps placed on the lid of the graves, just before the earth was filled in.

Grave Goods

In the group of burials with grave goods the richness and variation in these goods is striking. The most frequent type of offering is ceramics of the Protocorinthian class, often of a very good quality, but vessels from East Greece, the Argolid, Etruria and locally made vessels are also observed. Next come metal objects, mostly personal

¹⁶ Neef 1994, 197. The space around the head was generally favoured in Tarentum for all types of object.

¹⁷ Described in general by Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 205.

ornaments in bronze, but silver, iron and a little gold are also seen. A third group of objects consists of many different items, among which we find the exotics in faience, amber, ivory etc. Before going into detail I will return to the question of the meaning of these objects and the relationship between them.

First of all we must make the broad conclusion that grave goods as such were not at all obligatory, as the high number of graves of all types with no offerings shows (see above). In the Fusco Cemetery graves without offerings do not differ in construction from those of the same type with offerings, an observation which is different from what is seen for example in the second half of the 8th century in Pithekoussai (Buchner 1982, 277), and therefore we must ask what the relation is between graves with no offerings, graves with ceramics, with metal and other objects.

It is necessary to pose different kinds of questions to get closer to an understanding of the value or values of the objects. If there is anything to be concluded about the graves with no offerings it will have to derive from information from the other burials.

I shall begin with a frequency analysis of the approximately 60 well dated graves, to get an overview of what kind of object we find in the Protocorinthian period and, where possible, in the three different phases described above. Fig. 1 (see Figs. 1–5 at the end of this article) shows how often the different categories of object occur in all types of grave in the three phases (of *enchytrismoi* five graves with offerings are included). First we have the five typical shapes and groups of the Protocorinthian class,¹⁸ then all the other objects divided into five broad groups (the Protocorinthian alabastra, which do not occur in high numbers, are counted under 'other ceramics').

The Occurrence of Pot-Shapes

It would be most reasonable to start with an examination of the occurrence of different shapes of ceramic, in order to see whether any pattern exists that could reveal the meaning of the occurrence

¹⁸ In the group of jugs are included jugs in Argive monochrome ware. See n. 24.

of ceramics in the graves. If for example social rank or religion was very significant for the deposit of ceramics and other objects, we ought to be able to decode this from the pattern conjunction of particular shapes or types of object in graves of certain people, or simply by seeing combinations of shapes and object types.

First of all there seems to be no broad pattern of specific shapes occurring in combination with particular grave types (I will not bore the reader with diagrams proving this), which is an observation that seems to be general for cemeteries of this period, *e.g.* Pithekoussai in the second half of the 8th century (Buchner 1982, 277).

It hardly needs to be said that the aryballos is the most frequently given gift and that it occurs in the highest number of the graves throughout the whole period,¹⁹ a situation also observed in the majority of the other Greek cemeteries of this period.²⁰ The shape appears regularly, more or less, throughout the whole period and it is neither restricted to any particular grave type, nor to any specific sex or age group. Often we find one or two; if more, it is due to the presence of more than one individual in the grave in question. There are two exceptions: one cremation contained in a bronze bowl accompanied by at least five aryballoi (grave 219) and a sarcophagus in which nine aryballoi were found (grave 85). G. Buchner has suggested a prosaic explanation for the frequent occurrence of aryballoi in graves: they simply contained the perfume and/or oil used for anointing the body and they were afterwards left as a gift in the grave (Buchner 1982, 283).²¹ The frequency of aryballoi in Fusco inspires no better theory, and because they accompanied 80% of those buried in graves which contain datable ceramics (to which should be added the other graves), this practice was either not always used, or it was not always followed up by leaving the used container behind in the grave.²²

¹⁹ Orsi 1893, 450. By Orsi called *piccolo lekythos*.

²⁰ Pithekoussai (in the graves dating from the beginning of the Protocorinthian period and onwards): Buchner 1982, 282; Ridgway 1992, 69. Tarentum: Neeft 1994, 186. Corinth: here a total number of seven aryballoi were found in four graves, admittedly a small number, but it is nevertheless, also here, the shape that occurs most frequently. On Corinth see: Young 1964.

²¹ Neeft (1994, 188) has added to this theory that the deposit of aryballoi could derive from a symbolic act developed from this older ritual.

²² Only in a few of the remaining 20% of the burials, laid in graves containing ceramics, do we find other shapes that may have served the same function as the aryballoi.

Skyphoi and kotylai occur with the same frequency, almost equally often, usually one per person, with five exceptions, of which the most plentiful had about 30 kotylai and skyphoi (grave 378A). The skyphos is often found in graves of infants, children and youths, whereas there is a tendency, although not a very strong one, for the kotyle to follow adults.

The group of jugs,²³ too, appears regularly throughout the Protocorinthian period, with one being the norm in instances where they occur. There are three exceptions: two inhumations (graves 378A and 204A) placed on the lid of a sarcophagus and a fossa respectively, each accompanied by three jugs; and a sarcophagus-burial (grave 428), where two jugs were placed externally.

The last large category of ceramics of the Protocorinthian class is the pyxides. In one fossa (grave 29) and two sarcophagi (graves 412 and 428), there are more than one pyxis, all to be dated LPC. In one grave a pyxis is found next to an individual identified by Orsi as a boy, in the other cases with women or unidentified individuals.

The group called 'other ceramics' includes many different fabrics and shapes. We find, for example, local kalathoi (*e.g.* grave 219), local cups (*e.g.* grave 621), Etruscan bucchero (*e.g.* grave 276), Rhodian shapes (*e.g.* graves 76, 204 and 276) and some, perhaps, from Ionia ('olpai') (*e.g.* grave 471). Lekythoi in Argive monochrome ware (*e.g.* grave 305) are found,²⁴ and so is the Protocorinthian alabastron which is seen in a few of the latest graves (*e.g.* grave 183). None of these types occurs in the same quantities as any shape in the Protocorinthian class: mostly, they are found only a couple of times. The occurrence of this wide group in about 30–40% of these graves is more or less equal for Phases 2 and 3, while the material in Phase 1 is all Protocorinthian (though including a lekythos in Argive monochrome ware).

It seems impossible to discover significant patterns in the occurrence of forms or any combinations of forms, including the last mixed group. When we add the group of some 85 other graves containing ceramics that may date to this period, in order to enhance the

²³ Mainly four shapes: the Protocorinthian conical oinochoe; the Protocorinthian broad-bottomed oinochoe; the Protocorinthian olpe and the Argive monochrome oinochoe (see n. 24).

²⁴ Apparently imports and not local imitations. They are very similar in clay and manufacture to the ones found *e.g.* in the North Cemetery (graves 87 and 90) and Pithekoussai (graves 165, 298, 487, 513, 631 and 723). For a brief discourse on the problem see: Coldstream 1977, 145.

statistical value, the picture does not change. In these we find first of all cups but also the other forms, appearing just as unsystematically as in the well dated group. Unfortunately, the data on age and sex have not passed down to us in a form which enables us to see how the occurrence and combination of shapes may indicate social rank or status (which would have been possible for this group of securely dated graves if we had all the information, and if such a pattern existed).²⁵

Within these limits there are no combinations of sufficient significance to merit further considerations about the function of certain forms, or combinations of forms, in relation to particular people; nor when we look at the patterns themselves, without considering age or sex, does anything seem to appear. An example of pattern is Pithekoussai where sets of oinochoe and poterieon are observed in a number of graves, though not in a consistent manner compared to the number of graves without these sets (Buchner 1982, 283).

As far as this analysis of the material allows us to form an opinion, it is that the occurrence of ceramic shapes and types, and the combinations of them, are not controlled by strict religious or socio-economic functions or meanings (*cf.* Neft 1994, 188, who makes similar conclusions for Tarentum).

We still must conclude that the ceramics served a purpose, probably a more prosaic and down-to-earth one, maybe as personal objects of the deceased, laid down without any very deep meaning in relation to their function in life as in death. It does not take much imagination to think of the kotylai and skyphoi as having been the cups that the deceased used (if not for life then in the last period of it). This fits the common frequency of one per person (when given), but to think that the cups were meant for use in the world of the dead is in my opinion improbable, since the habit is not even close to be ubiquitous, when we consider all the graves without ceramics and of the ones without these shapes. If on the contrary it was the case, such a religious belief cannot have been deeply rooted in the minds of the people who are buried in the cemetery.

²⁵ Shepherd (1995, 64) suggests the possibility of identifying age from the grave type and size. This, however, I have not attempted to do in my study. It would carry this approach a little further but not far enough.

The Occurrence of Metal

The metal objects fall in two groups: personal ornaments and 'other' metal objects.²⁶ The former consists mainly of fibulae of different types either of bronze, iron or silver, sometimes adorned with bone, ivory and amber,²⁷ and dress-pins²⁸ in the same three kinds of metal, roughly of the same type having disc-heads and some also having globes near the disc. There is also jewellery—a wide group consisting of rings, necklaces, earrings, buttons, etc.—metal vessels and unidentifiable objects. These two groups are also represented in the 75 graves containing metal objects but without datable ceramics (see above). In two of these graves (both fossae) nails were found, probably from funeral beds. One with 12 such nails and three²⁹ dress-pins (grave 11), and the other with 51 bronze nails each weighing on average 208 g (Orsi 1893, 456–457), that is more than 10 kg of bronze (grave 28).³⁰

Where there are fibulae normally one or two are found per person. There is one extreme exception, namely the 25 fibulae that accompanied the youth in the previously mentioned sarcophagus grave (grave 428). Pins occur mostly in pairs. These two kinds of objects, served a practical purpose (preventing the peplos from falling down), and their occurrence does not vary according to sex or age, in accordance with the indications given by Orsi, unlike Tarentum, for example, where pins are associated with women (Neeft 1994, 189). The fibulae are here mostly found with women but the pattern is not at all consistent.³¹ Rings occur usually as one per individual, but not always, and they are seen with both sexes, with youths as well as adults.

²⁶ The metal objects from Fusco are studied in detail by Hencken (1958).

²⁷ For the types see: Hencken 1958, 268–272; Kilian 1973, 13.

²⁸ Identified as such because they are often found near the shoulders of the deceased, where the *peplos* was fastened, e.g. graves 108B, 120 (Orsi 1891, 470; Hencken 1958, 268. Discussion about the identification in Tarentum, Neeft 1994, 266 n. 8 [with references]).

²⁹ Orsi 1891, 407. He lists two pins, but three are exhibited in the museum of Syracuse.

³⁰ The same phenomenon is seen in two other fossae graves (not on display and not available for study): grave 10, having 18 nails in bronze (Orsi 1891, 407) and grave 468, 12 in iron (Orsi 1895, 179–180).

³¹ Also observed in Pithekoussai, where even the same types of fibula are seen alongside adults, young and children (Buchner 1982, 281).

In the group of other metal objects there are two fragmentary vessels in bronze. One was given with nine aryballoi (and other objects) in a sarcophagus burial mentioned above (grave 85); the other along with four aryballoi, a silver ring and other objects, in a sarcophagus (grave 472) containing an adult and at least three children. There is also an example of a bronze burial-bowl deposited inside a sarcophagus, also containing four individuals (grave 465), accompanied by one aryballos, four fibulae and a small golden button.

Many of these objects are not difficult to interpret, the jewellery least of all (personal objects worn by the deceased, as functional fibulae and pins, or as ornamental rings and necklaces). As today they possessed some kind of value and must have given some kind of status, depending upon materials, craftsmanship, and design. These objects represent a certain cost value. The first question is in what way we are able to identify the hierarchy of metal objects; the next is whether the presence of these more or less precious objects is to be considered a display of wealth compared with the burials where they are not found. Gold is, of course, the most valuable material and, consequently, appears but rarely (only in Phase 3). Silver is not found in Phase 1, some is attested in Phase 2 but most of it is from Phase 3. Bronze appears as the most commonly found metal and with more or less equal frequency in Phases 2 and 3. Iron is found in all three phases, though not in great quantities, except for the fibulae (when of iron they are often decorated with amber and bone/ivory). In Pithekoussai it was observed that silver usually accompanied adults rather than children (Ridgway 1982, 73), and answering the second question this observation can also be made here, but for bronze and iron there is no such pattern. Silver very rarely occurs as the only metal object in a grave, so it is clear that, at this cemetery too, silver constitutes a certain level of value and status. In the case of bronze and iron it is more difficult to distinguish between the difference of value, for example, between two or four objects given, and the difference between one or no objects given. This discussion will be continued later.

The Occurrence of other Objects

The category 'other objects' is the smallest in quantity. Such objects were practically never the only offerings in the graves, and in Phase

1 we find none. For the rest of the Protocorinthian period, in the group of well dated graves, beads of amber are most frequent, seen five times (fibulae in metal decorated with amber and ivory are treated under metal objects); there are two necklaces and two scarabs in *pasta vitrea*; there are two *fuseruole* in faience and one in stone. At least 12 other object-types occur only once, among them the charming clay-wagon decorated with scales in the Late Protocorinthian manner, the only offering to a child in a sarcophagus (grave 20), and the beautiful alabastron of faience given among the objects to an adult (?) in the previously mentioned sarcophagus-grave (grave 85) (Orsi 1893, 470–473, illustration 472). *Fuseruole* and scarabs appear with both sexes and the other types of object are indifferent as to age or sex.³²

In the groups of graves without datable ceramics, the same types of 'other object' occur, that is, among the graves with metal objects, a few beads of amber, necklaces and *fuseruole* in *pasta vitrea*. An interesting iron fibula decorated with a large ivory plate (the famous *potnia theron* piece dated broadly to the 7th century)³³ was found in a sarcophagus (grave 139) containing a girl, along with a silver ring, an earring of electron³⁴ and fragments of a large buff vase (Orsi 1895, 119); another interesting fibula decorated with ivory was found in a grave (436) containing metal objects, both iron and gold.³⁵

It is clear that the low frequency of objects in this group, combined with our unsatisfactory knowledge of age and sex, makes it difficult (if not impossible) to detect any patterns in their occurrence.

The main point worth making is the complete absence of 'other objects' in Phase 1, during which grave goods are restricted to but a few types of object, namely ceramics of the Protocorinthian class and Argive monochrome class, and metal pins in bronze or iron—but this is the case only if we accept the small number of graves from this phase as being representative. Phases 2 and 3 are more or less homogeneous when we use this approach, though it seems that wealth-indicating metal objects increase in occurrence during the Protocorinthian period and there is a clear tendency for 'other

³² In Tarentum faience and amber are identified as indicative of female graves (Neeft 1994, 189).

³³ Syracuse Inv. 13540; Orsi 1895, 119, fig. 119; Carratelli 1996, 668 Cat. No. 40.

³⁴ From the text commenting on the grave in the exhibition.

³⁵ Orsi 1895, 172–73 (the ivory fibula fig. 69, Syracuse Inv. 13835–13836).

objects' to be scarce and to appear only where there are further objects (ceramics, metal or both). These latter facts, separately and in combination, suggest that 'other objects' in general indicate wealth because they are found with metal objects. This fits the general idea of exotics being costly.

The failing attempt, so far, to see any pattern in the distribution of grave goods, other than the few already mentioned (of which the identification of metal and some of the 'other objects' as indicators of wealth is hardly a surprise), may well derive from the fact that, although this cemetery is generally considered to be a prime source for the period, the material from it is not yet of representative size nor in a satisfactory condition: in particular the state of preservation of the skeletons is poor and it must be taken into account that the excavations took place a century ago (not underestimating the abilities of Orsi, but considering the great developments in archaeology since his time).

As seen in Fig. 1 one could conclude that Phases 2 and 3 show a noticeable stability. Given the frames of the somewhat broad groups of objects with which I have operated, there are no drastic differences in the occurrence of shapes or types when we compare the phases. This general impression may indicate that the reasons for putting the objects in the graves were not as haphazard as they would seem after the attempt of seeing patterns in the appearance. A pattern could exist but because of the conditions of the sources or for some other reason it can no longer be detected. Alternatively, the choice of object-types and quantities to be put in the graves was random and does not reflect the types of object or their quantity used by the Syracusans in their everyday life. If this is so, we must conclude, for example, that in the (majority of) cases where we do not find such 'practical' objects as fibulae and pins either the dead were laid down or cremated naked, or it has been consciously decided, for whatever reason, that these objects should not be placed/left in the grave, and they were accordingly removed.

After this brief discourse about the contents of the graves, their frequency and the seemingly unpromising attempts to detect patterns in their appearance related to age and sex, I will turn to another approach.

As has been indicated above the interpretation of the presence of ceramics is difficult, first of all because of the uncertainty of their

function in connection with the funeral, and next because of the unsolved question of the value (in the sense of cost) that the ceramics possessed. The difference in variation in the grave offerings between the phases, according to types occurring, was not at all striking (Fig. 1), but working through this approach, some exceptions were revealed that may help to solve the problems mentioned above of identifying the socio-economic significance behind the grave goods, and also the ceramics.

Another way of viewing the offerings is the 'extreme quantification focus', simply to see how many objects normally followed the dead, distinguishing, as a beginning, only between ceramics and metal objects. Of course it is most probable that we are working with different 'significances' simultaneously, but let us, for a while, cast some light on the significance of quantity in the graves. It has already been mentioned that some individuals were accompanied by a higher number of certain types of object than others (*cf.* Pithekoussai where this is observed for several shapes of ceramics, Buchner 1982, 284). In these cases the possible ritual or religious significance of these objects, whatever it may be, seems to fade. If a cup is given for the dead to use in the afterlife, the symbolism is not intensified by giving seven cups. As for objects with a 'certain' practical function and a 'certain' interpretation as personal objects, we also have to explain the unnecessarily high quantities. There are, for example, absolutely no practical explanations for why the youth buried in sarcophagus grave 428 should be accompanied by 25 fibulae. Maybe the person loved fibulae more than all other persons in 7th century Syracuse. But this putative passion for fibulae does not explain the oinochoe,³⁶ unique for this cemetery, nor the painted pigeon of clay, the heavy silver necklace and more than 20 other objects of metal that were also found in this grave. Following the general opinion of I. Morris (1992, 189–190) we could say that the youth was perhaps more than usually loved by her or his relatives and therefore given more, and more precious grave goods than normal. This may be so, but if the tender emotions of the families left behind do in general correspond to the richness of the graves we might expect to find rich offerings among the younger buried individuals, and this seems not to be the case at Fusco.

³⁶ Syracuse Inv. 42684. Orsi 1895, 167f, figs. 57–58; Amyx 1988, 21 No. 2, pl. 4.1.

In any case, grave 428 seems to be an unquestionable example of the display of wealth through personal ornament, and this vast display of personal ornament is accompanied by a remarkable quantity of pots of high quality.

But is this a single coincidental example or do we find the same tendency in other burials as well? By focusing on quantity we will miss the difference in value between an aryballos and an olpe, but a quantitative evaluation may turn out useful. Fig. 2 shows the number of pots attributable to individuals in the limited number of graves datable within phases of the Protocorinthian period (the necessity of dividing the number of objects in a grave holding more than one individual by the number of bodies results in artificial numbers with 'quarters' and 'halves'. This goes for Figs. 3-5 as well).

It is clear that no particular number of ceramics is predominant, but there is a tendency to finding between one and three pots per person throughout the entire Protocorinthian period. To find fewer is rare, and for the Phases 2 and 3 between three and six occur not infrequently. Five persons have 10 or more ceramic objects, in four instances caused by a high number of cups.

Calculations for the other graves probably belonging to the Protocorinthian period confirm the pattern, with one to three pots as the norm, but with one instance of seven and one of 26.³⁷

Of the graves securely dated within the Protocorinthian period, 55% are without metal objects. Fig. 3 shows a comparable picture to that of the ceramics, although the overall quantity of metal objects is less; typically a few objects are present. At the extreme is one instance of 11 objects (grave 205, eight are silver rings) and one of 51 (grave 428). When we add the other *ca.* 75 graves containing metal objects, of which many probably belong to the Protocorinthian period, the picture does not change. Again there are usually one to three objects, with a few exceptions, of which some are highly interesting (the above mentioned graves with large quantities of nails), but this will be discussed later.

In Phase 1 the number of grave goods regularly lies between none and three; the later phases show some examples of higher numbers,

³⁷ Grave 470: 20 skyphoi, three kylikes and three lekythoi (the terminology of the shapes is that of Orsi. In our terms they would be: kotylai, skyphoi and aryballoi) (Orsi 1895, 180). Not on display and not available for study.

and Phase 3 shows a greater diversity of numbers of both ceramics and metal objects than Phase 2. Although the graphs do not show this detail, it does not seem to be the case that graves with a high number of ceramics also contain a high number of metal objects,³⁸ thus grave 428 was an coincidental example of a rich grave having a high number of pots. Nor is the number of pots higher in graves with ceramics but without metal objects than in graves containing both categories of objects. This broad conclusion goes hand in hand with the observations on the same question from Pithekoussai (Buchner 1982, 284) and Tarentum (Neeft 1994, 186). A high number of ceramics or special shapes does not occur more often where metal objects (whether of a high number or not) are present. Thus, in strictly quantitative terms, a great number of pots does not necessarily indicate wealth.³⁹ On the other hand, the general prevalence of metal objects/personal ornaments probably does (Buchner 1982, 284), because, as mentioned above, graves with a higher number of metal ornaments also contain ceramics (which means that we cannot neglect altogether the value of ceramics) and the majority of the objects of 'other types', among which we find the exotics.

It is possible to give an outline of grave goods in Syracuse in the Protocorinthian period. Often there are no objects (assuming that a part of the previously mentioned 150 graves without gifts are from this period), frequently there are a few pots or metal objects or both, and the number of graves which exceed this norm is small. Some of these graves are surely to be considered richer than the others, but should graves with a few objects be considered 'richer' than those with none?⁴⁰ If wealth is a significant explanation for the diversity in quantity, it may be fruitful to examine grave types, which may also represent different levels of wealth, as has been observed in Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992, 73–75).

³⁸ For instance we have grave 378A (inhumation on the lid of 396) accompanied by at least 18 vessels represented in five different shapes, but without any metal objects.

³⁹ Neeft 1994, 188. In 8th century Argos it is even observed that graves classified as poor sometimes have a high number of ceramics (Hägg 1983, 30).

⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the inhumations without grave goods in Pithekoussai reflect a lower class of people, but also admitted that the distinction is blurred by the existence of graves with only a very few, or with 'working-class' grave goods (Ridgway 1992, 71).

Grave Types and the Occurrence of Objects

Figs. 4 and 5 show the occurrence of ceramics and metal objects for individuals buried in sarcophagi, fossae and other types of grave during the entire period, still based on the limited group of well dated graves.

The sarcophagus group shows a grouping of up to three ceramics, exceeded in a few cases; the fossae show the same tendency, though with a greater divergence. The other types show a clearer tendency between one and three objects, but here also a few examples of high numbers may be observed (*e.g.* the previously mentioned grave 378A).

Metal objects were found in only two graves in the group of 'other graves'.⁴¹ They are absent from 36% of sarcophagi and fossae graves dated securely within the period. Where present in sarcophagi, metal objects normally number two or less (with a few exceptions of higher and very high numbers). More than one third of the persons buried in fossae have one metal object, and another third have four to five, again a greater divergence than for the sarcophagi.

Except for the absence of metal objects in the group of 'other graves' there is no marked difference between the quantity of ceramics and metal objects that accompanied the dead in different categories of graves. Although we have a broad difference between sarcophagi and fossae, on the one hand, and other types on the other (always remembering the number of graves of all types without offerings), there seems to be no objects that could give any hints as to the difference between fossae and sarcophagi. The possibility of different 'ethnic' origin must be taken into account, but the generally accepted fact that ethnicity is not necessarily reflected in material culture must be borne in mind too.

Much of the explanation for the absence of metal objects in 'other' graves is that these include the burials of infants in amphorae (*enchytrismos*), which were hardly ever accompanied by metal objects (the usual

⁴¹ Perhaps a few more can be added. The burial in an amphora, grave 463, was accompanied by a Protocorinthian skyphos and a *fibuletta a piccola navicella di bronzo* (not on display and not accessible for study) (Orsi 1895, 178). Another amphora burial 367 was accompanied by a fibula as well, this one of iron adorned with ivory (*i.e.* bone) and amber (Orsi 1895, 157). Local cups also found in connection with this amphora, however, point to a date in the Corinthian period (Hencken 1958, 264).

items such as pins and fibulae were not yet among their personal belongings). In Pithekoussai, on the other hand, we have examples of high numbers of fibulae in graves of this type.⁴² But the rest of the 'other' graves without metal objects could be of a poorer class, *e.g.* the ones deposited in *nuda terra* or on the lids of sarcophagi and fossae. The few cremations deposited in bronze bowls will have to be interpreted differently.

As to the quantity of ceramics, there are no dramatic differences between grave types. Diversity in quantity was found with metal objects and it probably signified differences in wealth. As ceramics cannot be excluded entirely as an indicator of wealth, let me move beyond the quantitative aspect to see, for example, where we find high quality vases such as the finer examples of the larger forms, mainly oinochoai, olpai and pyxides of a certain size with fine decoration. They are found in 21% of the graves (only in sarcophagi and fossae) not always together with a high number of other ceramic objects, but as a rule in graves which also contain metal objects. One of the few exceptions (also being one of the few examples of finer pots occurring together) is a sarcophagus containing two individuals accompanied by a unique kotyle-pyxis and a beautiful broad-bottomed oinochoe decorated in the black-polychrome technique.⁴³ That these graves coincide with those containing metal objects (64%), could well mean that such pots were also considered finer, and, when found in graves, were an indicator of wealth.

As a broad conclusion it is possible to say that the finer pots, some of the metal objects and (unsurprisingly) the exotics indicate wealth, both in themselves and by their context.

Using these indicators it could further be concluded that Phase 1 has graves of people of modest means (Neef 1994, 188). In Phase 2 people are generally richer, with a few individuals being wealthier than the average, and in Phase 3 there is even more evidence of difference in wealth. (It is to Phase 3 that the two richest graves date, both in sarcophagi as it happens, but the rich group as such consists of both sarcophagus and fossa types.) This fits very well the

⁴² Three instances with 11, 13 and 22 fibulae respectively (Buchner 1982, 281).

⁴³ Grave 373 (Lanza 1989, 77-79, Cat. Nos. 3-4). The kotyle-pyxis (Syracuse Inv. 13747a), the oinochoe (Syracuse Inv. 13747).

observation made by G. Shepherd, who found, looking at grave types and also metal objects, that a two-tiered burial system was developed in Syracuse during the 7th century B.C., and became standard in the 6th century. At the top of this hierarchy was the sarcophagus and at the bottom the fossa; but some fossae are also to be placed in the upper category, because of their size or contents (Shepherd 1995, 55, 69). Shepherd mentions specifically the fossae containing huge quantities of large nails, and I agree completely with her estimation of these as being rich. These graves need to be discussed as, in my opinion, they constitute difficulties in the interpretation of metal objects in general. One of them (grave 28) contained more than 10 kg of pure bronze (51 nails) and several pieces of amber that once decorated a funeral bed (?). It requires a very large quantity of dress-pins or fibulae to use up 10 kg of metal. It is true that a bronze nail is not as elegantly manufactured as a fibula so we cannot exclusively take the metal-value into account when we compare personal ornament with other kinds of metal object. But if we focus exclusively on the nails, what kind of value did they constitute? A practical explanation for their existence and high number can be excluded. They are far more numerous than required to keep a bed together, and moreover, in constructing beds and coffins, ancient craftsmen preferred to use pegs and glue (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 216). It is probable that their cost value lay in the metal itself, together with the amber and possibly splendid but now perished woodwork. The metal value of these graves makes the possible wealth difference between a grave with one fibula and one with five difficult to see, as also between a grave with a few metal objects and one with none (if the graves are of the same type). But, as mentioned above, metal in some way indicates wealth, and its appearance in much greater quantities than in other graves indicates that these must have been among the richest at the site. However, in these graves we do not find exactly the same indicators of wealth as in the other wealthy graves. A noteworthy display of ornaments is missing (though see grave 11 mentioned above). Pottery is completely absent. Thus it seems that many factors work together in the display of wealth and it is very likely that some categories of object occur only in particular wealth-levels, representing a value for some persons and being inferior to others. There is also the possibility that some categories change value over time, complicating this investigation even further.

That the wealthiest graves are to be found among the sarcophagi

is hardly a surprise. The minimal overall difference between gifts in fossae and sarcophagi can be explained in part by taking into account the difference of the size of the fossae, as was done by Shepherd (1995, 55). But the existence of both fossae and sarcophagi with few objects or none cannot be easily interpreted and put on a 'wealth scale' as for instance compared to graves of other types with ceramics. Most probably, we do have a situation where more than one factor results in the presence of objects in the graves and perhaps also more factors even for the same kinds of object.

To shed some more light on the situation of the Fusco Cemetery one may study burial customs in Corinth, the *metropolis* of Syracuse. Since the excavation of the North Cemetery, which is the primary source for Corinthian burials, it has been emphasised how few objects followed the dead of the Protocorinthian period at this site. Only 17 out of 65 burials included grave goods.⁴⁴ Eight of these showed pottery and two contained other objects which afforded clues to their date. The other graves are dated by their type; almost all are sarcophagi, and by their location and the depth in which they were set (Young 1964, 50). To this can be added a grave found in the area of the later Agora, a sarcophagus containing an individual (apparently a man) accompanied by an EPC aryballos (Broneer 1933, 567 figs. 11 and 12).

Considering the close links between Corinth and Syracuse, we would expect to find more or less the same burial practices, at least within the first generations after the foundation of Syracuse, in both places. A.M. Snodgrass has noted (1971, 173–176), however, that this was not generally so of colonies and mother-cities in the early period, and recently G. Shepherd (1995) has demonstrated a continuation into the later period of the differences in burial customs between some of the Sicilian colonies, including sub-colonies, and their mother-cities, and also between Syracuse and Corinth. The main difference lies in the frequency of use of sarcophagi *viz.* almost 100% in Corinth as against only some 50% in Syracuse (1995, 54–55). Examinations of other aspects of the rite reveals more differences: in Corinth the bodies are in contracted position, in Syracuse straightened out

⁴⁴ The same phenomenon is observed elsewhere in the Corinthia, *e.g.* the cemetery at Lechaëum (Eliot and Eliot 1968, 346) and at Tarentum (Neeft 1994, 185).

(Shepherd 1995, 55).⁴⁵ Almost all the kinds of objects found in Corinth are also found in the Fusco Cemetery, aryballoi, kotylai, skyphoi, kalathoi, iron pins, a fibula decorated with ivory, and scarabs, but in Fusco they are seen in much greater quantities in some graves, and there are also many types of object which are not found in Corinth. The conclusion that the occurrence of ceramics in the Fusco has no strict religious or social significance, is, in my opinion, only strengthened by the general absence of ceramics in Corinth. If deep religious or social meaning adhered to the offering of ceramics, we would also have found the same types and the same quantities of them in Corinth.

This said, the differences should not be exaggerated. When we compare the very early grave from the area of the later Agora in Corinth with the early group of burials from Fusco, the difference is not that great, although this picture may be a distortion arising from the small sample involved. The often noted difference lies in the rest of the Protocorinthian period, and it is caused largely by the high percentage of the graves in Corinth without any offerings (74%). But here it is important to remember the high percentage of graves in Fusco without any gifts of which many could be of this period. When we look at burials with offerings, they are reasonably similar to a large part of the Fusco graves. In Fusco, where present, metal objects usually numbered one to three, which is also the case for the North Cemetery in Corinth. In the North Cemetery the metal objects are exclusively made of iron; in Fusco they are normally made of bronze. Many of the Fusco graves, contain only one piece of ceramic or none; at the North Cemetery we see three instances of five to six objects given. There are three main differences between the objects in the North Cemetery and Fusco. Fusco is richer in ceramics of the Protocorinthian class, metal objects and exotics.

In comparison with Corinth the most important common feature is the low number of objects and the many graves without offerings. In my opinion this leaves little room for imagining the existence of important religious or social rank value of the objects. The major focus so far has been on the cost value of the objects in Corinth, which means that the almost complete absence of objects must be

⁴⁵ Perhaps influenced by the Sikels who practised this rite (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 308).

explained either by the hypothesis that, so far, we have found the poorer graves only of the 7th century Corinthians⁴⁶ (with the implication that the general prosperity of Corinth in this period would be reflected in other graves which we have not found) or by the hypothesis that general prosperity is not reflected in grave goods. It is often added that the Corinthians considered their own ceramic production more suitable for export than for their own graves (*e.g.* Young 1964, 52). I subscribe to the latter explanation which fits the sources at hand, although it differs from the general impression from Syracuse.

The difference may simply be explained as a difference in habits. But we cannot just make the broad conclusion that there were differences in funeral habits between this mother-city and its colony. When we focus on the objects the situation is more complex. I am tempted to suggest that the explanation of the partly incoherent tendencies in the grave goods from Fusco may lie in the different ways in which people felt it necessary to display wealth, including the possibility that some did not feel that need at all. But of course, I have no proof.

The grave goods of Fusco reflect the impressions of the commercial activity and prosperity of the Western colonies in general, and Syracuse in particular (*e.g.* Boardman 1980, 174). Nearly all the objects found in the graves were imported: the ceramics mostly from Corinth; the exotics from the North and the East; and also the metal objects came from abroad (Sicily has no mineral sources: Coldstream 1977, 233). It has been suggested that silver was introduced to these parts by the Greek settlers; it is not found in noteworthy quantities in Sicily in the pre-Greek cultures, nor in early Etruria (Hencken 1958, 268).

It is likely that the first settlers had to import basic food supplies, surely wine and olives (Salmon 1984, 85), but probably also grain, because (we must assume) the establishment of a local agricultural economy took some time. In other words it is pretty clear that for the first generation or so, the Syracusans had little to offer the Mediterranean market, and the modesty of the earliest graves reflects this (if we accept their low number to be representative, and the existence of a connection between general prosperity and grave goods).

⁴⁶ Discussion in Salmon 1984, 100, 179.

Later during the 7th century B.C., the Syracusans were self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs and were also producing for export, perhaps first of all to the mother-city of Corinth, and received pots in exchange (Dunbabin 1948, 244; Salmon 1984, 388; Lanza and Wescoat 1989, 76), but the Syracusans most probably also exchanged goods with a number of other localities, as the variation in the objects shows. The burials from Phases 2 and 3 show an increase in wealth, which can be linked to this (again if there is an interrelationship between general prosperity and grave goods).

A

It is tempting to interpret the increasing tendency to wealthier funerals in Fusco during the 7th century B.C. as a sign of socio-economic stratification caused by this prosperity. This is not at all improbable, but I must admit that I am first of all struck by the complex and apparently unsystematic deposit of grave goods, which is how it must be regarded when we get below the broad tendencies. To put it bluntly I think we will have to admit that we cannot at present reconstruct the material culture among the Syracusans living in the 7th century B.C. They may have been richer in objects in a way that we are not able to imagine, objects whose connection with people in life was perhaps completely different from how it appears in the graves.

APPENDIX

This *Appendix* is a provisional list of the graves dated within phases of the Protocorinthian period (see above pp. 231–32). Only the piece of ceramic that dates the grave is presented. In more than one instance it can be argued to which phase a grave belongs, but most of the items fall in one of the traditional phases of the Protocorinthian period. LPC includes Transitional Corinthian here and when the phase indications vary from the dates given in the works cited it will only be in the way of being more widely dated.

Amyx = Amyx 1988; Hencken = Hencken 1958; Johansen = Johansen 1923; Neeft = Neeft 1987; Payne = Payne 1931; Vallet and Villard = Vallet and Villard 1952. The numbers indicated after Neeft are the references to the lists under which the aryballoi in question can be found in Neeft's work.

The A and B which is sometimes found after the grave-number is an idiosyncrasy caused by the fact that more than one grave is sometimes registered under the same number in the publications. For the grave-numbers see also note 13.

Grave number	Dating
	<i>Phase 1</i>
223	Aryballos Inv. 13647. EPC Orsi 1895, 138. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 1. Neeft IX16.
305	Aryballos Inv. 13681. EPC Orsi 1895, 146. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 2. Neeft V6.
312	Aryballos Inv. 13704. EPC Orsi 1895, 148. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 4. Neeft XV8.
337	Aryballos Inv. 13719. EPC Orsi 1895, 150–151 Fig. 37. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 4. Neeft XXIID1.
372	Skyphos Inv. 13744. EPC Orsi 1895, 157–158. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 3. On the type in general see Payne 23 Fig. 9:b, Cat. No. 708A; Weinberg 1941, 39; Amyx 462– 463. The date (<i>ca.</i> 700 B.C.) is suggested by the museum. See, however, Coldstream 1968, 104.
466	Aryballos Inv. 13743. EPC Orsi 1895, 179. Vallet and Villard 330 Fig. 3. Neeft XII5.

Grave number

Dating

Phase 2

- 85 Aryballos Inv. 12526. MPC
Orsi 1893, 470–473. Neeft LXIA1.
- 89 Kotyle Inv. 12571. MPC
Orsi 1893, 474 (illustrated). On the type in general, see: Brokaw 1964, 52 and note 12.
- 120 Skyphos Inv. 12641 (store room). Probably MPC.
Orsi 1893, 481. Roughly of the same type as the skyphoi found in the North Cemetery at Corinth, grave 70 Nos. 5–6, see Young 1964, 51, Pl. 12. The skyphos here is taller and not as sharply articulated at the lip.
- 136 Kotyle Inv. ? MPC
According to Orsi 1895, 118, similar to the one found in grave 89.
- 144 Kotyle Inv. 13542. MPC
According to Orsi 1895, 121, similar to the one found in grave 89.
- 158B Aryballos Inv. 13556. MPC
Orsi 1895, 122–123. Neeft XLVA8.
- 175bis Skyphoi Inv. 13568–13569. MPC
Orsi 1895, 126. Hencken 260, Pl. 58 Fig. 7:1–2.
- 204A Aryballos Inv. ? MPC
Orsi 1895, 131–132. Of the ovoid type and to be placed in Neeft Stream B. On the type in general, see: Neeft, 158–173.
- 204B Dated by context. Found under grave 204A. MPC or older
Orsi 1895, 131–132.
- 205 Kotyle Inv. ? MPC
Orsi 1895, 133. Hencken 260, Pl. 57, Fig. 3. Similar to the one found in grave 89.
- 219 Aryballos Inv. 13642. MPC
Orsi 1895, 136–137, Fig. 14. Hencken 259, Pl. 56, Fig. 4:3. Neeft XXXIC1.
- 264 Aryballos Inv. 13664. MPC
Orsi 1895, 141, 142, Fig. 21. Neeft LIVF3.
- 302 Oinochoe Inv. 13678. MPC
Orsi 1895, 145, Fig. 26 (detail). Johansen 84 No.

Grave number	Dating
	8. Similar to the one shown by Johansen Pl. 19, No. 3, also from Fusco.
308	Aryballos Inv. 13685. MPC Orsi 1895, 146–147 Fig. 28bis. Hencken 266, Pl. 57, Fig. 5a:2. Neeft LIVE5.
326	Aryballos Inv. 13708. MPC Orsi 1895, 149, Fig. 31. Neeft VI6.
344	Oinochoe Inv. 13744. MPC Orsi 1895, 152, 153, Fig. 38. Johansen 84 No. 9, Pl. 19, No. 5.
360	Skyphos Inv. ? (magazine). MPC Orsi 1895, 155. Orsi uses the same description for this cup as he does for the one in grave 108 illustrated Orsi 1893, 476. When I examined the cup in September 1996 most of the decoration was gone. Payne 23, Fig. 9:b, Cat. No. 708A; Weinberg 1941, 39; Amyx 462–463. The MPC date is a suggestion.
378	Aryballos Inv. 13756. MPC Orsi 1895, 158–160. Neeft LXXXH6.
391	Aryballos Inv. 13769. MPC Orsi 1895, 160. Neeft LXXIVD3.
396	Dated by context. Found under graves 378 A and B. MPC or older. Orsi 1895, 158–160.
445	Crater Inv. 13844 and skyphos Inv. 13845. MPC Orsi 1895, 175–176, Fig. 75 (the crater). On the crater Pelagatti 1982 Cat. No. 10, Fig. 51. The date is suggested by the museum.
486	Kotyle Inv. ? (magazine). MPC Orsi 1895, 183. Hencken 260, Pl. 57, Fig. 6.
556	Aryballos Inv. 23353. MPC Orsi 1903, 533, 534, Fig. 14. Hencken 260, Pl. 58, Fig. 10.

Phase 3

20	Clay wagon Inv. 12438. LPC Two horses (?) dragging a wagon of which only the wheels are preserved. Orsi 1893, 455. The yoke that rests on the horses' backs is decorated with scales in the LPC manner.
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Grave number	Dating
29	Aryballos Inv. 12488. LPC Orsi 1893, 457-458 (illustrated). Amyx 42-43, No. 4.
76	Aryballos Inv. 12574. LPC Orsi 1893, 468. Neeft CX C6.
108A	Aryballos Inv. 12563. LPC Orsi 1893, 476-478. Hencken 262, Pl. 62, Fig. 15a:2. Neeft LXAa.
108B	Oinochoe Inv. 12561. LPC Orsi 1893, 476-478 (illustrated 477). Hencken 262, Pl. 62, Fig. 15a:3.
113	Aryballos Inv. 12593 (magazine). LPC Orsi 1893, 479. Neeft XCVIIIA1.
132	Aryballos Inv. 12585 (magazine). LPC Orsi 1893, 483. Neeft CXIIIB1.
157	Aryballos Inv. 13550 (magazine). LPC Orsi 1895, 122. Neeft CXVIDe3.
158A	Aryballos Inv. 13552. LPC Orsi 1895, 122-123. Hencken 262, Pl. 62, Fig. 7:1. Neeft CXIVG6.
160	Aryballos (Neeft No. 2287). LPC Orsi 1895, 123-124. Neeft XCIHC6.
181	Aryballos Inv. 13577. LPC Orsi 1895, 128. Neeft LXIIK5.
183	Alabastron Inv. 13579 (magazine). LPC Orsi 1895, 128. Size, shape and secondary decoration similar to one from grave 430 dated MPC II-LPC (Orsi 1895, 171, Fig. 67. Amyx 43, No. 2). On the shape in general, see: Amyx 438.
184	Olpe Inv. 13580. LPC Orsi 1895, 128-130, Fig. 8. Amyx 48, No. 1, Pl. 15.
257	Aryballos (not available for study). LPC According to Orsi 1895, 141, similar to one shown by Lau 1877, Pl. 3, No. 2, a typical scale aryballos. On the scale aryballoi in general, see: Neeft, 275-289.
276	Aryballos Inv. 13669. LPC

Grave number	Dating
	Orsi 1895, 143–144. Hencken 261, Pl. 59, Fig. 12:1. Neeft CXIIID6.
323	Aryballos Inv. 13705 (magazine). LPC Orsi 1895, 148. Neeft CXIII/CXIVD10.
343	Aryballos Inv. 13723. LPC Orsi 1895, 152. Neeft LXIVC7.
366	Aryballos Inv. 13840. LPC Orsi 1895, 156–157. Hencken 262, Pl. 60, Fig. 14:2. Neeft LXXA10.
373	Oinochoe Inv. 13747. LPC Orsi 1895, 158. Lanza 1989, 78–79, Cat. No. 4.
378B	Aryballos Inv. 13755. LPC Orsi 1895, 158–160. Neeft LXIIIHa.
388	Skyphos Inv. 13764. LPC Orsi 1895, 160. On the type in general, see: Payne 23, Fig. 9:b, Cat. No. 708A; Weinberg 1941, 39; Amyx 462–463. The date is suggested by the museum.
412	Pyxides Inv. 13785 & 42691. LPC Orsi 1895, 164. Hencken 260, Pl. 62, Fig. 9.
428	Aryballos Inv. 13800. LPC Orsi 1895, 167–171. Hencken 261, Pl. 60, Fig. 4. Neeft LXXXVIIIG3.
430	Aryballos Inv. 13819. LPC Orsi 1895, 171–172. Neeft CXIIIF12.
465	Aryballos Inv. 13865. LPC Orsi 1895, 179. Hencken 261, Pl. 59, Fig. 11c. Neeft LXXXVIIF1.
471	Aryballos Inv. 13871. LPC Orsi 1895, 180–181. Hencken 261, Pl. 58, Fig. 8. Neeft XCIIIE5.
472	Aryballos Inv. 13874. LPC Orsi 1895, 181–182. Hencken 263, Pl. 63, Fig. 17b:3. Neeft LXXG8.
480	Pyxis Inv. 13882. LPC Orsi 1895, 183. The date is suggested by the museum.
505	Aryballos Inv. 13890. LPC

Grave number

Dating

Orsi 1895, 187. Hencken 262, Pl. 65, Fig. 18.
Neeft LXIVC2.

621

Skyphoi Inv. 36324. LPC

Orsi 1915, 182–183. On the type in general, see:
Payne 23, Fig. 9:b, Cat. 708A; Weinberg 1941,
39; Amyx 462–463. The date is suggested by the
museum.

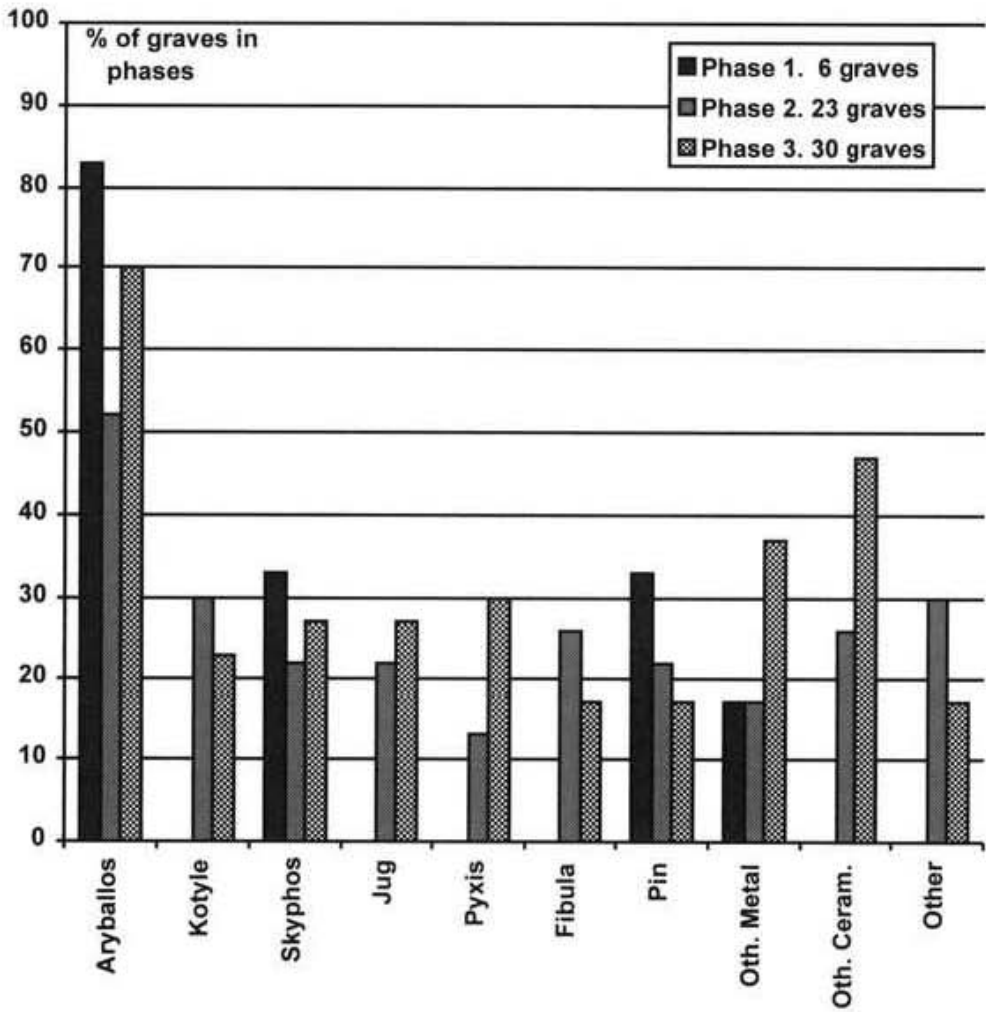


Fig. 1. Shows the occurrence of object types in graves dateable within the three phases.

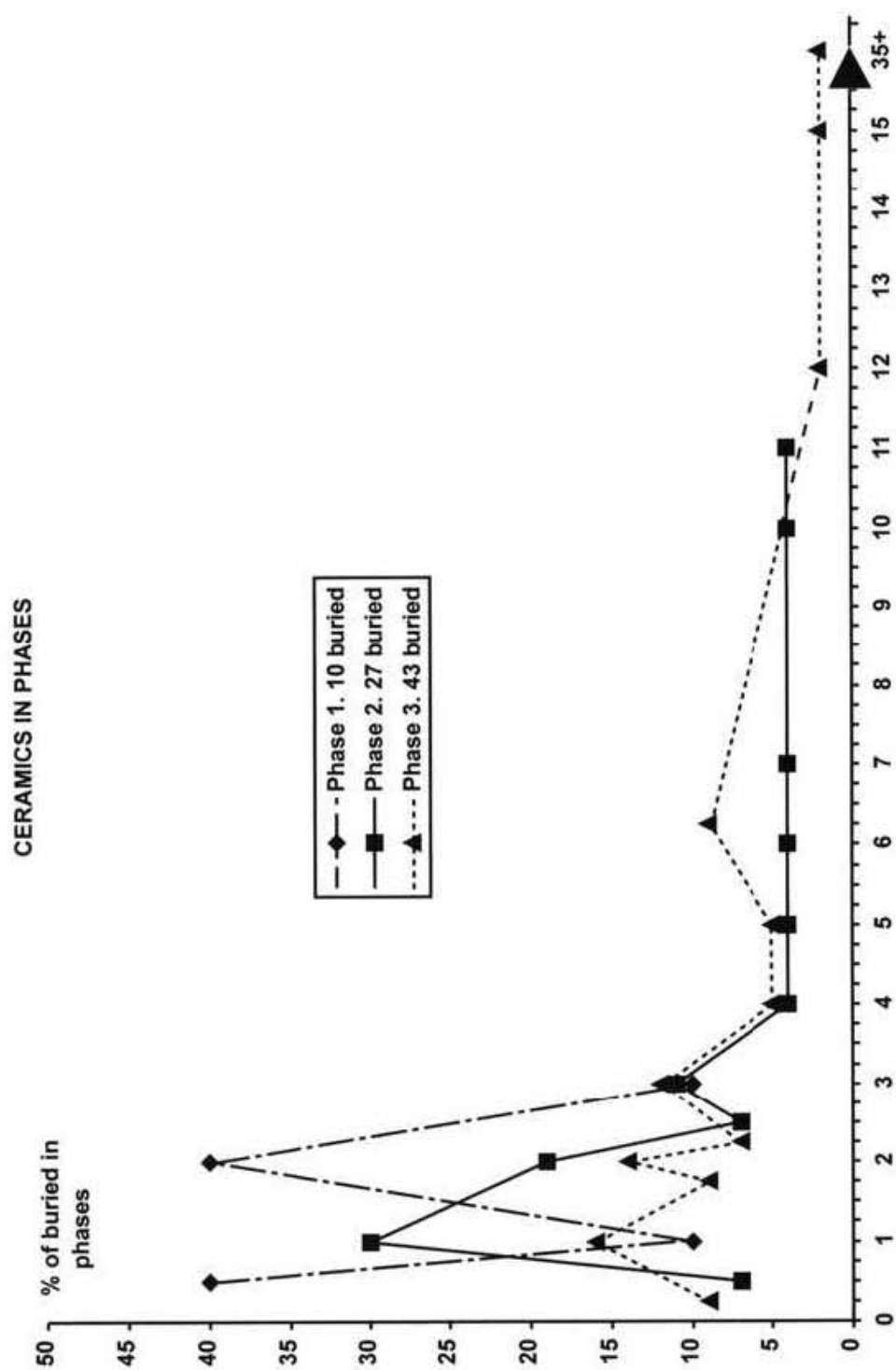


Fig. 2. Shows the number of pots per individual in the three phases.

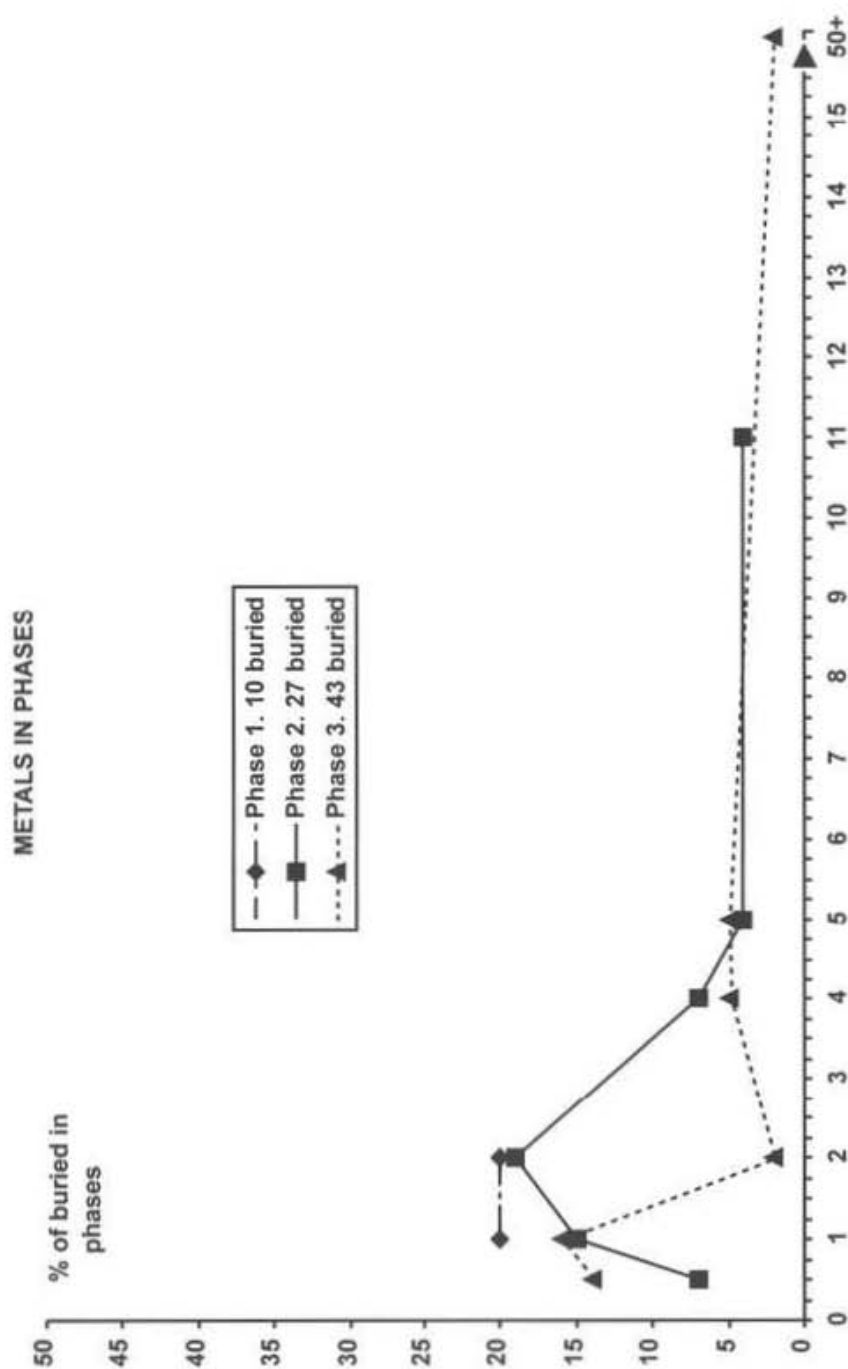


Fig. 3. Shows the number of metal objects per individual in the three phases.

CERAMICS IN GRAVE TYPES

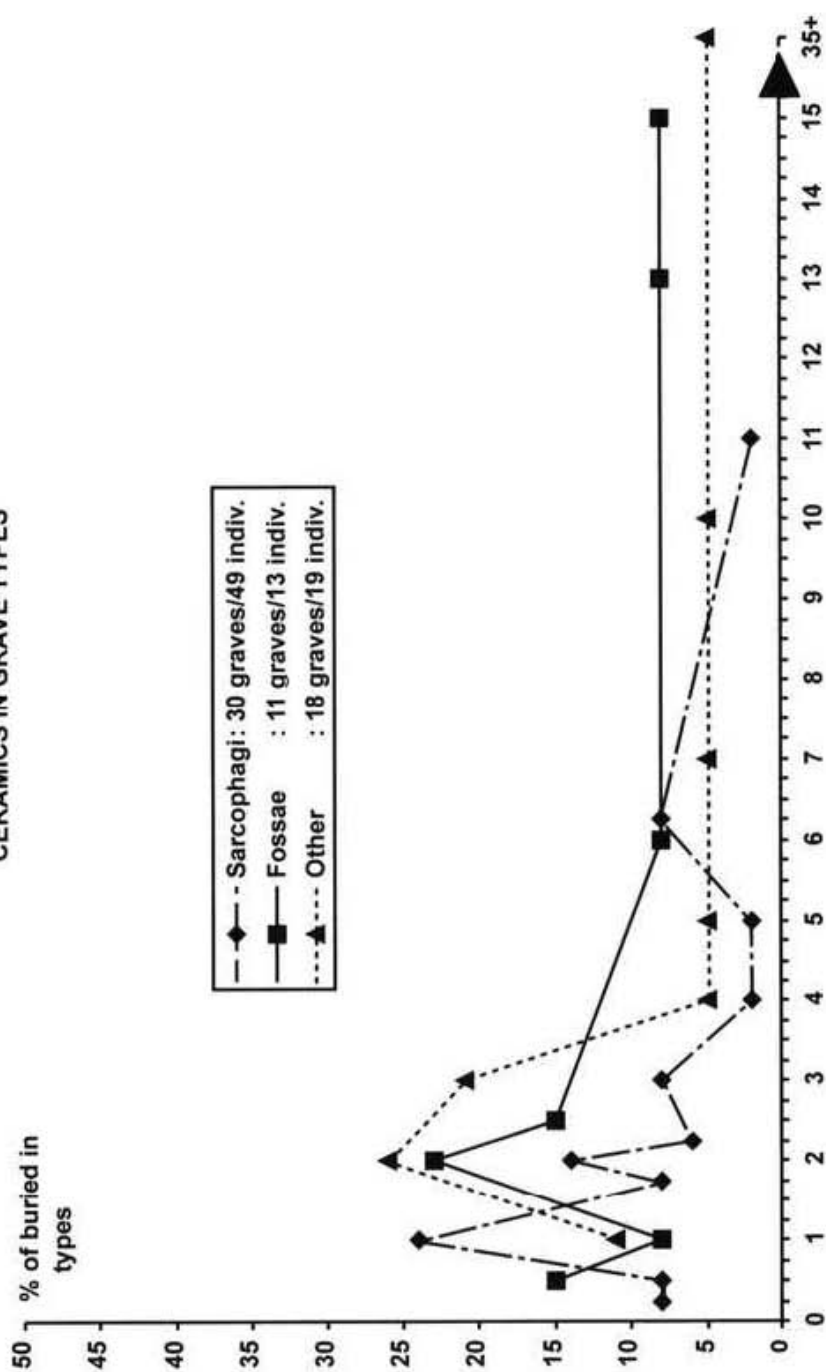


Fig. 4. Shows the number of pots per individual in graves types.

METALS IN GRAVE TYPES

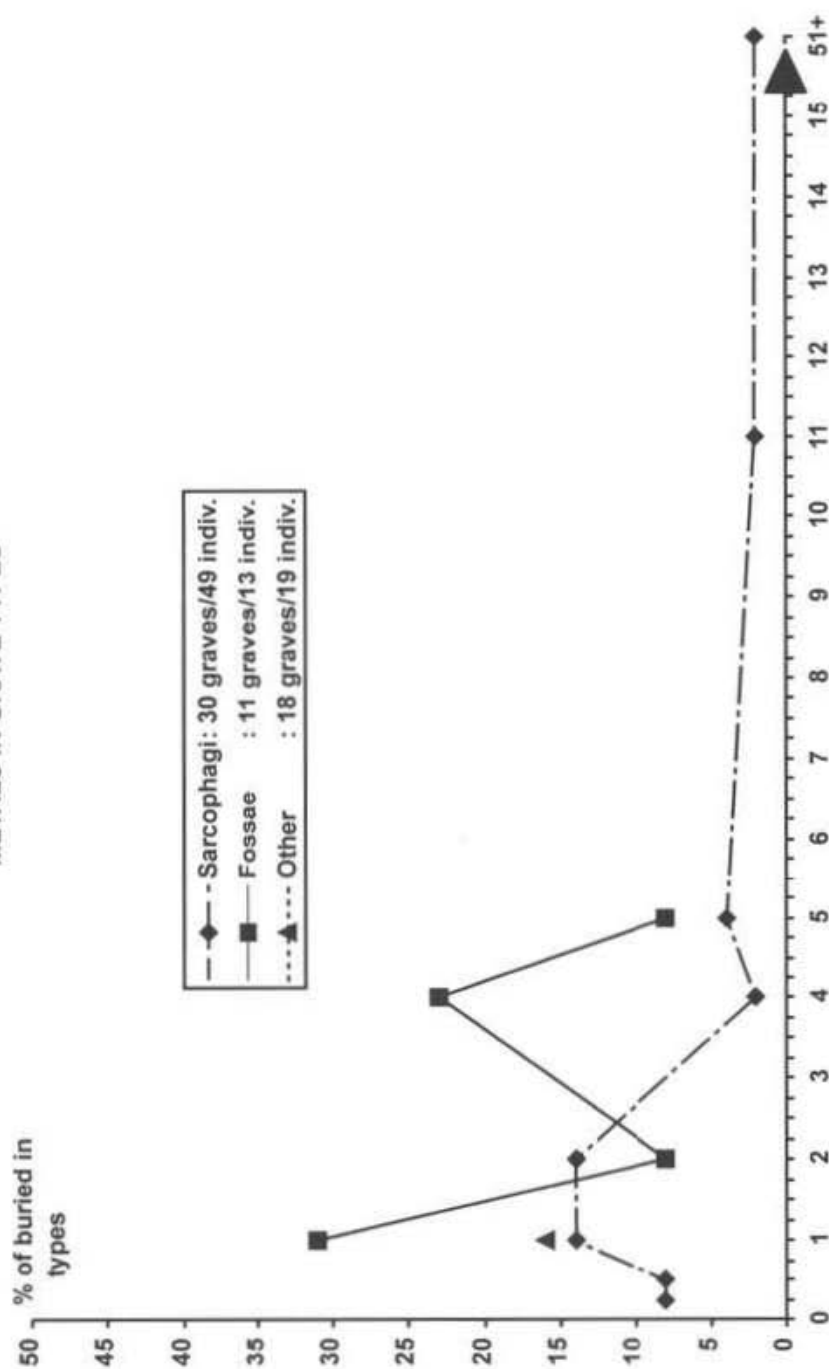


Fig. 5. Shows the number of metal objects per individual in grave types.

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11. FIBULAE AND FEMALES: INTERMARRIAGE IN THE WESTERN GREEK COLONIES AND THE EVIDENCE FROM THE CEMETERIES

Gillian Shepherd

In 1957, Thomas Dunbabin's *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* was published posthumously. It was intended to be the Eastern counterweight to his magnum opus *The Western Greeks* of 1948, and although not completed at the time of Dunbabin's death, was nevertheless in sufficient state of preparation to allow publication under the editorship of John Boardman. In his foreword to the volume, J.D. Beazley commented:

In the West the peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact were at a more primitive stage of development than they themselves; in the East, for a long time and in many respects, the position was the reverse (Dunbabin 1957, 5).

Forty years later, this is not a view that would pass unchallenged. Many scholars now would concur readily with David Ridgway's annotation to Beazley's statement: "'primitive' is not an adjective that I would willingly apply today to the Italian Iron Age" (Ridgway 1990, 62). At the time, however, Dunbabin and many others would not have argued—a few years later, indeed, the West was elsewhere characterised as the place where the Greeks had "nothing to learn, much to teach" (Boardman 1964, 203). In one area only did Dunbabin, in a few passing references, give the indigenous peoples of the West much credit for achievement: that of their skill in metalwork (Dunbabin 1948, 42, 173, 190).

This metalwork—or some of it, at least—and the contexts in which it occurs are areas I would like to explore in this paper, in conjunction with two related themes. One is an old question, but an issue which nevertheless comes under regular discussion: that of the practice of intermarriage, one route by which the Greeks may have come into close contact with the "primitive" peoples of the West. The other is that of the interpretative frameworks working in the background, in particular of the sort described above, that have influenced

the interpretation of the archaeological evidence and conclusions regarding the nature of society in the Greek Western colonies over the past century or so.¹

The Literary Evidence

The literary and historical evidence relevant to the question of intermarriage has been studied in detail in recent years, but it should be noted that its interpretation is by no means clear cut and varying conclusions have been drawn from it.² Texts have been used to support both arguments for and against intermarriage. The piece most frequently cited in favour of regular and widespread intermarriage between Greeks and native populations is the case of the foundation of the Theran colony Cyrene in Libya, described by Herodotus (4. 150–59) and the 4th century Cyrene foundation decree (*SEG* IX. 3). According to Herodotus' "Theran version", in forming the colonising party the Therans took the approach of selecting one adult male by lot from each family of the seven villages on Thera and the text of the decree adds that any man who refused to sail would be liable to a death penalty. These particular passages do not mention women at all, which does not necessarily mean that they were actively excluded from the venture. A little later on, however, Herodotus refers to the diet of Cyrenaican women who, like the Libyan nomads, did not eat cow's meat: this in combination with the previous pas-

¹ This paper has been presented in various forms at seminars in London, Cambridge and Oxford. It benefitted much from comments from the audience on those occasions, and I am also most grateful to Mr. David Ridgway and Professors Anthony Snodgrass and Robin Osborne for their valuable suggestions and comments on drafts of the written version. Thanks are also due to Mr. Harry Buglass for illustrative work.

I will treat Greek foundations rather than the somewhat different category of hellenised native sites where there can be difficulties in distinguishing an actual Greek population (and likely intermarriage) from a very high degree of Hellenisation, as for example at sites such as Butera and Morgantina. These sites carry with them the added complication of mixed burial rites, in contrast to the Greek foundations where burials on the whole fit general Greek types. For a discussion of the ethnic interpretation of the burials at Morgantina and associated difficulties see: Lyons 1996a, esp. 129–33; Lyons 1996b; Albanese Procelli 1996.

² See, for example: Rougé 1970, 313, who allows that Greek women may have emigrated at a later stage; Graham 1980; Van Compernelle 1983, in favour of intermarriage and only the exceptional presence of Greek women; Dougherty 1993, who relates intermarriage to later allegorical allusions in poetry.

sage is taken to mean that the Therans employed a conscription method which indeed resulted in an all male group and the necessity therefore that these men took indigenous wives.³

The Cyrene passages supply the clearest and best example of intermarriage in a colony, but nevertheless there is room for doubt regarding the usefulness of the case as a general model: this sort of centrally and highly organised conscription technique is by no means necessarily the way other colonising parties were put together. Somewhat more haphazard approaches may have been used in other instances which may not have excluded women, and the resulting proportions of the sexes may have varied from case to case. Other snippets of evidence with some bearing on the question appear to have even less potential for extrapolation to some generally applicable scenario. As far as intermarriage is concerned, we have the case of Demaratus (Cicero, *De Republica* 2. 19–20) who, finding Corinth under Cypselos intolerable, fled to Italy to the protection of Etruscan Tarquinii and married a local inhabitant, a situation of personal political asylum rather different from most Greek ventures overseas, even with the addition of Strabo's comment (5. 2. 2) that Demaratus brought "a host of people from Corinth" with him; there is also Herodotus' account of Miletus (1. 46; cf. Pausanias 7. 2. 6), where settlers married Carian women having first taken the precaution of killing their fathers, husbands and sons—again not necessarily the recipe for the foundation of most Greek colonies, and in any case referring to the earlier, semi-mythical migratory period rather than the 8th and 7th century wave of Greek ventures.⁴

The evidence pointing in the other direction is not much better: Polybius (12. 5. 3–11) tells us that some women from the one hundred leading families of Locri left for the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii and that in the colony nobility was derived from them since it passed down the female line. This sounds encouraging, but doubts have been cast on its reliability: Van Compernelle suggests the story is a 5th or 4th century fabrication designed to serve political ends (Van Compernelle 1976). There is some evidence that

³ See also Dougherty 1993, 160, for a discussion of Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 9; Callimachus *Hymn* 2. 85–97 also refers to the tradition of the marriage between Apollo and Cyrene.

⁴ See also Graham 1980–81, 295, who points out the aetiological nature of the story.

women may have been included for particular reasons, as for example the priestess Aristarcha at the Phocaean colony of Massalia (Strabo 4. 1. 4), but at best this is evidence only of one woman playing a very specific role rather than an argument for (or against) more widespread female emigration. Again, however, it has been suggested that this may be a later invention, in this instance to account for the existence of the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus at Marseille (Rougé 1976). Other examples also read as the creation of myth-history, such as the story of Phalanthos, the *oikist* of Taras who was despondent at his failure to find the site defined by the Delphic oracle as the place where he "should feel rain under a cloudless sky" (Pausanias 10. 5-8): his wife, who had accompanied him, kindly picked out his lice to cheer him up and in doing so cried over him, thus fulfilling the oracle—an appealing story, but, as Graham argues (1980-81, 298-99), sufficiently fabricated in appearance to raise doubts even as far as the detail of the presence of a Greek wife is concerned. As in the case for intermarriage, the situations may be inapplicable, such as the 6th century foundation of Elea by the Phocaeans, in which the women and children were taken along (Herodotus 1. 164-5). Since the Phocaeans left for Elea because they were being besieged by the Persians and Herodotus tells us that the town was packed up lock, stock and barrel including the statues and other sacred objects from the temples, the departure of the women and children too is hardly surprising.

The textual evidence is, then, on the whole less helpful than might have been anticipated. It apparently presents evidence both for and against Greek women participating in colonisation, but on closer examination we find a collection of passages which are not necessarily reliable and which refer to situations which are likely to be exceptional or at least simply different from the circumstances of most Greek foundations. Their individuality perhaps explains their entrance into the literary tradition, but does not go very far towards illuminating practices adopted elsewhere. Lack of mention of women is not in itself evidence that they did not go; the women we hear about do tend to have exceptional positions, as priestesses or *oikists'* wives, but whether or not we can extrapolate from this situation the conclusion that ordinary women did not take part in overseas settlement (as Rougé 1970, 313) is another matter and may run the risk of over-interpretation of the evidence.

Modern Approaches to Intermarriage

The ambiguity of the textual evidence has meant that the views of historians regarding intermarriage have been divided. A survey of past work reveals that scholars' opinions have been determined as much by the assumptions they bring to the subject as by the actual evidence. Overall, it is probably fair to say that the weight of scholarly opinion in favour of intermarriage in the West has increased over the second half of this century, as much due to a shift from a British imperialist based view of Greek colonisation to one that may be described as more politically correct as to any change in the evidence, at least as far as anglophone scholars are concerned.

One of the earliest studies of the Greek West was Edward Freeman's *History of Sicily* (1890–94), heavily based upon analogies made between ancient and modern colonisation (including that of America) and between Great Britain and Greece on the basis of their cultural superiority. Freeman did not tackle the question of intermarriage explicitly, but seems to have thought it was in theory possible. He was surprised, however, that we do not hear of a marriage between a Greek leader and the daughter of a Sikel prince if intermarriage was practised (Freeman 1890–94, vol. I, 389–90), and on the whole gives the impression that while not regarding intermarriage as out of the question, he did not see it as a significant feature of Greek colonies, or indeed as much of an issue. It would not presumably, in his view, have had much effect on the nature of Greek colonies since he saw most influence travelling in one direction and the natives, in his own words, “admitted of full Hellenisation. They could be made into artificial Greeks” (Freeman 1890–94, vol. I, 308; see also 446). In fact, he adds:

The advance of the Greek over the Sikel was in every way the advance of the higher over the lower man. The English advance in America was so far more strongly. For the advance of the Greek against the Sikel was after all only the advance of European against European; it was the advance of kinsmen to whom the lamp had first been handed against kinsmen who had lagged behind them in the race. That is to say, if the Sikel was not as the Briton, still less was he as the Red Indian . . . The Sikel could become a Greek yet more thoroughly than the Briton could become an Englishman (Freeman 1890–94, vol. I, 319–320).

Freeman maintained his view of the superiority of colonising nations still further: the Greeks in Sicily might be superior to the Sikels, but nevertheless should not get above themselves, since Sicilian Greece even at its best was itself still inferior to Old Greece:

The greatness of Syracuse is essentially that of the colonial kind. It is a greatness which could for a while outstrip the cities of old Greece, but which was still a greatness essentially inferior in kind and less lasting in duration (Freeman 1890-94, vol. I, 328).

Freeman was writing at a time before very much in the way of archaeological evidence had been uncovered. By the time Thomas Dunbabin published his fundamental and highly influential *The Western Greeks* in 1948, the amount of artefactual evidence had increased enormously, notably through the efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of the father of Sicilian archaeology, Paolo Orsi. Dunbabin incorporated it into his study, which was overall an innovative mix of archaeology and history, and used it specifically to support the argument against intermarriage:

The strongest argument that Sikels and other native peoples were not admitted to the Greek colonies except perhaps as slaves lies in the cemeteries of the colonies. Thousands of archaic graves have been excavated in a dozen cities of Sicily and Italy. Not more than one or two of them contain objects which can be regarded as Sikel or Italian (Dunbabin 1948, 46).

Like Freeman, Dunbabin—perhaps with the case of Cyrene in mind—claimed to be unopposed to the idea of intermarriage in theory, but again it is difficult to regard him as willing to accept it in practice. As Freeman had done, Dunbabin drew upon British colonisation for his model and equated Old Greece with Britain, but looked not to America but to parts of the Empire like Australia and New Zealand. This imperialist approach which led Dunbabin to use the British Dominions as his working parallel for Greek settlements in the West in which “almost complete cultural dependence” was “the pride of most colonials” (Dunbabin 1948, VII) and to refer to Corinth’s “possession of Syracuse” (p. 17) in the full knowledge of the political independence of such settlements was thus highly Graeco-centric in character and as a result also carried with it a degree of racism unlikely to be amenable to the idea of the impingement of native culture upon Greek. This is, for example, seen underlying his view that pan-hellenic sanctuaries like Olympia were especially important

to the Western Greeks because they provided some relief from what he calls "their daily dealings with the barbarian" (p. 40) and phrases such as "the purity of the Greek culture in the colonies" (p. VI) or "[the Sikels'] capability for civilisation" (p. 43) creep into his text at regular intervals. Nor was Dunbabin the only scholar of his time to take such an approach to the Greek West: his views were shared by other such eminent scholars as J.D. Beazley, A.G. Woodhead and Dunbabin's teacher Alan Blakeway, who was by Dunbabin's own admission a great influence upon him.⁵ On the whole, Dunbabin gives the impression of being only too happy to see the Greek colonies as untainted by Sikels or Italians. It appears perhaps most clearly when he envisages the sort of situation where intermarriage might occur: this is in the case of certain Italian colonies with rather weak mother cities, resulting in a decline in links with the mother-city, confusion over foundation traditions and even the presence of Greeks from other cities. All these factors, according to Dunbabin, "might dispose [the colonists] to hold less strongly to the traditions of their mother country . . . and might also dispose them more readily to intermarry with the natives" (Dunbabin 1948, 186). The note of disapproval is hard to miss: this degenerate behaviour was the dismal fate risked by Greeks who lost sight of their roots and the motherland.

Since Dunbabin wrote, opinion has increasingly moved in the opposite direction. It is not always entirely clear upon what evidence the proponents of intermarriage base their arguments, but they do not seem to take too much account of archaeological material (perhaps rightly) and may be tacitly drawing on the Cyrene case to provide a model, combined with the general notions of practicality that the Cyrene scenario implies: young, fit men are needed to set up a settlement and ensure its success; women would be superfluous, even burdensome, in the earliest stages and so would not be taken; the necessity of reproduction could be met with the acquisition of native wives when convenient. Thus the somewhat bald statements of, for example, Finley: "it is hardly likely that an adequate number [of women] (if any) were brought from Greece" (Finley 1969, 18), or more recently Dougherty: "there is little doubt that intermarriage took place, despite

⁵ Dunbabin 1948, VIII. For Beazley see: Dunbabin 1957, 5, quoted at the beginning of this paper; Woodhead opened his 1962 study *The Greeks in the West* by quoting Stanley Baldwin's vision of the ties between Britain and her far-flung colonies; For Blakeway's approach, cf. above and also Ridgway 1990, 63.

the reticence of the Greeks to mention it" (Dougherty 1993, 67).⁶ There have been some dissenters, as for example Graham who points to the evidence of Greek dress pins in colonial graves (Graham 1982, 147–8; more generally, 156–7; see also discussion below) and Holloway, with an unlikely argument that the occurrence of child graves among the earliest graves at Syracuse indicates Greek women and further that a Greek bronze horse with a child in an early grave at Syracuse indicates that horse and child must have come together with the child's mother from Greece (Holloway 1991, 51–52). Others have taken up a more middle position, such as Murray who effects a neat compromise between Cyrene and practical considerations on the one hand and the archaeological evidence in the West on the other by suggesting that in some areas at least women were brought out from Greece shortly after foundation (Murray 1993, 115–6). Overall, however, the general consensus is that intermarriage was a widespread phenomenon.

The Archaeological Evidence: Pithekoussai

Most recently, the archaeological evidence has come to the fore in the debate on intermarriage. In the decades since Dunbabin wrote, the nature of the archaeological material has not changed greatly, but the interpretation of it has. Greek sites in the West continue to produce graves of Greek type, supplied largely with goods of Greek manufacture, giving little in the way of insight into the potentially mixed populations which filled the cemeteries and which are now assumed by many scholars. One category of evidence has, however, proved more encouraging in the search for the elusive native presence than most: this is the metal work, in particular the fibulae, common to Sikel and Italian burials but only relatively recently fully and explicitly acknowledged to be of native origin when found as grave goods at Greek sites. Here the site of Pithekoussai has played a particularly prominent part: hundreds of graves, many of 8th century date, have yielded metal items which can be paralleled in contemporary native tombs in Etruria. The Mezzavia industrial quarter at Pithekoussai has even produced evidence for the manufacture of

⁶ See also, for example, Pomeroy 1975, 34–35; Boardman 1980, 163, 190.

fibulae believed to be based on native prototypes: this is a miscast bronze fibula and sections of bone for the so-called "bone-and-amber" fibula, the latter long thought by many to be a Greek import.⁷

The frequency of native metal personal ornaments in the graves at Pithekoussai led Dr Buchner in 1975 to suggest a direct correlation between the origin of the objects and the origin of their owners, namely that the jewellery represented native women living in Pithekoussai who had intermarried with the Greek settlers (Buchner 1975, 79; see also Buchner 1979). The argument runs along the following lines: 8th century graves at Pithekoussai contain various types of metal jewellery, all of which can be paralleled in contemporary graves in Etruria; fibulae are particularly prominent in the metal work assemblage and can be identified as Italian types, not Greek—these include the leech, navicella, serpentine and bone-and-amber types (see also Toms 1986, esp. 77–83); as a rule, these types are associated with female burials and can occur in multiple numbers, the one exception being the serpentine type which was usually found singly and on the chest of the deceased and accordingly is to be associated with male burials; since these fibulae types and other pieces of jewellery were in the main for women, they cannot have been made fashionable in Pithekoussan society by men and therefore must have been introduced by women; since the jewellery was Italian the women must have been too. In other words, fibulae and other metal ornaments are indicative of intermarriage on a wide scale between Greek settlers and native women, with the native ladies retaining their traditional dress types and accessories, even to the point where versions of native fibulae were produced for them on the spot.

This argument has been accepted and followed by a number of other scholars, most recently Coldstream who uses it as the basis for his exploration of the wider implications of intermarriage between Greeks and natives (Coldstream 1993; 1994, 53).⁸ Connections along "pots equal people" lines are highly problematic: much recent work on ethnicity indicates that artefacts are not necessarily ethnically specific and that areas such as ritual may be more revealing as indicators

⁷ Ridgway 1992, 93–5 with fig. 26 and pl. 9. For the debate on the origins of the bone-and-amber fibulae, see below.

⁸ See also Guzzo 1982, 60–61; Gallo 1983, 707; de la Genière 1983, 265–6. Cf. d'Agostino 1994, 25, n. 43 who expresses caution about the correlation.

of ethnic identity or affiliation.⁹ Accordingly great caution needs to be exercised in assuming an ethnic explanation for certain categories of objects which may just as well reflect some other situation such as trade and exchange.

In the case of Pithekoussai, additional features of the evidence may weigh in favour of an ethnic argument. We have, apparently, at Pithekoussai, not just the general case of native goods in a Greek context: these goods also have, it is argued, a gender association, namely that with the exception of one type of fibula, they are found with women. It is perhaps worth noting that this distinction was not made on the basis of skeletal evidence: soil conditions at Pithekoussai have badly affected the inhumed skeletons, resulting in relatively little material for osteological analysis, although recently Becker has studied the bone material from a number of the cremations (Becker 1995). Instead, sex distinction was made on the basis of the coincidence of fibulae types and other items of jewellery and assumptions of who wears what—a potentially circular argument, but one which seems to be internally consistent and which has since been largely confirmed by Becker in what little material he was able to analyse (Becker 1995, 276; Buchner and Ridway 1992, *passim*).¹⁰ The use of fibulae to determine sex derives from patterns observed at other Italian sites, and while it seems to have general application it should be noted that an increasing amount of evidence indicates that correlations between objects and the sex of the deceased do not always hold true and therefore should not be assumed, and, as Navarro points out, the use of objects may be culturally specific (Navarro 1992, esp. 73–76)—a particularly apposite warning in the case of Pithekoussai. The discrimination of male and female burials on the basis of patterns of fibula type and number at Pithekoussai is however plausible overall and as such a likely sex association gives Buchner's argument a very specific nature lacking in many archaeological contexts where

⁹ See, for example, Hall 1997.

¹⁰ Becker (1995) notes a high proportion of females amongst the skeletal evidence he analysed, and suggests this may provide evidence for intermarriage on the basis that native women could be readily supplied to the colony. However, this high proportion of women has been noted at other sites also where skeletal analysis has been undertaken and where such an explanation is less likely: see for example the Pantanello Necropolis at Metaponto (Carter 1990, 54) where females outnumber males by 2:1 in the late 5th and 4th centuries; a similar imbalance has been detected at Pontecagnano (Navarro 1992). The Pithekoussai results should perhaps be considered in the context of similar findings at other sites.

racial or ethnic differences are an issue. The other important feature of the Pithekoussai evidence may be the sheer number of fibulae and other native metalwork items found, far higher than that usually encountered at Greek sites.

This apparently concrete evidence for intermarriage between Greeks and natives has gained widespread acceptance. As put forward, Buchner's argument applies primarily to Pithekoussai, but, as he observes, these fibulae and other ornaments appear elsewhere, at Cumae just opposite Pithekoussai on the Italian mainland and at Syracuse in Sicily. Cumae is a difficult site to deal with due to the very poor nature of the early excavation reports, but the information provided by Syracuse is of better quality and so can be studied in some detail. Given the nature of the correlations made for Pithekoussai, the appearance of identical or similar fibulae and other metal ornaments at other Greek sites like Syracuse begs an obvious question: is the widespread practice of intermarriage which is apparently revealed at Pithekoussai by the funerary record true for other Greek sites also?

The Evidence from Syracuse

We have a few scraps of rather poor evidence for relations between Syracuse and the native population. The oft-repeated view that the newly-arrived Greeks expelled the Sikels by force from Ortygia, based on Thucydides (4. 3) and Orsi's early excavations (Orsi 1918), has come under some doubt in recent years with the discovery of a Siculan hut in use in the late 8th century (Wilson 1982, 87; *cf.* 1988, 111). In later times at least there existed a Syracusan slave class known as the Killyrioi, who revolted in 485 B.C. and which may have been of native origin: the Killyrioi are not ever identified as native, but it is not clear from what other source such a large labour force could have been derived. These snippets combined with evidence that Syracuse went to some effort to subjugate the hinterland around the city do not encourage the view that relations between Greeks and natives were particularly amicable. There is not much else, however, until we get to the metal work in the Archaic graves.

At Syracuse, fibulae appear in graves down to about 600 B.C., or perhaps shortly after (Hencken 1958, 265). So far, eighty fibulae have been reported from Syracuse, all amongst the 350-odd graves in the earlier parts of the Fusco necropolis excavated by Paolo Orsi,

and all but seven found in the area excavated by Orsi in 1895 (Orsi 1893 and 1895).¹¹ As at Pithekoussai, these graves are all of Greek type, fossae and monolithic sarcophagi. The fibula types at Syracuse (Fig. 1) all appear also at Pithekoussai. They include two examples of the bronze serpentine type with little knobs attached which occur at a number of other Sicilian and Italian sites, notably at the nearby site of Finocchito in use until *ca.* 650 B.C., where they were relatively common. At Pithekoussai, this type (with or without the knobs) is the one associated with male burials. It is not exactly clear from where they originated, but they are generally regarded as Italic, although Buchner has suggested they may be the products of Greeks in Italy influenced by local shapes (Hencken 1958, 270). The five little bronze animal fibulae may have a northern Italian origin, since they were a common type there in the 7th century and Hencken suggests that the Syracusans adopted the type from the mainland (Hencken 1958, 270). "Navicella" fibulae, covering variations with striations, protrusions, knobs or the solid "leech" shape, total 37 in number, including all seven fibulae reported from the 121 burials excavated by Orsi in 1893. In Orsi's 1895 sector, which in general appears earlier, the most common fibula is the bone-and-amber type, with 36 examples, generally in iron and appearing in two versions: one has pieces of amber inlaid into the bone segments strung on the bow; the other has an amber bead between two pieces of bone and it at least is the type now known to have been manufactured at Pithekoussai. Again, both appear elsewhere in Sicily, in particular at Finocchito.¹²

It may be worth digressing briefly to look at the history of study of these bone-and-amber types, especially in the light of the recent discovery of their manufacture at Pithekoussai, since it provides a good example of the reluctance discussed above of past scholars to give much credit to either indigenous or Greek populations in the West. The latter has certainly been favoured over the former, but archaeological interpretation has also given further priority to Greece and mainland Greeks to the detriment of the West in general, both

¹¹ The total of 80 refers to "native" types only and excludes the single example of a Greek ivory spectacle fibula (Blinkenberg XV 5i) found in Tomb 436 (Orsi 1895).

¹² See Albanese 1988-9, 357 n. 25 for a list of indigenous sites where the fibulae occur; they are also found at Monte Casaisa (Fouillard *et al.* 1994-95, 489).

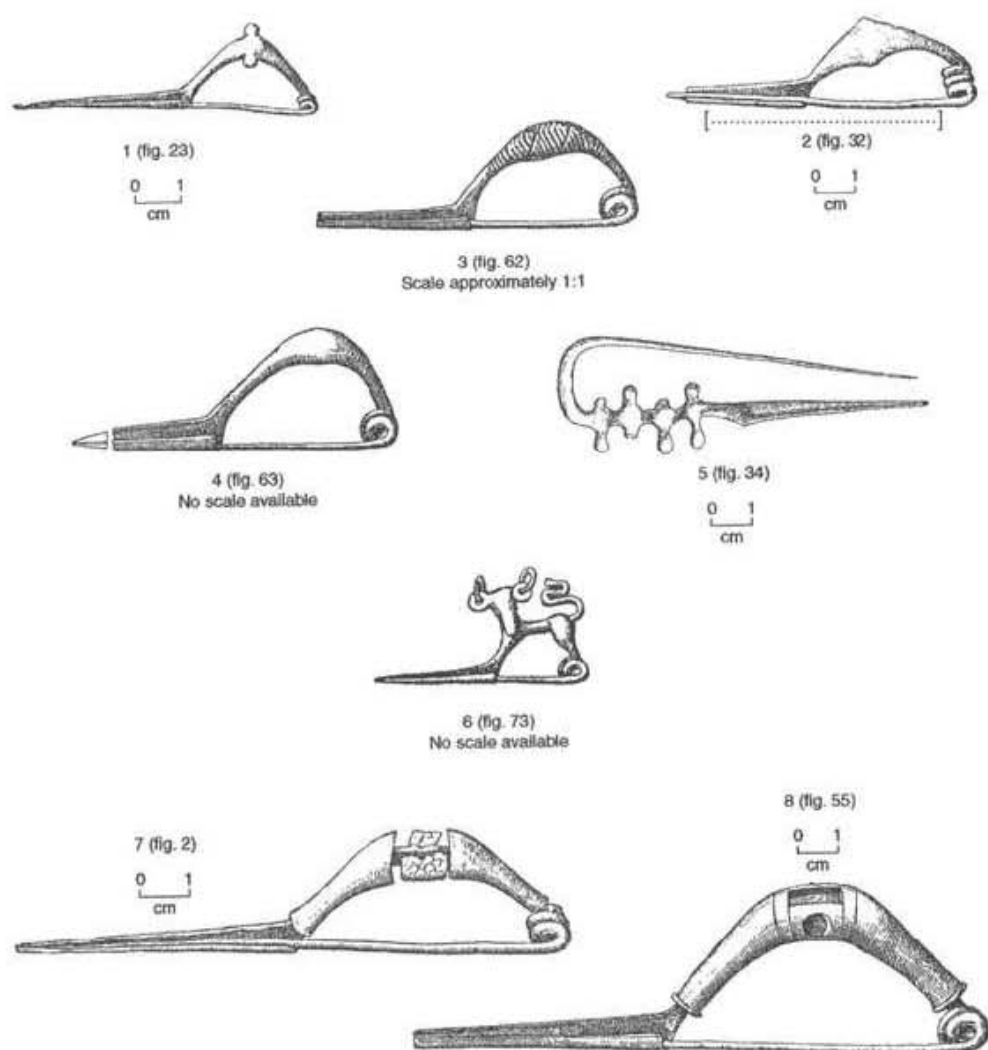


Fig. 1. Fibulae from Syracuse, after Orsi 1895, figs. 2, 23, 32, 34, 55, 62, 63 and 73. Nos. 1-3: navicella fibulae; no. 4: leech fibula; no. 5: serpentine fibula; no. 6: animal fibula; nos. 7-8: bone-and-amber fibulae.

natives and colonists. This is well illustrated by the case of the bone-and-amber fibulae, which have a long history of argument over their origin. Paolo Orsi, the excavator of Syracuse and a number of other Sicilian sites where they occur, thought that they were imports from Greece, possibly East Greece (Orsi 1895, 115 with n. 1; 1913, 200) but in 1896 Giovanni Patroni first suggested they were of local manufacture (Patroni 1896, 39ff). Blinkenberg classified them under his Italic types XI. 9 and 10, although the No. 9 variety does not occur at Syracuse, regarding the examples in Greece as imports from Italy for dedication, citing their findspots in sanctuaries and the lack of definitely Greek fibulae in Italy as evidence (Blinkenberg 1926, 26 with n. 1). Sundwall also regards them as Italic (Sundwall 1943, Type GI Bb). Between the 1930's and 1960's however, a number of claims that the fibulae were not Italian or Sicilian but Greek were made, mainly by British scholars associated with the Perachora excavations near Corinth.¹³

The main argument used for the Greek origin of the bone-and-amber fibulae was that of findspots. In the early 1930's Alan Blakeway argued that the occurrence in Greece of bone-and-amber and navicella fibulae indicated that they were neither Italian nor Sicilian but instead mainland Greek, citing the finds from Olympia, Artemis Orthia and Perachora as evidence. The concentration of finds around the Peloponnese led him to suggest a Peloponnesian, if not Corinthian origin, thereby perhaps tacitly emphasising the connection between Corinth and her colony Syracuse, where of course a number of such fibulae had been found (Blakeway 1932-33, 191 n. 2). Payne, in the first Perachora volume of 1940, took a similar line with respect to bone-and-amber, navicella and leech fibulae, again emphasising the quantity of fibulae found in Greece (Payne 1940, 170), although in fact at the time there was not much to choose between Greece and the West in terms of sheer numbers alone, as is clear from Stubbings' list of Italian and Sicilian findspots of bone-and-amber fibulae in *Perachora II* (Dunbabin 1962), which shows at least as many found in the West as in Greece. Payne added the supplementary argument that these fibulae also occurred frequently at Syracuse, "in contexts of a consistently Corinthian character" (*Perachora I*, 170)—scarcely surprising, given the dominance of Corinthian pottery in grave and

¹³ Payne 1940, 170 (Payne); Dunbabin 1962 (Stubbings), 439-41. See also Hencken 1958 and Benton 1953, 350-51.

sanctuary material at early colonial sites, and clearly not precluding manufacture elsewhere. He did not specifically account for the widespread occurrence of these fibula types at indigenous sites in the West, but presumably would have seen them as the result of Hellenisation.

It is not impossible that there may also have been an unstated reason in operation behind these assertions of the Greek origin of the fibulae: a reluctance to accept that Greeks would use native goods, be influenced by them, or acquire native attributes. Instead, the proponents of Greek origin may have been more interested in maintaining the sort of image of the "purity" of Greek culture in the colonies that Dunbabin was writing about at approximately the same time. This appears perhaps most clearly in Stubbings' full publication of the Perachora bone-and-amber fibulae in 1962 (Dunbabin 1962, 439-41), where a specific connection between the ornaments and ethnic identity is made: while allowing that "the idea of decorating fibulae with segments of bone and other materials is likely to have come from Italy, where it is far more widespread" (Dunbabin 1962, 439), she nevertheless argues that the fibulae were Greek because "the sites in Italy where they chiefly occur are those where Greek influence was strong" (Dunbabin 1962, 439); in particular, they were found at Megara Hyblaea and in quantity at Syracuse in association with Greek pottery where "the colonists seem to have made a point of differentiating themselves from the natives" (Dunbabin 1962, 439). Given the frequency of bone-and-amber fibulae at indigenous sites such as nearby Finocchito, if the type was a Greek attempt at self-differentiation, it will not have been very successful. Finocchito, however, is no doubt one of the sites described by Stubbings as coming under strong Greek influence—with its inhabitants presumably trying to be Freeman's artificial Greeks. We have then, in the Perachora publication, a rather odd situation where an artefact type admitted to be derived from Italian prototypes was nevertheless regarded purely as a sign of the assertion of Greek identity and presumably Hellenisation, and not as a sign of the reverse process.

The third option regarding the source of these fibulae does not ever seem to have been seriously considered or explored by the scholars arguing one way or the other: namely that the colonists themselves produced them, rather than simply acting as the middle men between natives and mainland Greeks, whatever the direction in which the fibulae moved. Hand in hand with the idea that Greeks anxiously kept themselves free of native paraphernalia seems to be

the underlying assumption that colonies were not capable of producing prestige goods which must therefore have been imported from Greece—an view perhaps generally based on parallels with the British Empire of the sort explicitly stated by Dunbabin in his introduction to *The Western Greeks* (1948, VII):

The economic life of the ancient colonies is also illuminated by modern examples. They were, like Australia until a few years ago, producers of raw materials, with a few staples on which they grew rich, and importers of manufactured goods. They brought most of their luxuries and objects of art from the mother country. In the period under study here, Corinth occupied the place as supplier of the rich western market and, we may believe, as chief port of consignment for corn and other exports, which Great Britain has held with the Dominions.

The strength of this assumption is again particularly obvious in Stubbings' study: she was impressed by the sheer number of bone-and-amber fibulae found in Greece, in particular the sixteen examples from Perachora, as an argument for mainland Greek production, but apparently did not regard the 31 examples from Syracuse as of any significance. Even before the discoveries of fibula manufacture at Pithekoussai, one might have thought that the glut of fibulae at Syracuse would have been deemed significant by those wishing to detach the fibulae from the natives by their own argument of numbers: the obvious resulting scenario would be Western Greek manufacture with the Western Greeks supplying fibulae to both Greece and native western sites. Such a conclusion might have been supported by the rarity of amber in Greece at this period¹⁴ and the distinction in findspots between Greece and the West: whereas the fibulae in the West occur in graves, and occasionally in sanctuaries, those in Greece all come from sanctuaries and votive deposits.¹⁵ The scattering of these fibulae over a wide area of mainland and island Greece implies a degree of significance attached to them as votives in part due to their value as imported items. They may have been deliberately purchased to serve as votives: certainly at some of these sanctuaries, for example that of Athena Lindia on Rhodes and Zeus Thaulios near Pherai in Thessaly, fibulae were a standard type of dedication. Graves, on the other hand, may be more likely to contain items in use during life, or locally available, or both (*cf.* Blinkenberg

¹⁴ I am grateful to Prof. Anthony Snodgrass for pointing this out to me.

¹⁵ At Syracuse, one example was found in the Athenaion (Orsi 1918, 592, fig. 18).

1926, 26 n. 1). In other words, if the bone-and-amber fibulae were made in Greece, they might have been expected to appear in contexts other than purely sanctuary deposits. Nevertheless, the Greek finds were still thought to be of more importance in the question of origin and the colonies seen as some sort of extension of Greece, incapable of producing their own luxury items but illustrating the trade and cultural connections between the colonies and Old Greece—and in particular between Syracuse and Corinth.

To return to Syracuse. So far, so good: the fibula types at Syracuse are either native or colonial versions of native types, as at Pithekoussai; as at Pithekoussai the fibulae are not as yet matched by anything in Euboea, so those at Syracuse are not paralleled in Corinthian graves, where fibulae are almost entirely unknown; and, as at Pithekoussai, there are other metal objects at Syracuse, including personal ornaments, which can be paralleled exactly at native sites in Sicily and Italy. Do we, then, have the same situation as has been proposed for Pithekoussai, namely a significant native presence via intermarriage which is revealed by the metal objects in graves?

A closer look at the evidence undermines such a conclusion. At Pithekoussai fibulae appeared to distinguish the sex of the deceased and the greater range of types for women was very significant for the argument. This gender distinction is rather harder to make at Syracuse, partly because there are only two examples of a type similar to the “male” serpentine type at Pithekoussai and because the cemetery was excavated long before the importance of retrieval and analysis of skeletal material was recognised. The low number of serpentine fibulae makes any conclusion about gender difficult, but for what it is worth it may be noted that the two that appear do so in more “female” contexts: one was in T. 308, on a skeleton that also had a bone-and-amber fibula, two “navicella” types and a pin; the other came from T. 326, where it was accompanied by a bronze “navicella” fibula and around fifty beads. The assemblage criteria for determining gender applied at Pithekoussai (Buchner and Ridgway 1992, *passim*) thus do not work in the same way at Syracuse, insofar as the very limited evidence can be helpful.

One important point can, however, be extracted from the Syracuse reports: the fibulae were more often buried with children rather than with adults. It is not always easy to distinguish adults and sub-adults in Orsi's reports, but in at least eleven of the thirty graves with fibulae the latter are in association with children and the number is

likely to be closer to twenty if other hints as to grave size or skeleton size are taken into account.¹⁶ The association is not exclusive, but the proportion of fibulae found in child graves is striking: in terms of numbers of fibulae, just over half (43) are with children by a conservative estimate, including Tomb 428 with its grand total of 26 fibulae, and perhaps up to 57 if other likely child graves are included. Even if Tomb 428 is removed from the calculations as an exceptional grave, there are still between 17 and 31 fibulae associated with children and 23 definitely with adults. Tomb 436 provides a good example of this tendency to bury fibulae with children: it was of a typically Greek type—a monolithic sarcophagus—dating to the second half of the seventh century and containing an adult and child. The adult was buried with a Greek ivory spectacle fibula and two iron pins, again very “Greek” in appearance, but the child had two bronze

¹⁶ Graves described as those of children in the Fusco Necropolis are: Tomb 175b (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 176 (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 267 (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 367 (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 400 (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 428 (10 bone-and-amber fibulae; 12 small “navicella” fibulae and 1 very small one (Orsi does not seem to include this one in his summary account); 3 “navicella” fibulae including one of the “leech” type); Tomb 436 (2 “navicella” fibulae); Tomb 440 (1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 441 (2 bone-and-amber fibulae; 2 animal fibulae); Tomb 463 (1 “navicella” fibula); Tomb 465 (two children with fibulae, one with 2 bone-and-amber fibulae, the other with 2 small “navicella” fibulae). Other graves which are likely to belong to sub-adults include: Tomb 158 (two “scheletri giovanili” with 1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 206 (“piccolissimo” sarcophagus with 1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 294 (small superficial fossa with 1 bronze fibula); Tomb 308 (small fossa with two children, one with 1 bone-and-amber fibula, the other with 1 serpentine fibula, 1 small bone-and-amber fibula and 2 “navicella” fibulae); Tomb 326 (fossetta, not deeper than 30 cm, with 1 “navicella” and 1 serpentine fibula); Tomb 407 (small monolithic sarcophagus with a “scheletrino” and burnt juvenile bone containing the fragments of 1 bone-and-amber fibula). It may also be possible to add Tomb 402 (sarcophagus with two skeletons and 1 bone-and-amber fibula) and Tomb 486 (disturbed sarcophagus with 2 “navicella” fibulae) on the basis that both sarcophagi are described as small, with no further detail. Presumable adult graves are: Tomb 129 (sarcophagus with 7 “navicella” fibulae); Tomb 205 (sarcophagus with 1 fragmentary animal fibula); Tomb 266 (shallow disturbed fossa with 1 “navicella” fibula); Tomb 276 (sarcophagus with 2 bone-and-amber fibulae); Tomb 309 (fossa with 1 bone-and-amber fibula, later reused); Tomb 358 (sarcophagus with two skeletons and 2 bone-and-amber fibulae); Tomb 412 (large sarcophagus with 1 “navicella” and 1 bone-and-amber fibula); Tomb 421 (2 skeletons with 2 animal and 2 bone-and-amber fibulae); Tomb 433 (disturbed sarcophagus with 1 bone-and-amber fibula); and Tomb 471 (sarcophagus with external skeleton with 1 bone-and-amber fibula). Tomb 165 was a sarcophagus containing a “family” of two adults and a baby, with two children deposited on the cover. A small “navicella” fibula was found near the skull of one of the adults. All graves are described in Orsi 1895 with the exception of Tomb 129 which is in Orsi 1893.

"navicella" fibulae of native type. It is not impossible that in these child graves we have instances of native mothers adorning their children with the jewellery familiar to them, but as evidence for inter-marriage it is far less direct, putting the fibulae at one step removed from their supposed initiators—who in a number of cases appear to have used the Greek pin, far more common in the Fusco Necropolis.¹⁷

This significant association of fibulae with children should also, I suggest, be considered in combination with another question, namely the function of these objects in the graves at Syracuse. One feature which was clearly of importance at Pithekoussai in the interpretation of the fibulae was their perceived functional use as an item of dress, and the fibulae there are often described as positioned at the shoulders of the deceased and occur with some regularity in pairs, as would be consonant with use as dress fasteners. Obviously, these objects were utilitarian as well as decorative in nature and had their use in the everyday life of their owners. When they appear in the graves at Syracuse, however, their role looks rather different, and not simply one of a functional dress item. Instead, they appear in many cases to operate more as a generic grave offering rather than as strictly part of the dress of the deceased, simply because they are not likely to have been used in real life in the manner in which we see them in the graves. This is not only because they tend to appear in the otherwise fairly unlikely contexts of child graves, but also because of the numbers in which they occur and their association with other comparable items. It is difficult to find an unambiguous case of a pair of fibulae (or more) with an adult skeleton which might lend itself to a straightforward ethnic interpretation. Of the thirty graves with fibulae, eighteen had only a single fibula and perhaps twelve of these were child graves. A fibula might have conveniently fastened a shroud, but the extent to which it formed part of an indigenous dress tradition in daily life is less clear. The bone-and-amber fibulae in particular can be of considerable size (up to approximately 13 cm in length) and very bulky—it is hard to believe, for example, that the small child of Tomb 206 ever actually wore the 13 cm long lump of iron buried with it.

Perhaps, however, that child's mother did. One is hard pushed, however, to find graves that might indicate that she and other mothers

¹⁷ Cf. Jacobsthal 1956, 25: "The necropoli del Fusco at Syracuse yielded more pins than any other Greek necropolis".

did so specifically because it was part of their traditional dress. Of the clearly adult graves, the best examples are Tomb 129 (Orsi 1893), a 7th century monolithic sarcophagus with a skeleton with six small "navicella" fibulae and one large one 12 cm in length as well as four thin silver rings and Tomb 412, also a 7th century sarcophagus with one "navicella" fibula and one bone-and-amber fibula. Otherwise, cases are less clear cut, for reasons such as grave disturbance (Tomb 266, Orsi 1895), or single fibulae and uncertain skeleton association (Tombs 165, 266, 309, 358, 402, 433, 471, all Orsi 1895). A number of otherwise promising graves are confused by the presence of the Greek equivalent to the fibula, the pin. This is the case for Tomb 165, where the association of the fibula with one of the adults rather than the child is not entirely clear, but where the iron pin was found on the chest of one adult; Tomb 205, where the internal skeleton had an animal fibula and eight silver rings on the chest, but bronze pins at the shoulders; Tomb 276 had a skeleton with two iron pins and two bone-and-amber fibulae near the skull; and in Tomb 421 both skeletons had pairs of fibulae, but the skull at the west end also had a pair of bronze pins. Pins also occurred with fibulae in Tomb 428 (child), Tomb 436 (child with fibulae, adult with pins) and the likely child grave Tomb 308 (Orsi 1895).

All this seems to indicate that at Syracuse fibulae were interchangeable with pins and for burial were often used singly, perhaps as shroud fasteners, and as valuable grave offerings, particularly for children. This is further supported by the fact that they can occur in very high numbers in individual graves, not just the one or two actually necessary to hold a garment together. The obvious example here of course is Tomb 428, the monolithic sarcophagus containing a child bristling not only with the 26 fibulae of various types, but also four pins of Greek type (Orsi 1895). The seven fibulae and four rings in Tomb 129 look more like the total contents of a jewellery box emptied into the grave than an accurate reflection of everyday dress, as do the four fibulae and two spiral silver rings in the child grave Tomb 441. One of the skeletons in Tomb 308 also had an excessive number of dress fasteners with four fibulae and a pin, as did the occupant of Tomb 276 (two fibulae and two pins, as well as a silver spiral) and Tomb 441 (a child with four fibulae). It is true that large quantities of metal personal ornaments tend to be a feature of indigenous graves rather than Greek, but these graves may equally well be viewed in the context of other graves with rich goods at Syracuse.

In other words, what seems to have happened here is that the fibulae have all but lost their original and simple function of dress accessories and instead taken on the role of valuable grave offering as their prominent function, which conceivably any piece of metal or exotic item might fulfill. Thus they could be used in lieu of some other expensive object, as for example the bronze horse figurine in an Early Protocorinthian child grave in the Fusco cemetery (Museo Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, inv. no. 6279) without there necessarily being too much consideration for the literal appropriateness of the offering for the deceased—as in the case of Tomb 261, a Protocorinthian grave where a child was buried with a full size iron axe (Orsi 1895).

The fibulae could, then, be interpreted simply as a type of prestige item which may well have been worn in life but which also made a convenient grave offering and which happened to be readily available, perhaps from native sources (ultimately Italy perhaps, given Sicily's lack of mineral resources) or even Pithekoussai. It was not, after all, unknown in the Greek world for children to receive rich burials, often richer than those of their adult counterparts and in the West there are plenty of examples, with or without fibulae. Whatever other reasons for this there might have been—compensation for lack of life, for example—a child's burial could also make a good vehicle for indulgence in conspicuous consumption, where parental prestige was at stake and the value rather than the form of the offering became more significant. While the fibulae and other metal objects no doubt ultimately derived directly or indirectly from the native population there is little reason to interpret them as ethnically distinguishing when they appear in graves at Syracuse. Their use here is more ambiguous and complicated than the hypothetical situation of the regular occurrence of adult women buried with one or more fibulae placed as if they might have been worn at burial. The latter scenario is perhaps more easily interpreted as ethnically significant, but again it does not have to be and it may be safer to leave it as an open question. It is worth pointing out at this juncture that from the grave evidence pins were just as popular, if not more so, from the beginning at Syracuse (approximately 126 come from the Archaic cemeteries), and from the early 6th century at least onwards constituted, along with iron nails, the most common metal grave goods. The distribution of fibulae, on the other hand, is narrowed considerably when the fact is taken into account that a single grave, Tomb 428 (Orsi 1895), supplied 26 examples, a third of the total of eighty

found in the Fusco cemetery. By analogy with the fibula argument, the Greek pins should represent Greek women. That this again is not necessarily so is underlined by the fact that pins and fibulae can occur together in the same grave, as in Tomb 436 (Orsi 1895). Perhaps these women, whatever their origins, were simply not too fussy and pins and fibulae were equally acceptable, the choice depending on personal preference and availability—one must, after all, have something to pin one's dress together.

A third factor may be brought in. The interpretation of fibulae and other metal personal ornaments as indicating the presence of natives at a Greek site does not take into account what was stressed so much by earlier scholars, at least in the case of the bone-and-amber fibulae: their appearance in Greece. This applies primarily to the bone-and-amber fibulae, which are most frequent, but is true for the other types as well. In Greece the fibulae are found not in graves but in sanctuaries, at Olympia in particular but at a range of other sites as well, even as far as Rhodes (Blinkenberg 1926, 197ff; Blinkenberg 1931, 86, Nos. 103–5; Payne 1940, 170). Unsurprisingly, they appear in fairly small numbers, with the sixteen bone-and-amber examples at Perachora being the greatest concentration. It is hard to see what the interest of native Italians and Sicilians in Greek sanctuaries could have been in the 8th and 7th centuries and so we can probably rule them out as the dedicators. We are left, however, with a range of other possible candidates: Western Greeks, Greeks, or perhaps some other group of traders like the Phoenicians, who may have picked up these items on their way through Sicily or Italy and deposited them as sporadic dedications at their next destination. Again, then, we seem to have a situation where the use of these items is not ethnically significant, but one where they function as convenient, easily transportable offerings. They were also obviously particularly appropriate at certain sites: as mentioned above, the examples of the bone-and-amber types which were found at the sanctuaries of Zeus Thaulios at Pherai in Thessaly and Athena Lindia at Lindos on Rhodes occurred amongst the hundreds of fibulae of varying origin which were clearly a standard type of votive at these sites.

These sanctuary dedications do not, of course, preclude the use of the fibulae and other ornaments by native wives back in the Greek colonies as part of their native dress as well. We may have a simple situation of men dipping into their wives' jewellery boxes or acquiring the objects made current by them in Greek settlements.

But at the very least they do indicate a more complicated situation than the simple case of native women using and being buried with their traditional ornaments and thus allowing themselves to be distinguished archaeologically: they point in the direction that these items could be very readily used by people other than Sicilians or Italians, or indeed women, albeit in a rather different manner. This perhaps comes out most clearly in the context of their appearance at Olympia, where a range of native fibula types, including the bone-and-amber ones, occurs with a variety of other Sicilian and/or Italian goods, all of which can be paralleled at both Greek and native sites in the West. These dedications form the highest proportion of non-Greek objects among the 8th and 7th century dedications at Olympia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985), and the sheer quantity of material combined with the fact that Olympia is not an obvious stopping-off point for traders and the known later enthusiasm of the Western Greeks for dedicating at Olympia (notably the treasuries) make the latter group the most likely donors. The objects are not confined to personal ornaments: they include also two bronze bowls of a type common in Etruria but also found in the necropoleis of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea; helmets; shield fragments; horse gear; and four spearheads of a common Sicilian type, of which another example was found in the Athenaion at Syracuse, which, it has been suggested, may derive from a Syracusan victory over the Sikels (Snodgrass 1964, 129)—an explanation which may also apply to other goods. What we have at Olympia is not just a small selection of items restricted to the personal use of Sicilian or Italian females, but a much wider range including some particularly “male” items and presumably in general dedicated by men.

All this, then, indicates that the Western Greeks both acquired and used indigenous metal work—and possibly just that. This material clearly does not preclude an indigenous element at Syracuse or other Western settlements, but it does not demand it either. We have lost the specific correlation between a relatively narrow and homogenous group of artefacts on the one hand and a particular group of people on the other which was the main strength of the argument concerning the ethnic identity of some of the residents of Pithekoussai. It is still possible, if we widen the scope of the Pithekoussai scenario somewhat, that native wives initially introduced items like fibulae into Greek settlements where they then gained a wider currency and became commonplace alongside other ornaments like pins. It seems

equally possible, however, that what we are seeing is simply the Greeks taking advantage of the longstanding skill in metalworking of the indigenous population, acquiring objects and being influenced by the types and design, much as the natives acquired, and were influenced by, Greek painted pottery. It does not necessarily follow that we can infer the presence of indigenous women in the Greek settlements as a result of intermarriage, however attractive that conclusion may be.

The Evidence from other Sicilian Sites

In our current state of knowledge, Syracuse stands out from other Sicilian colonies in the amount of native metal work it has yielded, at least as far as fibulae are concerned. Two other important Sicilian colonies whose Archaic necropoleis have received substantial publication, Megara Hyblaea and Gela, have provided less in the way of any indication of a native element in their populations through the grave goods.¹⁸

Megara Hyblaea in many ways provides something of a contrast to Syracuse. There is no evidence that there was ever a Sikel settlement on the site prior to the arrival of the Megarians, so possible expulsion of Sikels is not a consideration; on the contrary, Thucydides (4. 4) tells the story that the site was given to the wandering Megarians by the Sikel king Hyblon, an arrangement which, it has been suggested, may have been the result of collusion between the Sikels and the Megarians to the benefit of both in maintaining their position with respect to the nearby Syracuse (Graham 1988). Thucydides' account sounds as if it would make Megara Hyblaea a good candidate for intermarriage; even if it is not accepted in all its details, the existence of it may be enough to indicate that good relations existed between Greeks and natives, potentially conducive to intermarriage if it was desired.

Unfortunately, the artefactual evidence is less encouraging: as far as the all important fibulae go, we have relatively few (only 20) from

¹⁸ I cover here the grave goods only. For a discussion of the limited evidence for native burial methods in Greek colonies (in particular acephalos and contracted burials), see my paper "Dead Men Tell No Tales" in G.R. Tsetschladze and C.A. Morgan (eds.), *Art and Myth in the Colonial World* (forthcoming).

the burials at Megara Hyblaea, bearing in mind of course the caveat that not all the graves have as yet been fully published, and another two from the area of "Tempio B" (Orsi 1922). Approximately 1000 graves were excavated by Orsi, but of these only 324 (numbered 1-312) in the West Necropolis have been published in any detail (Orsi and Cavallari 1889-92) and no fibulae are reported. By contrast, pins are abundant (156 reported so far from the cemeteries generally), and are generally found in pairs in monolithic sarcophagi and are frequently described as positioned at the shoulders of the deceased, thereby more clearly functioning as dress items as well as grave offerings. Some, however, look more like elaborate vehicles for wealth disposal, as for example the silver pair from the wealthy seventh century Tomb 21 of the West Necropolis: at 17 cm in length and of bulky proportions, they were not made for convenience or comfort. This looks more like Greek women than native, but the use of pins and the absence of fibulae is no more an argument against intermarriage than the presence of fibulae is for it, especially since many of the pins must belong to the 6th century, by which time any ethnic distinctions may have become blurred. The summary account of a further 344 numbered graves (some with multiple interments) in the Vinci and Schermi properties in the West Necropolis reported three fibulae from graves 639, 661 and 60.V (Orsi and Caruso 1892, 127, 173, 213). In addition to a bronze fibula, two bronze pins were also found in Tomb 661, in the shoulder area of the skeleton, and the cremation in Tomb 60.V was identified by Orsi as that of a child, deposited with a 5 cm wide bronze disc as well as a bronze fibula "a fettuccia".

In his 1913 essay on fibulae in Sicily Orsi listed a further seventeen fibulae derived from nine otherwise entirely unpublished graves in the West Necropolis and noted generally for his 1000-odd Megara Hyblaeian graves the scarcity of fibulae in comparison to the unusual frequency of pins and the tendency for fibulae to be found with children and babies, with only exceptional association with adults—the unpublished Tomb 321 being, in his view, the only secure example of an adult wearing fibulae (Orsi 1913, 193, 197), these being of unusual type (Sundwall 1946 Type GIII β a 37: perhaps of local manufacture). Again, then, we seem to have a situation in which fibulae occur to a large extent in wealthy child graves, the connection being if anything stronger here (Orsi 1913, 198-99): Tomb 499, described as containing Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases, also

had two child skeletons adorned with silver rings, a gold star and button and two little bronze animal fibulae; another wealthy grave, Tomb 501, which Orsi regarded as possibly the richest of the whole necropolis, contained the skeletons of three children, "letteralmente coperti di argenterie" (Orsi 1913, 195) and a high number of fibulae: two little horse fibulae, two "navicella" types and fragments of perhaps half-a-dozen bone-and-amber fibulae (Orsi 1913, 195, figs. 4a, 4b, 5a). A case somewhat analogous to Tomb 206 at Syracuse mentioned above is that of Tomb 461, a small sarcophagus with an infantile skeleton accompanied by silver rings and a bone-and-amber fibula of the trapezoidal type. At 12 cm long, the fibula was, in Orsi's words, "straordinariamente grande in rapporto al corpo minuscolo" (Orsi 1913, 194).¹⁹

The South Necropolis, which seems to contain the earliest graves where we might expect to see intermarriage most clearly, appears to be relatively poor in metalwork as reported thus far, although it awaits full publication (Gras 1975; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1975; 1976-77). Only two fibulae have been reported so far, from C156 and C253, both of the 7th century (Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1976-77). While evidence for the circumstances of foundation of Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse should not be pushed too far and good and bad relations with the indigenous population do not necessarily facilitate or preclude intermarriage, the contrast between the two sites cannot help but be noticed and may serve to illustrate further the ambiguity of the evidence: we have on the one hand a settlement which, from the historical evidence, arguably had good relations with natives, but which shows very little indication of that relationship archaeologically; and on the other, a settlement which appears to have had a

¹⁹ The other unpublished graves with fibulae at Megara Hyblaea described by Orsi are: Tomb 574, a sarcophagus with two skeletons described as "giovani" and "adorni di piccole argenterie", also accompanied by Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery and "una fibuletta in br. ad arco ingrossat"; Tomb 609, a small sarcophagus with 4 children, Corinthian pottery, a silver earring and two small bronze fibulae "con arco a fettuccia"; Tomb 610, similar to Tomb 609 with two skeletons, Corinthian vases, two bronze pins and a little fibula "coll'arco quasi triangolare, a fettuccia elittica"; Tomb 613, another sarcophagus with a single skeleton, silver rings, 3 Corinthian bombylioi and two fibulae similar to that in Tomb 610; Tomb 819, a small sarcophagus with the cremated bone of an apparently young individual with a fibula "quasi la forma ad arco di violino" and a bronze "scudetto" (Orsi 1913, 195-96, figs. 5b, 6, 10). From Orsi's chronological assessments the unpublished graves seem to date to the 7th century, especially the later part, or possibly the beginning of the 6th (Tomb 501).

fairly hostile relationship with the Sikels, yet has a relatively large amount of the type of evidence which elsewhere has been taken to show a very close degree of interaction between Greeks and natives, namely intermarriage.

Gela is another early Greek site where the graves are reasonably well known. They contain overall less in the way of metal goods than either Megara Hyblaea or Syracuse, and the range of types is narrower also. Pins are more common than fibulae and only three fibulae of native type have been reported so far, two from the Borgo Necropolis (one "ad arco semplice" [Tomb 476] and one of the bone-and-amber types in Tomb 60) and one from La Paglia Necropolis (Tomb 10, "ad arco semplice"). They were found in child graves, and at Gela as elsewhere, child graves can be relatively wealthy: here they account for slightly over a quarter of all the graves containing metal in the Archaic Borgo Necropolis, where the wealthiest burial appears to be Tomb 60, containing other metal offerings accompanying four children in a monolithic sarcophagus. Gela, like Syracuse, seems to have had a prickly relationship with the native population, which may not have promoted intermarriage; on the other hand, Greeks and natives may have shared nearby sites like Butera; Greek-style pins outnumber fibulae and are also found in adult graves, but then the overall rate of metal deposition seems relatively low and this may in part account for the lack of fibulae. As for Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions regarding the nature of the population at Gela, where the artefactual evidence is at best not much more than negative. What went in the graves is not necessarily a direct reflection of what went on above ground.

In Sicily, then, the correlation between fibulae and native women does not appear to be a very useful tool for detecting intermarriage between Greeks and natives at Greek sites, and thus the Pithekoussai scenario may not have universal application. The fibulae do not seem to work in the same way at Sicilian sites, since in graves they do not seem reserved for the dress of adult women; they do not appear in any quantity where we might be entitled to look for them first; and their distribution outside Sicily and Italy with other goods of native origin implies a range of users not confined to indigenous women in Greek settlements alone. In our current state of knowledge, they cannot be taken to be ethnically specific or distinguishing: the artefactual evidence does not permit us to infer a relationship

any closer than simply one of exchange and stylistic influence between Greeks and natives. Outside Pithekoussai at least, there was no requirement to be native to use native goods, just as there was none to be Greek in order to use Greek goods.

Revisiting Pithekoussai

At this point, it may be worth going back to Pithekoussai for a closer look. The correlation there between object, gender and ethnicity does not preclude Greek women making do with what they could get locally and deciding they liked it. The manufacture of native-influenced fibulae if anything perhaps favours a wider market for these objects: the streetwise traders and metalworkers at Pithekoussai may have spotted a gap in the market—and perhaps a new market—and filled it. Certainly the bone-and-amber fibulae seem to have had healthy sales in Sicily. Native fibulae were by no means associated exclusively with female graves: the serpentine type, generally found singly, has been connected with male burials. Buchner took the greater variety of fibulae and other metal ornaments in women's graves to show that these native objects must have been not only initiated by the women at Pithekoussai but traditional for them as well. What are we to make of the men wearing fibulae? I do not believe it has ever been suggested that these were native men, despite the application of fibula sex-distinction criteria drawn from Italian sites. Are these the off-spring of a mixed society? Or do we have a case of indigenous wives organising their Greek husbands' wardrobes? If the latter, the serpentine fibulae would appear to show that Greek men were quite happy to wear ornaments of native origin, indicating that such objects could spread outside the particular ethnic group from which they derived and again casting doubt on the simple correlation between the objects and the origins of their wearers. It may be possible that some types were thought to be more suitable for men than women amongst Greeks as well as natives and jewellery was mainly a female attribute in the Greek world: perhaps the explanation of gender is sufficient here, without having to impose an ethnic one as well.

Despite the impression from some discussions of the fibulae that they occur more or less exclusively in adult (female) graves (although cf. Buchner 1982, 281), of the 592 graves of relevant date recently

published in *Pithekoussai I*, nearly half of those containing fibulae are child graves (Buchner and Ridgway 1992).²⁰ This significant degree of association between children and fibulae is nicely illustrated by the example of Tomb 655, a Late Geometric fossa. It contained two burials and two fibulae, but the fibulae were associated with the three-year old toddler rather than the 24 year old adult. More than two fibulae in these child graves is not uncommon, but they can also occur in suspiciously high numbers, as for example Tomb 355 which had a six-month old baby accompanied by eleven fibulae of native type and two of Anatolian, or Tomb 652, a Late Geometric fossa in which another baby pricked with 22 fibulae. In these sorts of quantities, the fibulae again look more like funeral tokens than straightforward dress items, much as they did at Syracuse. Again too, the fibulae may well have originally been worn by the native mothers of these children, but that is not how we see them in a very considerable proportion of the graves: instead, they look more like some sort of expensive funerary confetti appropriate for children, much as the scarabs and other related objects do. These last appear primarily in the graves of children and babies and have been identified as imports of Egyptian manufacture or of the Perachora-Lindos type and, in the case of scaraboid seals, examples of the Lyre Player Group from North Syria or Cilicia (Buchner and Ridgway 1992, Appendix I; Ridgway 1992, 65–7). The very high coincidence of these scarab type objects and “native” fibulae in the graves of children is worth noting here, and further testifies not only to a possible differentiation in approaches to child grave goods as opposed to adult, but also to the wide variation in the origins of goods at Pithekoussai and the difficulty of rendering them ethnically distinguishing in specific cases.

These Pithekoussan children and babies with fibulae are almost always described in the report as female on the basis of the grave assemblage. Given that the fibulae can occur in unrealistically high

²⁰ Approximately 82 graves with fibulae appear to belong to sub-adults. There must be some leeway in both directions with this figure, since not all grave occupants are assigned ages and some come under the ambiguous heading of “adolescent”. The fact that these are all inhumations may be significant: they are generally fairly wealthy (sometimes very wealthy), so cost does not necessarily account for the use of inhumation, but age might since cremation seems to have been reserved primarily for well-to-do adults at Pithekoussai (Ridgway 1992, 46–52).

numbers and were not necessarily ever worn by children anyway—especially not the very young ones—it is pertinent to ask whether an adult sex distinction should be applied to the child graves at all. Such distinctions may not have operated in the case of young children where fibulae and other jewellery items were simply fulfilling the role of a valuable grave offering. As in many societies, children may have been only weakly gendered.

The pattern at Pithekoussai is in fact rather similar to that at Syracuse. Fibulae frequently occur with children, at times in large quantities, and may be better read as convenient and reasonably expensive offerings rather than as ethnic or even, in the case of the child graves, gender determinants. There is, however, one feature of the Pithekoussan fibulae which does not look like Syracuse: the sheer quantity. The 592 graves of relevant date at Pithekoussai yielded around 524 fibulae from 192 graves, whereas 350-odd graves at Syracuse produced only 80 fibulae, a third of which are accounted for by the 26 examples in Tomb 428. There is a significant imbalance in quantities here: if the fibula is an index of intermarriage then at Syracuse either it was not very widespread or a lot of native wives were buried without their traditional accessories. For Pithekoussai, on the other hand, an ethnic argument could conceivably be drawn from the evidence of numbers along the following lines: such a great influx of material of indigenous origin or derivation into a Greek settlement is not explicable only in terms of interaction with natives along channels of trade and influence; some other factor must have been in operation as well to produce this pattern in the archaeological record and widespread intermarriage would provide such conditions; quantities of metal work in graves are common at native sites; this is supported by the contrast in numbers at Syracuse, where intermarriage was limited or where the fibulae may simply represent the backwash of indigenous fibulae as they enter into circulation at Greek sites.

At present, Pithekoussai does indeed seem to be somewhat out on an archaeological limb as far as Western Greek settlements go in terms of the metal work in its graves at least. There are clearly, however, other possible factors which could account for the Pithekoussai assemblage. One is possible differences in the funerary rituals and degrees of peer competition and conspicuous consumption prevailing at different sites which could result in a higher rate of disposal of valuables at one site and a greater rate of retention at another.

Chronology may also play a part, since the Pithekoussai graves are slightly earlier and belong to a period when Greeks tended to put more metalwork in graves. Another explanation is the aims and priorities of the settlement at Pithekoussai and its inhabitants: whatever else went on at Pithekoussai, the acquisition, processing and no doubt passing on of metals must have been a prime *raison d'être* of the settlement, as indicated by the finds of the Mezzavia industrial quarter, including slag from ore originating from Elba (Ridgway 1992, 91–100). The metal-rich graves, then, may simply be a reflection of the preoccupations of Pithekoussan society rather than anything more subtly revealing.

Conclusions

If intermarriage did exist as a widespread phenomenon in 8th and 7th century Italy and Sicily, it remains obscured in both the archaeological and the textual record. This would not necessarily be surprising: the experiences of women do not play a large part in texts and native women with Greek husbands in Greek settlements may well have been subsumed into an overall Greek culture, in death as well as life. We should not, however, assume that the same situation prevailed at all colonies: just as the circumstances regarding the foundation of the colony and the origins of the colonists at any one settlement may have varied, so too perhaps could the source of their women. Some colonising expeditions may have relied heavily on native wives, others less so. We are, in addition, largely ignorant of the extent to which the growth of a colonial population was fuelled by intermarriage or by later arrivals of parties from Greece which may have included women, perhaps in contrast to the original group. When we try to detect native women archaeologically, problems arise due to the ambiguity of the evidence provided by fibulae and other items of jewellery. This does not, of course, preclude the introduction and initial use of such items by native women, even if their later use was more varied. But by the time we see the objects in graves, their use does not appear necessarily ethnically distinguishing and we are not entitled to interpret them as such, even to the point of extrapolating them back to hypothetical original native wives. Both the older and newer assessments of the fibulae are reluctant to allow that Greeks could of their own accord adopt native attributes:

if the fibulae are not Greek, then they must have been worn by natives. The complexity of use of the fibulae indicates that they could indeed cross the Greek—native boundary. There is, then, one point of considerable significance to be derived from the appearance of fibulae and other native personal ornaments in graves at Greek sites: this is the long-delayed recognition that influence between the two groups did not flow in one direction only.

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12. HELLENISATION IN IBERIA?: THE RECEPTION OF GREEK PRODUCTS AND INFLUENCES BY THE IBERIANS

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Eran los elegantes de Sagunto, jóvenes ricos que imitaban las modas de la aristocracia de Atenas, exageradas por la distancia y la falta de gusto. Acteón también rió con su fina sonrisa de ateniense al apreciar la torpeza con que aquellos jóvenes copiaban a sus lejanos modelos.

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, *Sónica la Cortesana* (1901).

1. *Introduction*

In recent scholarly literature we read, perhaps too often, words such as 'Hellenisation', which can be interpreted in many different ways, according to the user and the message he wants to convey. The problem is not new. And it continues being a classic on Hellenisation Gallini's work (1973, 175–191). I shall not deal here with a conceptual analysis of this word, nor even make an exhaustive review of all the elements susceptible to being interpreted from the point of view of Hellenisation within Iberia; on the contrary, my main purpose is to put forward some data related to how Hellenic influences penetrated the Peninsula.

In the first place, I must mention some basic questions. Greek presence in Iberia can be traced perhaps from the second half of the 7th century B.C. in the Atlantic regions, especially in the Huelva area, which is undoubtedly related to the Tartessian world. At more or less the same time, or a little later, this Greek presence could be observed in competition with other elements (Etruscans, Phoenicians) in the north-eastern regions of Iberia. In about 600 B.C. the Greek city of Emporion was founded, on the then island of San Martín de Ampurias. From the last third of the 6th century B.C. Greek presence in Huelva seems to diminish, while it increased in south-eastern Iberia. This situation continued through a good part of the 5th century B.C., after the transformation of Ampurias in the

true centre of the Iberian Greeks. From the 4th century B.C. their presence was diluted within a rapidly changing world in which other peoples, mainly the Punics, began to reinforce their presence (Domínguez 1991, 109–161; 1996).

2. Main Cultural Manifestations of Hellenic Influence in Iberia

Throughout more than two centuries of Greek presence and trade in Iberia, Hellenic cultural influences can be seen in a great variety of contexts. In the next pages I shall analyse some displays of art and craftsmanship of native Iberians in which some Hellenic influences can be observed. I shall also attempt to show which of these influences have been manifested and how they have emerged.

2.1. Sculpture

There is no doubt that sculpture is one of the most remarkable features of Iberian culture. Its beginnings perhaps lay in the late 6th century B.C., with clearly Orientalising prototypes (the case of Pozo Moro continues being remarkable) (Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 177–193); from as early as the 5th century B.C. it began to assume features showing a change of orientation, on that occasion towards Hellenic models.

In relation to this, I would like to clarify some points. In some recent literature, Phocaeans have been made responsible for the introduction of sculpture into Iberian culture (Blázquez and González 1985, 61–69; 1988, 1–14), provoking some reactions, in part justified and, in part, overdone. Among the latter, I will quote W. Trillmich's conclusions:

it is necessary to acknowledge that Iberian sculpture is sculpture of the Iberians, who adopted from the Greeks, and others, what they wanted and when they felt like it, maintaining their cultural, ideological, and artistic independence, just as they maintained their political independence in the so-called Phocaean colonisation of Spain (1990, 611).

These conclusions are the result of the analysis of three cases: Pozo Moro, Obulco (Porcuna) and Baza. Trillmich's arguments, also partially accepted by Niemeyer (1988–90, 260–306; 1990, 29–53), tend towards accepting that Iberian sculptors adopted elements from the Greek repertory, but adapted them to their own needs.

Let us see the description of the fight between a lion (or a griffin) and a snake in a sculpture from Obulco as given by Trillmich himself (Fig. 1):

the palmette and volute ornament beneath the lion's paws may have been inspired by Greek architectural decorations. At the same time, such Greek parallels clearly demonstrate that the Obulco palmette cannot be the work of a Greek sculptor. A closer look reveals that the model—if there was one—has been transformed into an almost living element which participates in the fighting scene. The tail of the snake divides the palmette in two halves, and where the snake's body glides over it the volute is impressed by its weight like a pillow (1990, 609 and pl. 62.4).

I shall use this clever description in my argument. In the first place, it should be stressed that there is a sense of movement in this piece from Porcuna, as well as in others of the set; it depicts a violent movement, practically in a spiral, especially remarkable in a free-standing statue. This vital, baroque composition shows a strong contrast with the marked hieratism of heraldic lions such as those from the Pozo Moro monument.

Secondly, it seems clear that the artist who elaborated this sculpture, not only knew a repertory of Greek motifs (volute, palmettes, and even lions or griffins) very well, but was also able to modify them and, far from having the stiffness of a novice, he knew how to re-interpret them, creating a series of lights and shades in which this composition comes near to the contemporary Greek ones (early 5th century B.C.).

Thirdly, and of great importance, if the architectural motifs come from the Greek repertory and if the type of lion or griffin is not clearly Oriental, how can the creation of this work in the Iberian centre of Obulco be explained?

Before answering that point, I will consider another sample, also from Obulco and also criticised by Trillmich in his study; it is the so-called 'Priest' sculpture (Trillmich 1990, 609–610 and pls. 63, 1–2). Criticising Blázquez, who had argued in favour of a clearly Greek character of this statue solely from a front view, Trillmich focused above all on a rear view to show that the robe worn by that figure was typically Iberian, about which there is no doubt. However, a detailed examination of this rear part (Fig. 2) makes it clear that the sculptor has been able to represent something not usual in the Iberian sculpture; in fact, under the robes the human anatomy of the figure

can readily be seen. This recalls, with obvious certainty, the contemporary trend in Greek sculpture as shown, for instance, in the 'Youth from Motya' (Tusa 1988, 53–60). (By the way, this last sculpture is undoubtedly Greek, and it does not matter that it has been found in the Phoenician city of Motya, in western Sicily).

Boardman, considering the statues from Porcuna, readily dismissed them as representative of a Phoenician/Punic trend in which some Greek elements could be discernible. While he charged Spanish scholars with arguing "strongly for a dominant influence of Greeks, not Phoenicians" (Boardman 1994, 69–70 and n. 43), he rejected the possibility of a direct Greek influence in favour of a continuous Punic influence, as intense as the later Moorish heritage (eternal Spain, if I may!). Needless to say, this opinion can be counterbalanced with a more unprejudiced appraisal of the evidence.

It could be possible to mention more pieces from this exceptional place, Porcuna (ancient Obulco) (González 1987; Negueruela 1990), or to talk about pieces known for many years ago as having a clear Greek aspect, such as the sphinxes from Agost (García y Bellido 1980, 67; Chapa 1986, 115–116) or even the 'Dama de Elche' itself (lastly, Olmos and Tortosa 1997). We could even mention sculptures from sites excavated in the last few years, such as Cabezo Lucero (Aranegui *et al.* 1993) or Los Villares (Blánquez 1992, 121–143). Many of these are still considered as representative of a so-called 'Iberian-Greek style' (lastly, Croissant and Rouillard 1996, 55–66). However, I think by now I can attempt a preliminary interpretation.

We can accept, without too much difficulty, that those sculptures, and many others, were not made by Greek artists; however, their references to Hellenic models, their monumentality, even their iconography, indicate that they are relatively close to the Greek world. This proximity, in my opinion, is not limited just to the formal aspects but perhaps goes much deeper. In a recent study, Negueruela has shown how the techniques, and even the tools used in the execution of these sculptures, are very similar to those used by the Greeks (Negueruela 1990–91, 77–83; *cf.* Blánquez and Roldán 1994, 61–84). It seems quite reasonable to think, therefore, that if the tools and instruments used by Iberian sculptors were similar to those used by the Greeks and, in general, still used by stone sculptors, the Iberians must have learnt to make sculpture whether in Greek workshops or in workshops in which Greeks were active.

If this is, as it seems, true, then it would counteract the hyper-

critic opinion sustained mainly by German scholars, according to whom, Iberian sculpture had been developed partly from imitating little clay models of Greek origin and partly from Iberian techniques of wood carving (Niemeyer 1990, 42–43). In my opinion, however, it seems that Iberian sculptors did not invent anything but only learned: they knew how to cut a stone block, how to use a wide range of tools (chisels, points, drills, rasps, etc.), and how to give life to a stone block; as a result, they knew how to sculpt and this is not knowledge acquired spontaneously. Thus, although we cannot identify any Greek master in Iberia, it is absolutely necessary that such existed; that is to say, it is absolutely necessary that some Iberian sculptors learned their techniques and repertoires in a Greek workshop. Since the recent findings of Archaic architectural sculptures from Emporion (Marcet and Sanmartí 1990, 21–22; 83–85; Sanmartí 1992, 27–41), it seems clear that it is within the Emporitan milieu (although perhaps not necessarily at Emporion itself), that the teachers of Iberian sculptors must be sought.

There is, nevertheless, an oft-forgotten factor which has helped make the problem more complicated. Iberian sculptors, although they could have learned in Greek workshops or under individual Greek artists, did not develop Greek subjects but used their knowledge in the service of those necessities demanded by the society of which they were part. Colonial stimulus has created a necessity among Iberian societies of having sculptures designated to fulfil certain ends. I shall not however deal with this here (Dominguez 1984, 141–160; 1991, 125–127).

Firstly, Phoenician-Orientalising influences, and later Greek influence, provided the Iberians with the formal language to express some concepts which are profoundly indigenous, owing nothing to the Greeks. In Pozo Moro reliefs, for instance (Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 177–193), we find religious concepts which owed nothing to Phoenicians or Greeks; however, to express them the Iberians adopted formal and iconographic features from Phoenician art; also, in the monomachies from Porcuna (Negueruela 1987, 319–338) we must see, undoubtedly, the artistic expression of some kind of achievement, human or divine, in which the commissioner felt himself reflected. The shape is Greek (or ‘Greekish’), but the background is Iberian; the ‘writing’, that is to say iconography, is of Greek origin and influence; the ‘language’, that is to say the meaning, is Iberian.

2.2. *Writing*

I have just mentioned, metaphorically, writing. Why not deal now with script? Studies carried out in recent years on the so-called south-eastern alphabet (also called Graeco-Iberian) have shown, beyond any doubt, that it was a variant of an Ionic alphabet specially adapted to transcribe the Iberian language. This alphabet was developed in the region Contestania and it must have arisen before 450 B.C., more particularly during the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. However, the oldest testimonies so far known can be dated only to the 4th century B.C. The prototypes of this alphabet must be sought in the East Greek world, specifically in Phocaea (De Hoz 1985–86, 285–298; 1993, 635–666).

Nevertheless, since the later 5th century B.C. Iberian writing is attested, based on the old southern script which arose in southern Iberia in later 8th–early 7th century B.C., and which in turn is based on Phoenician script. Iberian writing, in contrast to Graeco-Iberian or Contestan script, was half-syllabic, although with some new character coming usually from Greek letters. In Contestania itself Graeco-Iberian writing does not seem to last later than the 4th century B.C., being replaced also in this region by Iberian script (De Hoz 1993, 635–666).

Thus, in the case of the writing we find also a series of problems; in the first place, the existence of an ancient script of Phoenician origin in southern and south-western Iberia; later on, certainly from the late 6th century–early 5th century B.C., a new script appeared in south-eastern Iberia. This is precisely the region that was then receiving a great quantity of Greek objects and also cultural influences, as reflected in the sculpture. As J. de Hoz asserts:

there is no possibility of loan of a script without the existence of bilingual individuals, through an important cultural contact and through not occasional and sporadic contacts but continued and deep (1985–86, 297).

Since we are now talking about ‘writings’ and ‘languages’, it is by no means out of place to recollect what we said in relation to sculpture. In the case of the sculpture, as well as writing, Greeks provided the Iberians with a means of expression, already experienced and developed by them. In turn, the Iberians filled those ways of expressions with their own languages. The process is, in either case, similar.

But there is, in my opinion, another notable parallel between the two: the Graeco-Iberian alphabet was not to have a great develop-

ment and soon would be replaced by the classic Iberian script, based on a previous tradition, although with some elements of Greek origin. In the same way, in sculpture it can be seen how a markedly Hellenising stage (including the pieces mentioned so far) was replaced by another in which, although not forgetting this Hellenic heritage, the Iberian artist could develop his own personality. Within this new trend we can include pieces such as the Lady from Baza (Presedo 1973, 187–239) or the Great Lady Offerer from the sanctuary at Cerro de los Santos (Ruano 1987, [3] 224–227) dated to the 4th century B.C. But these represent an ‘indigenous’ trend, progressively more accentuated and especially well represented in that same sanctuary (Ruiz 1989). This trend can be observed in other sculptures such as the lion from Bienservida (prov. Albacete), dated to late 4th century B.C. (Chapa 1986, 69, 143). This is the product of a workshop in which the Hellenic heritage was being replaced by the schematism proper to other Iberian artistic displays.

Before turning to other aspect, however, it can be said that the first Iberian sculpture workshops arose in a strongly Hellenic-influenced environment, in my opinion, very directly related to Greek schools or teachers. These latter supplied the techniques and the means of expression by which the Iberian culture was able to express part of its ideological content. Later on, as a consequence of internal socio-political developments, Hellenic influence decreased, although it did not fully disappeared. Workshops that continued making sculptures felt free from that powerful influence and continued re-elaborating their subjects and repertoires, and developing new forms of expression virtually free from direct Hellenic influence.

We can find some comparison with writing: a kind of script, such as Graeco-Iberian, arose as the result of Greek cultural influence and was replaced by a system much more rooted in the indigenous tradition that, despite its half-syllabic character, was considered more useful by the society, which chose it as its means of expression and even exported to other cultural and linguistic areas such as the Celtiberian regions.

2.3. *Pottery*

I shall deal here with two decorated ceramic classes and with the problem of the imitations of Greek shapes by Iberian pottery.

2.3.1. *Orientalising pottery from Andalucía*

I will begin my analysis with a very specific group of polychrome painted pottery, present especially in the middle Guadalquivir valley (in the actual provinces of Córdoba and Seville), although also found in frontier provinces. This pottery was first appraised in 1975. At that time it was said that "if the idea of painting with these styles came from outside, as it is probable, its origin should be looked after in materials created in eastern Greek ambits" (Remesal 1975, 15). Subsequent studies have increased our knowledge of this ceramic class, which shows in its repertory a wide series of subjects, both human and animal; among the latter are real animals (especially bulls) and fantastic beings (especially griffins). There are also abundant floral motifs (lotus, palmettes, papyrus, rosettes) and geometric patterns (triangles, lozenges).

This pottery, relatively well known after a series of recent excavations, emerged in the mid-7th century B.C. (Carmona, Montemolín, La Saetilla, Colina de los Quemados) and was developed during the second half of the same century (Cerro Macareno, Carmona) and the first half of the 6th century B.C. (Castle of Lora del Río). The end of production of this pottery can be placed in the first half of the 6th century B.C. in places such as La Saetilla and Porcuna, mid-6th century B.C. in Carmona and second half of the 6th century B.C. in Montemolín (Murillo 1989, 149–167; 1989a, 65–102; Chaves and de la Bandera 1986, 117–150; 1993, 49–89; Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, 209–272), and even in the early 5th century B.C. at Atalayuelas (Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, 233–237).

As to the prototypes of this pottery, although the possible survival of geometric subjects coming from Late Bronze Age painted pottery (type Carambolo or Guadalquivir I) cannot be rejected (Amores 1995, 159–178), it seems clear that most subjects came from 'colonial' contexts. New finds seem to stress this as well (González *et al.* 1995, 219, pl. I, 8).

In Phoenician-Punic pottery similar decorations to those existing in Orientalising pottery do not usually seem to appear; consequently, some scholars have tried to seek decorative prototypes in other classes of pottery, for instance Cypriot pottery dated to Bichrome IV and Archaic Cypriot I (750–600 B.C.). However, in the Iberian Peninsula this type of ceramic is hardly known, which makes it unlikely that it is a direct transmission. The inspiration has been also sought in other types of products, such as ivories, jewels, bronzes and ostrich eggs,

which could have provided the inspiration for the motifs existing on that painted pottery, although the results have not been particularly satisfactory. Lastly, some scholars have argued in favour of other objects, cloth or wood, which are not visible in the archaeological record. It seems that scholars, with some few exceptions, have not usually considered Greek prototypes (*cf.* for instance Chaves and de la Bandera 1993, 83). However, alternative hypotheses give no satisfactory answer to the origin of this pottery, clearly a luxurious ware, made perhaps in a small and select group of workshops located in the middle Guadalquivir valley.

I shall give here some possible parallels for some of the pottery that forms this group; they belong to the East Greek world and although occasionally mentioned, they are not much favoured by scholars, usually more attracted by prototypes taken from the Phoenician world. To be more effective, all the examples come from the plates of the volume *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident*.

If we compare the bull figures of one of the Montemolín amphorae (Chaves and de la Bandera 1986, 120, fig. 2), we can check its similarity, in the general treatment of the figure, especially in its outline (Fig. 3), to a Chian chalice from the cemetery at Pitane (6th century B.C.) (Bayburtluoglu 1978, pl. V, 5) (Fig. 4).

In the same way, the fragments from Castle of Lora (Remesal 1975, figs. 1–2) (Fig. 5) and Aguilar de la Frontera (Remesal 1975, fig. 14) of the head of a bull present similarities with the head of a beast painted on a dinos or krater of Chian or Rhodian style coming from Salamis in Cyprus and dated to the first quarter of the 6th century B.C. (Calvet and Yon 1978, pl. XXI, 3b) (Fig. 6). The same occurs with the representation of a bull fighting a lion represented in a lekane of Chian style from the sanctuary of Athena at Thasos (Salviat 1978, pl. XLVIII, 8) (Fig. 7); certainly the gesture of the lion also presents similarities with that of the griffin represented on one of the fragments from La Saetilla (Murillo 1989a, fig. 1.1) (Fig. 8). The lower beak of this griffin also appears in East Greek pottery, for example, on the Rhodian or Samian dinos found in the Incoronata site, and dated to the 7th century B.C. (Guzzo 1978, pl. LXII, 5) (Fig. 9).

Furthermore, the decorative cables or guiloche motif which appear with some frequency in these ceramics, as for example in other of the amphorae from Montemolín (Chaves and de la Bandera 1986,

fig. 5) (Fig. 10), has numerous parallels in East Greek pottery. It appears in a dish fragment of Chian style found in the Artemisium at Thasos dated to late 7th century–early 6th century B.C. (Salviat 1978, pl. XLVII, 6) (Fig. 11); the finding of a vase with a queue of griffins at Montemolin (Chaves and de la Bandera 1986, fig. 20) recalls the animal friezes so common in all the East Greek pottery. This is also usual in the Orientalising Corinthian pottery. Lastly, the recently found pithos from Carmona, for which the excavators have suggested Phoenician prototypes (Belén *et al.* 1992, 670, fig. 9), shows a series of griffins with some similarities to those depicted on a Cycladic stamnos of the second half of the 7th century B.C. from Gela (Orlandini 1978, pl. LV, 19–20).

All the parallels so far mentioned do not imply a direct imitation of motifs originating from Greek vases; certainly other motifs, both visible and not altogether visible could have been present in the creation of the images displayed by that Andalusian pottery. Best known are the ivories, mentioned before, with decorative motifs occasionally similar to that pottery (Aubet 1982, 15–70). We cannot forget however that already from the late 7th century B.C. East Greek imported pottery was beginning to appear on the coasts of the Peninsula at places such as Cerro del Villar (Cabrera 1994, 97–121) as well as in Huelva itself (Cabrera 1988–89, 41–100). Of course we should not forget the Attic Geometric sherd dated to mid-8th century B.C., also from Huelva (Rouillard 1977, 397–401). The character of these first East Greek pieces as luxury objects means that hitherto fragments have hardly been found in the furthest parts of the hinterland and they are very scarce even in coastal areas. However, a sherd from a (possibly) Later Wild Goat Style dinos has been found at Malaga (Recio 1990, 145, fig. 50, No. 52). Regrettably the preserved part does not show the animal frieze so usual on this pottery, but a complete dinos kept in the Basel Museum (Walter-Karydi 1970, pls. 1, 2 and 3, 1–2) can be seen as a close parallel to it. Samples of this type of ceramic have also been found in Gravisca (Boldrini 1994, 90–93, figs. 157 and 158) also frequented by East Greek traders.

In my opinion, this East Greek pottery, apparently arriving sporadically from the 7th century B.C., and which found its way to the rich agricultural centres of the Guadalquivir valley, made an impact on a substratum which already knew of polychrome pottery as the Carambolo type pottery shows. There, Greek prototypes have also been stressed (Amores 1995, 159–178).

The combination between this decoration, the potter's wheel, certainly introduced by the Phoenicians, and some shapes, most of them of Phoenician tradition, allows to explain this original pottery, which lasted until the late 6th century B.C. or even after (Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, 257). Then, perhaps, the end of an active Greek presence in the south-west of the Peninsula, as well as other political and social factors that I will not discuss now, meant that this type of ceramic did not continue. However, the last specimens seem to show that new Greek prototypes had been received (already in the 5th century B.C.), but this time of Attic, not East Greek origin, and coming from south-eastern Iberia, as the three-handled column-krater from Atalayuelas would show (Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, 233–236).

If it is accepted that the prototypes or models of some of the figures appearing in this so-called Orientalising pottery may be of Greek origin, the impression is that they had been interpreted very freely. It seems as if the indigenous painter had freely reinterpreted the Greek figures occasionally seen on Greek pottery. Certainly, the pictorial techniques are much freer than the sculptural ones; furthermore, as we have just seen, there was an indigenous tradition of painted pottery in the Tartessian area. In this case there is a free adaptation of exotic motifs on the part of the indigenous craftsmen.

Finally, I wish to emphasise that we find ourselves in a level, qualitative as much as quantitative, different from those represented by later Iberian sculpture and writing. Indeed, adaptation of Greek pictorial motives did not suppose, in general, a strong foreign cultural incidence on the Tartessian culture since the technique was relatively simple to imitate and, consequently, not many changes on the receiving culture need to have existed. Conversely, sculpture and writing did cause a great incidence on the Iberian culture. Both of them presupposed the existence of narrow contacts, with the consequent transmission of ideological content, absent in the case of painted pottery. Naturally, it remains to verify the meaning that the painted representations had in the ideological universe of the Tartesians. I am inclined to think that they are genuinely indigenous, even though the Tartesians have used to represent them some forms and some manners that derive from those provided by the paintings and, perhaps from other more 'invisible' imported elements.

2.3.2. *Indicetan white-painted pottery*

I am not going to enter into a discussion about the origins of Iberian pottery; instead, I will make some observations with respect to a ceramic class of the Indicetan area (north-eastern Iberia) and decorated with white painting.

First of all, this class is quite different from typical Iberian pottery in terms of decoration. Its shape, however, tends not to be: large ovoidal urns with one or two handles, double handle amphorae, lengthened jugs with a cylindrical high neck.

The decoration consists of white painting, which tends to be applied on a very fine slip of brown colour or pale rosé; the simplest motifs are horizontal parallel stripes and vertical sinuous stripes, alternate squares, etc.; also there are floral and vegetal motifs, as well as geometric ones (volutes, lozenges, bands, triangles, points, circles . . .) in addition to leaves of ivy, palmettes and vegetal stems, which seem to have been copied from the contemporary Attic wares (Fig. 12). The rise of this pottery can be placed at the end of the 5th century B.C. and the prototypes for its decoration must be sought in the contemporary Greek (firstly Ionian and afterwards Attic) pottery (Martín 1988, 47–56). Kukhan suggested, with a quite convincing collection of parallels, that

white painting comes from the vase decoration composed by a dark background proper of Asia Minor, whose better evidence comes from the excavations at Larissa (1964, 356);

equally, he asserts that

after the receipt of the Greek decorative elements and some typical transformations, white painting has been developed by itself and has maintained a conservative character (1964, 356).

There is no doubt that these ceramics may have emerged as an indigenous response to some Greek products, extremely frequent in the Indicetan environment. But again we find ourselves with a purely indigenous interpretation; it was the existence of painted pottery of Ionian type at Ampurias as well as in Ullastret which determined the natives to use this type of decoration for their pottery; equally, the motifs painted on Greek pottery (mainly Attic) arriving in that cultural milieu, provided a good part of the formal repertory of the indigenous decorations. Indicetan pottery, however, preserved its indigenous character. It is not, therefore, surprising that Ullastret

was one of the main centres of production of this ceramic (Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1984, 47–53, pls. 46–50).

There is, finally, what in my opinion is the only Iberian attempt at imitation or interpretation of a complete scene according to Hellenic standards, the so-called ‘Cazurro Vase’, which presents a scene in which two or possibly three young couples armed with spears run behind a deer. It comes from clandestine excavations in the area of the already disappeared necropolis of Portitxol, at Ampurias (Cazurro 1908, 550–555). The chronology of this piece has been a matter of lively dispute: to many authors what it depicts is clearly a copy of Greek scenes (Maestro 1989, 36–41). It is usually dated to the late 3rd century B.C.; some scholars have seen in it elements of Alexandrian origin (Aranegui 1992, 30; Elvira 1994, 376). Its style, clearly realistic and descriptive and with attention to landscape, converts this piece into an *unicum* within the Iberian figurative representations and though certainly late, it is not a complete surprise that it may have appeared at Ampurias itself (Fig. 13).

2.3.3. *Iberian imitations of Greek shapes*

I have spoken so far of Greek prototypes influencing Iberian painters; now we will see the opposite case, that is to say, of imitations of Greek shapes, unaccompanied by imitation of the decorative techniques.

The topic of the imitations of Greek shapes on the part of Iberian world is today relatively well known, thanks to recent studies, such as those by Pereira, referring to Upper Andalusia (1979, 289–347; 1988, 143–173; 1989, 149–159; Pereira and Sánchez 1987, 87–100), and by Page referring to the south-eastern part of the Peninsula (1984; 1987, 71–81; 1995, 145–151). Page, in her study, recognises that generally the decoration of Greek pottery is not imitated and that what tends to appear are isolated motifs, such as leaves of ivy, waves, palmettes, rosettes, etc., which, anyway, tend to be quite frequent in the Iberian iconography. The Iberians imitated, with more or less closeness, a notable part of the Greek formal repertory—oinochoai, krateres, various cups, etc.—occasionally with a great loyalty to the original model; this is especially so with respect to bell-krateres and calyx-krateres, less so for column-krateres. With respect to the column-krateres, it is known that in Iberia hardly any original piece of this shape has appeared but, nevertheless, the greater number of the imitated krateres correspond to this shape. It has even been suggested

that later vases of this shape could have as their prototypes not original Greek vases but Iberian imitations (Page 1984, 61).

The studies by Pereira and Sánchez have shown the coexistence of vases that imitate faithfully so much of the morphological elements of the Greek pottery as well as the internal proportions of the prototypes, together with others that introduce important variations in the original layout, in forms as well in proportions (Pereira and Sánchez 1987, 87–100; Pereira 1979, 289–347). One example of a copy extraordinarily near to the Greek model of column-krater comes from the Toya necropolis (Pereira 1979, pl. VII, 3–4).

Iberian imitations of Greek pottery had already begun to appear in an intensive way from the mid-6th century B.C., and would continue until Hellenistic times. The decoration, however, has nothing to do with the Greek. That is to say, when these imitations were decorated, they used the same topics and iconographical motifs represented in the rest of the Iberian pottery; there may be in some instances some relationship between the model and the imitation, as has been suggested for fish plates, which in the Iberian case represent fishes. However, there is no attempt at imitating the decorative techniques of the Greek pottery (except an isolated case), perhaps less on account its difficulty than because the Iberians were not interested in imitating faithfully that exotic pottery. As Olmos has stressed,

the Iberian imitations of Greek forms practically lack of decoration inspired in Greek models. It is as if the Iberian might have unfolded both categories, the structure of the vase and its decoration . . . it seems to prevail the interest in the tectonic of the vases, that the Iberian conceives as something live. It does not seem to interest excessively in a first moment the antropomorphic representation (1984, 281).

Even in cases where the represented composition is of a great formal and conceptual complexity, as in the krater from El Cigarralejo with figures touching the double aulos or the lyre of four cords, the way of describing the scene is typically Iberian (Cuadrado 1982, 287–296). The Iberian tends to ‘translate’ either the shape of the vase (Conde 1989–90, 131–136) or the decorative layout (Lillo 1988–90, 137–142) but never the two simultaneously (Tortosa 1996, 129–149). Obviously, there are exceptions, as the three-handled column-krater from Atalayuelas (early 5th century B.C.) shows (Fig. 14). In it both the Greek shape (although with three instead of two handles) and the Attic red-figure decoration were imitated (Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, 233–237); but this piece belongs more properly to the late-Orientalising

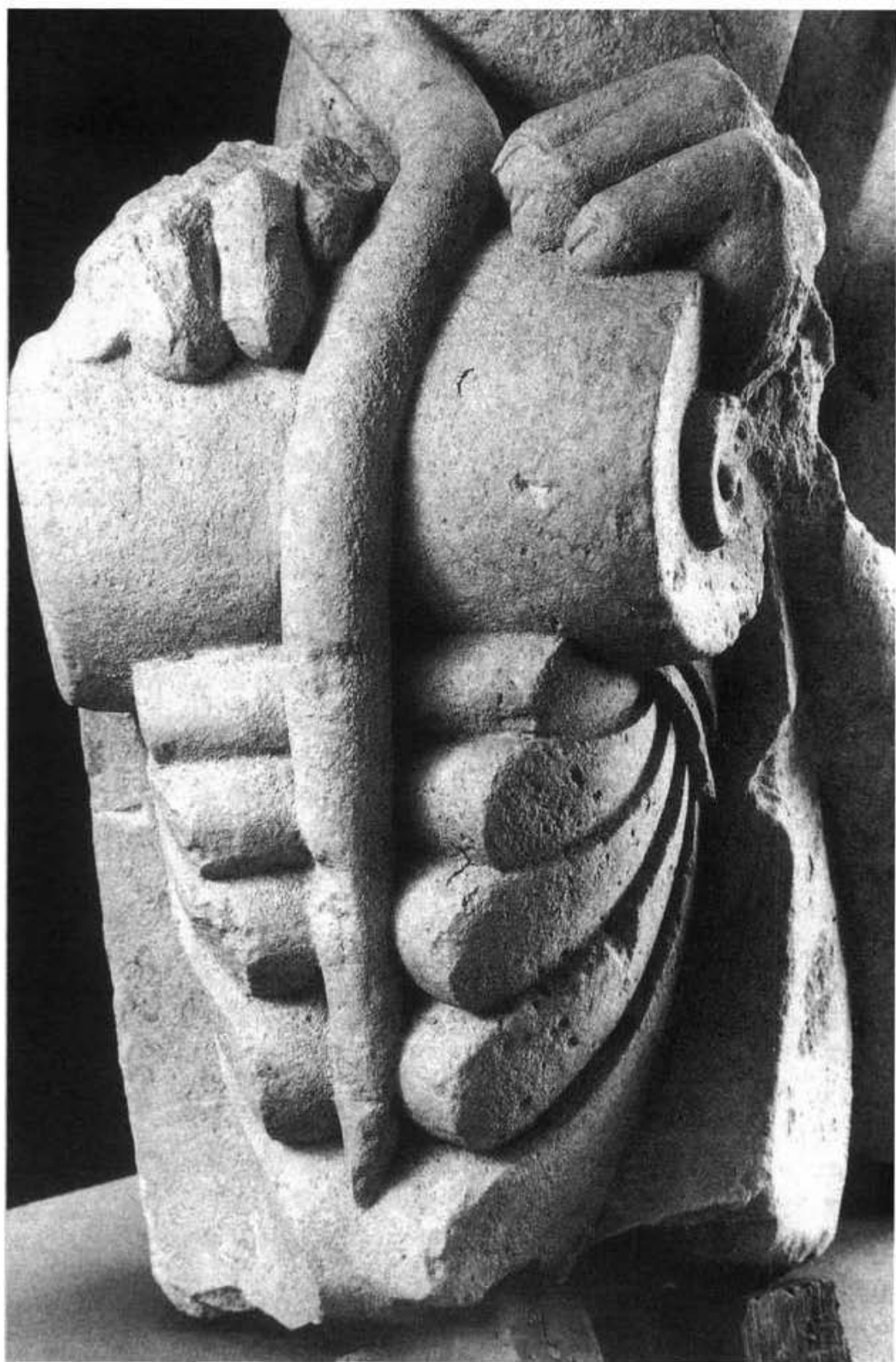


Fig. 1. Sculpture depicting the struggle between a lion or griffin and a snake. From Porcuna (Prov. Jaén, Spain) (after González 1987, 170).



Fig. 2. Sculpture known as 'The Priest'. Rear View. From Porcuna (Prov. Jaén, Spain) (after González 1987, 105).

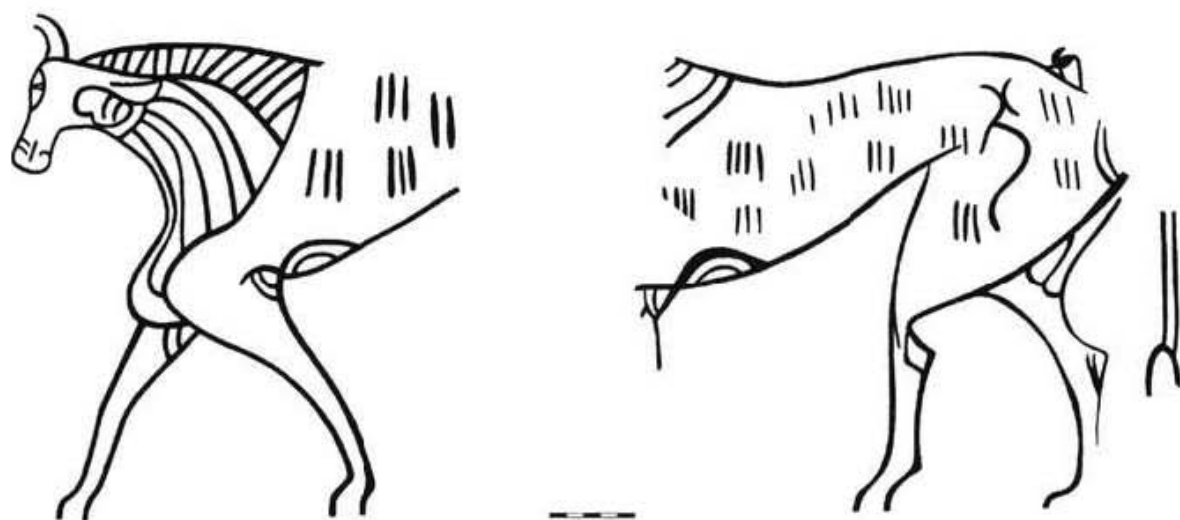


Fig. 3. Bull figures from an Orientalising amphora from Montemolin (Prov. Sevilla, Spain) (after Chaves and de la Bandera 1986, 120, fig. 2).



Fig. 4. Chian chalice from Pitane (after Bayburtluoglu 1978, pl. V, 5).



Fig. 5. Sherd of an Orientalising pottery from Lora del Río (Prov. Sevilla, Spain) (after Remesal 1975, fig. 2).

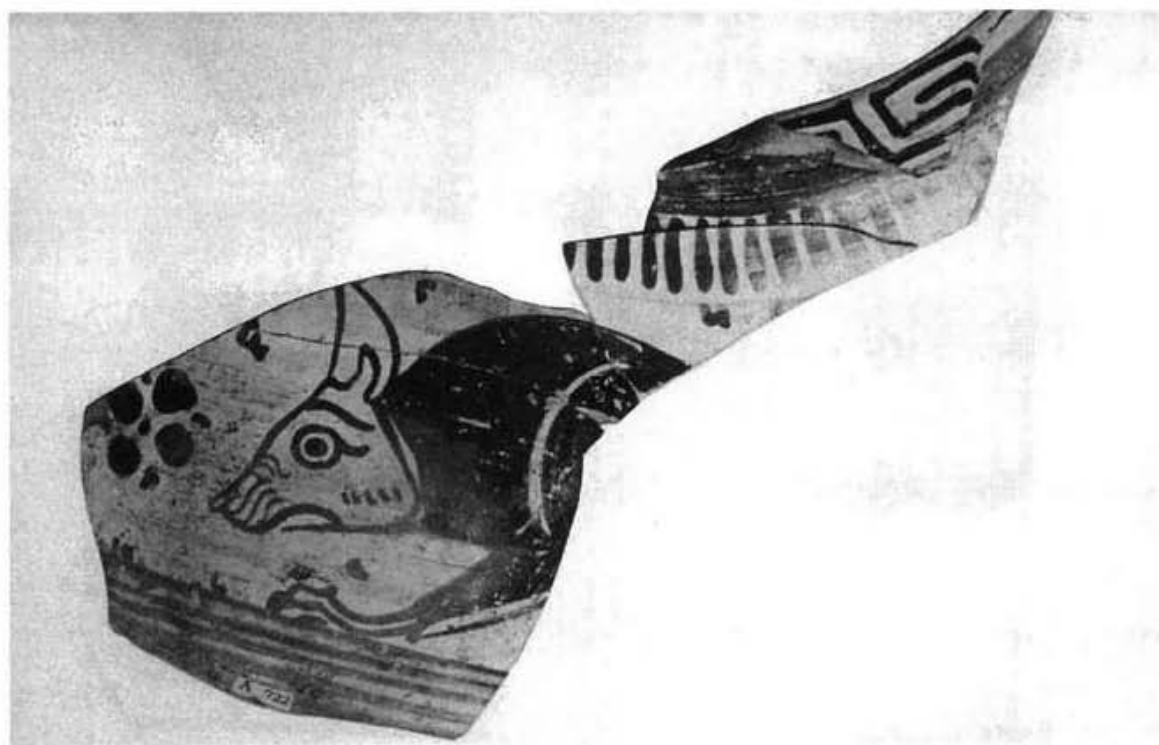


Fig. 6. Dinos or krater of Chian or Rhodian style from Salamis, Cyprus (after Calvet and Yon 1978, pl. XXI, 3b).



Fig. 7. Lekane of Chian style from the sanctuary of Athena at Thasos (after Salviat 1978, pl. XLVIII, 8).



Fig. 8. Sherd of an Orientalising pottery from La Sactilla (Palma del Río, Prov. Córdoba, Spain) (after Murillo 1989a, fig. 1.1).



Fig. 9. Rhodian or Samian dinos from Incoronata (after Guzzo 1978, pl. LXII, 5).

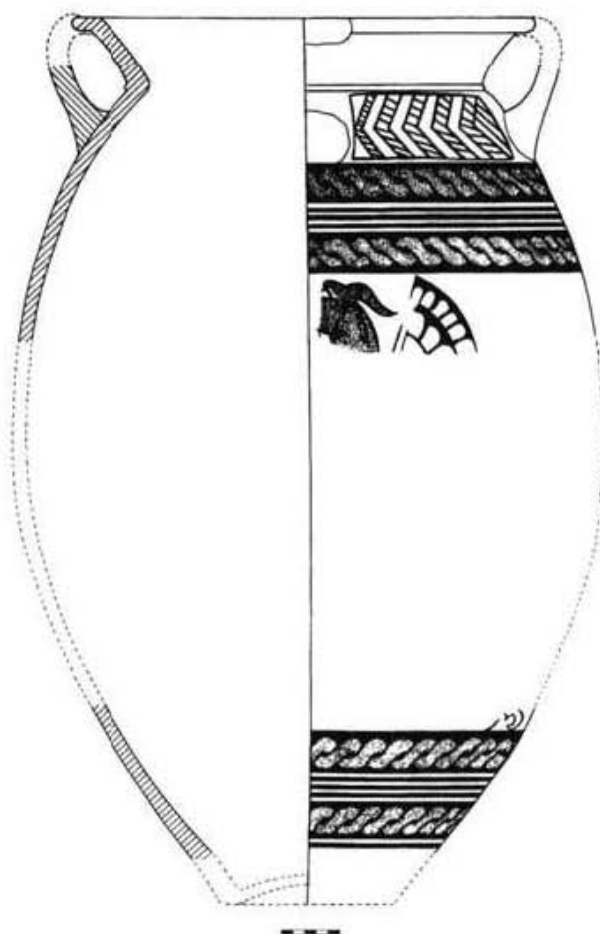


Fig. 10. Orientalising amphora from Montemolín (Prov. Sevilla, Spain) (after Chaves and de la Bandera 1986, fig. 5).

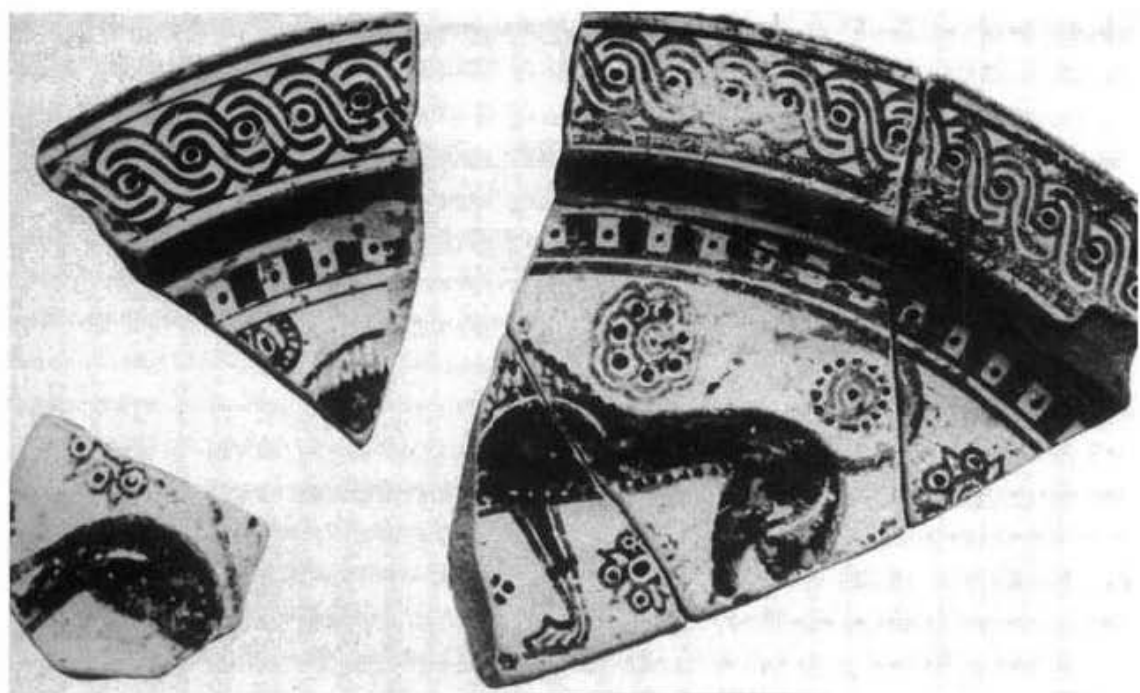


Fig. 11. Dish fragment of Chian style from the Artemision at Thasos (after Salviat 1978, pl. XLVII, 6).

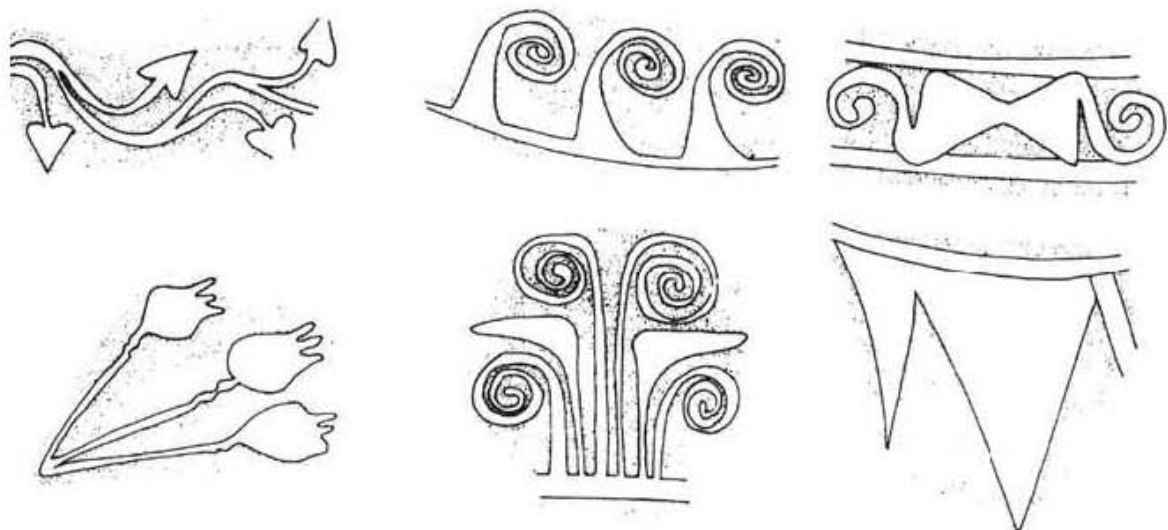


Fig. 12. Some decorative patterns in the white-painted Indictetan pottery (after Maluquer de Motes *et al.* 1984, 52).



Fig. 13. The so-called 'Cazurro vase' (after García y Bellido 1980, fig. 134).



Fig. 14. Column-krater from Atalayuelas (Prov. Jaén) (after Pachón *et al.* 1989–90, fig. 7).

tradition than to the truly Iberian. It is a transitional vase, a late development of a ceramic type which arose in mid-7th century B.C. and was now dying; the new trends of Iberian pottery were in the direction mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

If we recapitulate, we can indicate some common features. Indigenous craftsmen imitated decorative elements of the Greek ceramics, possibly from quite ancient times (if the link of the decorations of Orientalising pottery with Eastern-Greek prototypes is accepted) though adapting them to a syntax that is properly native. It seems that such adaptation was very free; the native craftsman had probably seen paintings on East Greek vases, which he was not able (or did not wish) to reproduce; instead, through an analytical process of decomposition he accepted those elements which could serve him in better expressing the ideological content that he wanted to give to his compositions. Obviously the decorative and vegetal motifs were those which have had more weight; and, in the Indicetan region, more closely linked to colonial phenomenon, the loyalty to the models has been greater. The representation in the Greek manner of the human figure, apart from the exceptional case of the Cazurro vase, was not well understood by the Iberian painter, who developed his own style, always within a framework of analytical and symbolic description, whose roots lie certainly in very old traditions.

For the formal imitations, the process is different. As we have seen, there are cases in which the loyalty to the Greek model is extraordinary; having adequate tools, basically a potter's wheel, this does not present particular problems. It is known that there were other, more imperfect imitations and, finally, that there were other vases which were not imitations in a strict sense, but rather, adaptations. The potter had 'reinterpreted' the Greek shape and amplified his repertory.

In neither of the two cases, and this is what I wish to emphasise, was Greek intervention necessary, as opposed to what seems to occur with sculpture or with writing, in which a Greek intervention not only seems necessary but even indispensable. In this other example we can explain perfectly the process of adoption and assimilation of shapes and iconographic topics without need of the Greeks. It was a totally autonomous process, in which the indigenous society demanded some products of evident Greek imitation, but not some comparable decorations; nevertheless, the painters would incorporate into their repertory those elements considered most suitable. The

greater the proximity to stable Greek sites (as occurs with white painted pottery), the greater the number of Greek motifs present, and the more loyal they are to their prototypes. But the process was, I insist, autonomous. Greek intervention had not been necessary.

If we compare these data with those provided by the Etruscan case, we can observe some similarities and some radical differences. Thus, together with some pieces which show indigenous reinterpretations of Greek motifs as, for example, the oinochoe of Tragliatella, dated to mid-7th century B.C. (Menichetti 1992, 7–30; Martínez-Pinna 1994, 79–92), we find Greek craftsmen already working in Etruria from the 7th century B.C.: painter of the ‘Bearded sphinx’, painter of the ‘Rondini’ (toward 620 B.C.), creators of the Etrusco-Corinthian style, in which on a formal and technical Greek background, East Greek, Corinthian and Etruscan influences coexist, as well as some topics which, though formally Greek, allude on many occasions to Etruscan myths and legends (Szilagyi 1989, 613–636). From the mid-6th century B.C. the black-figure Etruscan style emerges, which shows the technical advances reached in Greece in this field. As well as the arrival of Greek painters (Paris painter ?; *contra*, Hannestad 1974; 1976), this also can be shown during the second half of the 6th century B.C. with the presence of the Northampton and Campana painters (Cook 1989, 161–173) and with the creators of the Caeretan hydriai (Hemelrijk 1984). In many cases, “the second generation painters attest at the same time the integration in Etruria of these craftsmen families of Greek origin” (Jannot 1985, 317). All this, not to speak of the imitation on the part of Attic potters of such typically Etruscan shapes as Nicosthenic amphorae, kantharoi or kyathoi (Spivey 1991, 139). We could continue listing artists and schools, but that is not the topic of the present article. I am trying simply to show how in Etruria, where a very strong Greek presence is attested, including craftsmen and artists, styles emerge that, although they reproduce and develop topics strictly Etruscan in some instances, do so according to technical and iconographic formulations that are absolutely Greek, although moved to Etruria. In the field of the ceramics nothing of this sort seems to have occurred in Iberia.

2.4. *Bronzes*

The shortage of original Greek bronzes in the Iberian Peninsula is well known (Croissant and Rouillard 1996, 57); among the best known are the Centaur from Royos (Olmos 1983, 377–388) and the

Satyr from Llano de la Consolación (García y Bellido 1948, 91–93). At the same time, among the indigenous adaptations of such subject, it could be emphasized the Silen from Capilla, undoubtedly produced in a local workshop, which misinterprets the original models, as R. Olmos has shown (1977, 371–388).

The lion's share of Iberian plastic in bronze is concentrated in the sanctuaries of Despeñaperros, where bronze offerings seem have been the norm. Although in some of the pieces Greek (especially East Greek) influences are more or less evident (Kukahn 1974, 109–124), for the most part such features are not present and the works are truly Iberian with their own language and their own motifs (Nicolini 1969; Prados 1992).

Thus, it does not seem necessary to postulate an intensive presence of Greek craftsmen to explain the origin of the bronze working in Iberia. We already know that bronze metallurgy was widely developed in Iberia at least by the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. and the only Greek incidence was the introduction of certain iconographic motifs. These, together with those of Eastern origin (Phoenician in a wide sense), served as prototypes for the Iberian bronze workers when they developed their products.

3. *Some Ideological Aspects*

Let us now turn to a much more controversial aspect which is much more difficult to penetrate than the subjects already dealt with. This is because we can use only material elements to illuminate the population's intimate beliefs not having the help provided by contemporary written sources. I will sketch only a few ideas, hoping to provoke the discussion.

3.1. *Funerary rituals*

I will begin with funerary rituals, in their double aspect, both external and internal; that is to say, what is seen from outside and what constitutes the interior of the tomb.

Already Almagro some years ago alluded to the 'landscape' of the Iberian necropolis, which had, possibly in variable proportions according to the times and according to the cases, tombs of very different external type. Almagro mentioned, among other types, monumental tower-like graves, pillar-stelae, 'tumular princely' graves, tumular

graves, and chamber graves (Almagro-Gorbea 1978, 199–218; Castelo 1994, 139–171). I will not discuss the evident social hierarchy that this diversity implies; for the moment what interests me is to emphasise that, although it is possible that in square or oblong tumuli we could eventually find a more or less distant Hellenic influence, there does not seem to be many doubts of this influence in the pillar-stelae.

According to Almagro, the Iberian pillar-stele is very similar to Attic stelae of the Richter type 1a (1983a, 7–20) dated between late 7th century B.C. and the first half of the 6th century B.C.; however, according to him, both Attic and Iberian stelae are derivations from Phoenician (in the case of Iberia western-Phoenician) prototypes. Nevertheless, the similarity of the Iberian type with the Greek, as well as the markedly Hellenising character of good part of the sculptures in those pillar-stelae, means that we cannot discard the Greek origin of this type of grave marker. Thus, we could think that some of the tombs in the Iberian cemeteries, especially those of the most notable individuals, received a sculptured cover elaborated according to the canons that were being developed in the contemporary Greek world. Since we are talking about sculptures, the work of Iberian sculptors can be seen, which assumes and develops Hellenic canons.

3.2. *The Iberian tombs, the Greek elements in them and its meaning*

If we move from the exterior of the tombs to the interior, things vary substantially. Let us look at some examples.

As the recent study by Quesada (1989) has shown, relating to the weapons of the necropolis of Cabecico del Tesoro, the presence of weapons in tombs is quite frequent, especially in tombs that also contain other elements of grave goods in addition to Iberian pottery, such as other metal objects and imported pottery. If we consider only the tombs of this necropolis dated to the 4th century B.C., of 36 existing in it at this date, 12 contain weapons (33%); of them, five (Nos. 242, 473, 409, 265 and 260) have also some imported Greek products. A more or less similar picture can be observed in other contemporary Iberian cemeteries (Quesada 1994, 447–466); also in the necropolis of El Cigarralejo abundant weapons (77 falcatæ, 13 swords, 69 shields, etc.) have been found (Cuadrado 1989), as too in Cabezo Lucero, from the 5th century B.C. (Aranegui *et al.*

1993). It can be said that the presence of weapons in Iberian cemeteries is quite common, even when there are cases in which weapons do not appear during the 5th century B.C., although they are certainly present during the 4th century B.C. It is common for these weapons that they are accompanied by other grave-goods, among them, Greek pottery.

The so-called princely tombs deserve some mention here. I refer to those such as from Baza (Presedo 1982, 66–86, 174–183, 200–215, 229–240) or El Cigarralejo (Cuadrado 1968, 148–186; 1987, 355–374, 470–487) or the deposits of Greek vases, like the two found in the necropolis of Los Villares, one within tomb No. 20 and the other usually called a *silicernium* which was given the number 25. These comprised respectively 53 and 30 Greek vases used for drinking wine (Blázquez 1990, 222–266; 1995, 213–240). Referring to the latter cemetery, Blázquez thinks that “as of today, the *silicernia* of Los Villares constitute the two better archaeological realities on the possible installation of the rite of the symposium in the Peninsula” (1994, 335). We will return later to this issue.

Thus, in summarising, we could say that the Iberian tombs contain, besides the cinerary urn, ceramic vases, objects of adornment, weapons and imported products, usually cups intended for drinking wine. It has been sometimes suggested that the more abundant those imported objects are, the greater will be the degree of ‘Hellenisation’ exhibited by those tombs and, consequently, by the society to which they correspond.

Let us now, however, look at some examples taken from the Greeks settled in the Peninsula, that is to say, from Emporion. What can first be observed is that the principal element in the grave goods, the most frequently found vase in tombs dated to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. was the *lekythos*. Sometimes there were two or three pieces in each tomb, or even five or six (as for instance in the tomb Bonjoan 44 dated to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.) (Almagro 1953, 183–186). In general, the tombs were quite homogenous in their grave-goods. In terms of the objects contained in them, some were quite ‘poor’ although there are some exceptions, such as Bonjoan 69, dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. which contained thirteen objects: a gold ring, a glass alabaster, a terracotta in the form of a dove, two *kotylai* and a miniature cup, a black-figure *skyphos*, a little globular amphora, a little Attic amphora of panathenaic shape, and four Attic black-figure *oinochoai* (Almagro 1953,

202–209); or even the dispersed ‘Cazurro Tomb’, dated to *ca.* 500 B.C. (Sanmartí 1996, 17–36). If we consider some other necropoleis, for instance those of Akragas, with a chronology comparable to that of the Emporitan necropolis, we find considerable similarities concerning the composition of the grave goods (Deorsola *et al.* 1988, 253–397). The same occurs, in general lines, in most of the western Greek necropoleis, although within a trend to a greater wealth of the grave offerings as the 5th century progressed.

Thus, there is an initial fact to be considered. In the Greek cemeteries, the cup, although by no means absent, was not the most commonly found vase amongst grave goods. The same occurs with the krater, which was not the preferred shape among the vases present in the tomb. In the Iberian case, however, exactly the opposite occurs: cup and krater were the Greek shapes which appear predominantly in indigenous funerary offerings, a phenomenon also present in other non-Greek environments of the Mediterranean (Dominguez 1994, 243–313). Summarising this idea with Murray’s words,

it was common practice in the Greek world to place objects of modest value in burials or on the pyre, and many of these are of course objects used in the *symposion*, such as drinking cups and jugs. But there is no sign of the provision of a set of sympotic objects, many of the most monumental tombs contain little or nothing; there is a striking contrast here with the elaborate sets of equipment for feasting, the rich burials and even the provision of large amphorae of wine in the Italian context (1988, 249).

It has been argued on some occasions that these Greek elements are an important symptom of ‘Hellenisation’ (Blánquez 1990a, 9–24; 1994, 319–354) and I would like to deal now with this topic. Certainly the introduction of wine to Iberia must be attributed to the colonising peoples, firstly the Phoenicians and then the Greeks. It is also known that from the 6th century B.C. onwards wine was produced, stored and distributed from a series of strategically located centres, such as Alt de Benimaquia (Gómez and Guerin 1995, 241–270) and La Quèjola (Blánquez 1993, 99–107); and that wine amphorae of Greek origin are not very common in Iberia. The result is that Iberians consumed wine manufactured by themselves or by Phoenician-Punics using Greek vases. Anyway, I will not deal with this topic now. It is, in any case, a fact that Greek cups and, in lesser quantity, Greek krateres, were known in an extraordinary diffusion in Iberia from the second half of the 5th century B.C. until the mid-4th century B.C.,

and they appear so frequently in settlements, mostly in cemeteries (Sánchez 1992). Their sale would have been very profitable for Iberian traders (*cf.* García and García 1992, 3–32).

Must we understand the appearance of Greek cups and krateres in the Iberian cemeteries as 'Hellenisation'? In my opinion, only in a very loose sense. Wine ended up being converted into a form of social expression in the Iberian world (Quesada 1994a, 99–124; Blázquez 1995, 213–240); however I doubt we can employ the term *symposion* to refer to the way in which Iberians consumed wine (Domínguez 1995, 21–72). The fact that they had Greek cups and krateres does not imply, absolutely, that Greek customs for the consumption of wine had been introduced among the indigenous peoples. Not even the occasionally symposiast iconography of the vases would be sufficient, in my opinion, to convince the Iberians of undertaking a 'civilised' consumption of that product. We cannot ascertain whether they consumed wine mixed with water, like the Greeks, or, on the contrary, drank it pure, in the 'barbarian' style (at least in Greek eyes). The Greek *symposion* was regulated by a series of complex ceremonies, and it is doubtful that the Iberians reproduced them or even that ever wished to do so.

At most we may assume that some more or less crude imitation of Greek usage could have existed especially in privileged zones, due to the geographical proximity of the Greeks, but never an Iberian *symposion* in the Greek manner. Besides, we must not lose sight of the fact that when many scholars talk about an Iberian *symposion* by the grave, they are conflating utterly different concepts—that of the *symposion*, celebrated among living people and that of the *perideipnon*, offered to the dead, but not usually (in the Greek case) by the grave. It is necessary to fix concepts and to name them accordingly. Greek vases are an marker of their owner's social status, both from the material point of view and from the possibility of using them to drink wine. The Greek vase is undoubtedly valuable in itself. It seems that in many cases complete sets of vases were kept unused during the whole lifetime of the owner, only to be ritually broken during his burial (as the two so-called *silicemia* in the cemetery at Los Villares, already mentioned, would show). When there was no a wide supply of Greek vases, imitations were used, with or without decoration. It seems that the important thing is the shape; in certain cases, this seems certain (Olmos 1982, 260–268).

A problematic issue is represented by the accumulation of great

quantities of Greek vases in only one centre. This is the Cancho Roano case, where more than one hundred Attic vases have appeared, mainly Castulo-cups dated to the second half of the 5th–early 4th century B.C.; there were other types of cups as well (Maluquer de Motes 1983, 27–43). The meaning of this collection varies depending whether we consider that centre as a point within a distribution network or, conversely, if we think that all those wares were at the service of the man who lived there.

What does all this tell us? Attic pottery and its use, namely for drinking wine, was integrated into the daily life of the Iberians, although certainly not on equal terms among all Iberians. In fact the higher the Iberian's social position, the greater the quantity of imported Greek pottery he possessed, and the higher the quality. The burial custom was the largest possible number of those items accumulated by him in life would accompany him to his tomb; these would include his weapons and his luxury pottery; or he (or his heirs) would dispose of dozens of similar Greek vases, to be destroyed in his honour during his burial. But such burial customs were not Greek at all. Therefore, the multiplication of Greek cups and krateres in native tombs is the clearest indication of the fact that Iberian society was in the antipodes of what is Hellenic. I think we can assert that as more Greek products that appear in an Iberian tomb, so in smaller measure we can speak of 'Hellenisation'. What occurred was, in fact, a modification of the ritual and maybe of Iberian funerary ideology, in which an important role came to be played by Greek imports—but only by Greek imports. All notions of 'Greekness' did not arise with the arrival of Greek wares; the Iberians reinterpreted, according to their own criteria, those products that had arrived, and in this reinterpretation the Greeks possibly had very little to say, partly because there were very few Greeks directly involved in the trade of Greek products in the internal regions of Iberia (Domínguez 1993, 39–74).

3.3. *Iconography*

And if from the field of the Greek vases we pass to that of iconography, possibly we could arrive at similar conclusions. Beyond any doubt the Iberians did reinterpret all the things they integrated into their culture. That reinterpretation, however, seems have been carried out without the effective tutorship of those who could under-

stand the elements implied in its 'original version', that is to say, the Greeks. I have serious doubts about the hypothesis that the Punics, in part responsible of the marketing of Greek products, may have performed that function, as has been sometimes suggested (Olmos 1992a, 8–32).

The world of images has been studied thoroughly of recent years (Olmos 1992; 1996) and, certainly, we have begun to understand their transmission to the Iberians and how such transmission could operate. Many of these images arrived in Iberia, certainly, but in my opinion, they remained isolated. There was no one to teach the Iberians how to deal with them. It is the images themselves that must show the way. Nevertheless it must be said that the road is not a Greek road, but an Iberian one.

4. *Conclusions*

To conclude, in the title of this article I asked a question: 'Hellenisation in Iberia?'. I have the impression that only in sculpture and writing was a direct Greek intervention necessary. In all the other examples we have mentioned, the Iberians themselves were solely responsible for the insertion in their structures (social, political, ideological) of all the cultural elements provided by the Greeks. Even in sculpture and writing we have observed that direct Greek intervention was limited in time and in space: the large Hellenising sculptures would eventually be destroyed (Ruano 1987a, 58–62; Quesada 1989a, 19–24; Chapa 1993, 185–195; García-Gelabert and Blázquez 1993, 403–410) and with them the world that they had contributed to represent (Dominguez 1984, 141–160). Graeco-Iberian alphabet would not be successful, being displaced by the Iberian's own script.

There are multiple causes of this process. Among the most important we can mention two, albeit negative.

In the first place, the Iberian case is not similar to the Etruscan one. In Etruria, although there were no Greek colonies in the strict sense, the permanent and continuous arrival of Greeks disposed to establish themselves within Etruscan communities was abundant throughout all the Archaic age, as Boardman (1994, 225–272) has recently stressed. This created extraordinary cultural sediments; the Greeks taught the Etruscans a great number of languages in which they could express their ideas. The classic Etruscan culture, though

extremely original, could express itself in a variety of languages, as being in good part heirs to the Greeks. Nothing of this sort happened in Iberia.

In the second place, in relation to what has been previously said, there were never many Greeks in Iberia, not even in the main area of settlement the Gulf of Roses. The Greek presence in Iberia was, for the most part, almost epidemic; it affected all the coastal regions in which, with greater or smaller fortune, Greeks could establish their *emporía*. Their main influence can be felt precisely on those coastal populations, responsible to a large extent for the creation of the Iberian culture. From those coasts, the commercial infiltration of Greek products toward the interior was the work, in good measure, of the Iberians themselves. Taking into account this panorama, and despite some exceptional cases (Castulo?, Obulco?), what arrived in the interior together with Greek products, were not Greek cultural influences, but those of the natives who were serving as cultural transmitters. This can explain among other things the marked similarities between upper-Andalusian and south-eastern and eastern 'Iberism'. But we must abandon the search for Greeks in the internal regions of the Peninsula.

Hellenisation in Iberia?. Before answering, one must explain what is to be understood by that label. I must confess, it is polisemic. For me Hellenisation is the process through which some populations, intensively and intimately in touch with the Greeks, end by being transformed, in all aspects, into Greeks (to be compared with the term 'romanisation'). From that point of view, the answer to the question must be negative: Iberia was not Hellenised. She assumed Greek cultural features and reinterpreted them, frequently on her own account. Or she used Greeks, in the best of cases, to express in a Greek manner, truly Iberian ideas—but little more. Is this 'Hellenisation', or even 'Hellenisation at a distance'? (Cunliffe 1993, 73). I personally do not believe so. I would prefer to speak of 'processes of Hellenisation', which does not prejudge the final results and makes sense of the dynamics acting in all historical processes. If, on the contrary, we continue talking about 'Hellenisation' we will be describing, in each case, very different situations as a short selection of case studies shows: Rome (Isager 1993, 257–275), the Phoenician cities (Millar 1983, 55–71) or Carthage (Wagner 1986, 357–375).

If, in terms of Hellenisation, we can speak in a certain way of failure, from the point of view of the absorption and integration of cultural elements (not only Greek, obviously), we cannot but recog-

nise that from the mixture between what was imported and what was Iberian properly, a new and absolutely original reality emerged: the Iberian culture.

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13. DAMA DE ELCHE: EMBODYING GREEK-IBERIAN INTERACTION

Sara Aguilar

This article started as a seminar paper in a series entitled *West and East*. By East, most of the papers meant the Near East as opposed to Greece, the West. In my paper, however, the East is the eastern Mediterranean, with special emphasis on Greece, and the West is the furthestmost part of the Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula. Despite this shift of location the issues addressed remain the same: the contact between two (or more) cultures, and perhaps acculturation between them. These issues are perhaps even more obvious in the western Mediterranean where it is taken for granted that the barbarian locals entered into 'History' by the civilising action of the Greeks.

When we talk of interaction it is important to be certain of what exactly we mean: the study of contact *per se* (mechanisms of contact) or the possible consequences of this contact. In this paper I set out to do two things: (1) I will discuss how the contact between Greeks and Iberians has been studied in the past or, in other words, how some features of the local culture have been explained in terms of Iberian contact with 'Greek colonists'. From this perspective sculpture becomes the quintessential example, and the lady of Elche does indeed embody Graeco-Iberian interaction, not only for what 'really happened' but also for scholars' interpretations (what we wanted it to be). (2) I will focus on an internal study of the peoples of the south-east of Spain in the 6th century and first part of the 5th century B.C. by examining how sculpture could have fit into their social organisation. To simplify the argument in the restricted space of this paper I will not discuss the channels of Greek influence, but I will assume that local populations had contacts with Greek peoples through trade.

The Sculptures

Major stone sculpture in Iberian territory is found from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. in the area of the south-east of Spain (Fig. 1). Although the tradition continues into the Roman period it is apparent from archaeological data that the peak (or a peak) moment in the use of sculpture (especially with a funerary function) is the Early Iberian Period of the first half of the 5th century B.C.

The discovery and study of Iberian sculpture (from the 1880s onwards) has generated a vast bibliography, focusing especially on problems of dating, influences and origins, and more recently of classifying and cataloguing. Finally, internal studies are currently being carried out. They are especially important since, for the first time, they concentrate on Iberian sculpture as such rather than on its study as mere reflections of eastern Mediterranean models.

In this paper I will not be using the complete extant corpus of Iberian sculpture. Instead I will concentrate only on some, namely the sphinxes, the group from Porcuna and the Lady of Elche. Selection is always an arbitrary act, often validated by different reasons. In this case, one of my reasons is purely practical: these sculptures are well published and fairly accessible. More specifically, my chosen sculptures are representative of the issues under discussion. However, I do not think that these examples are necessarily better than others. I will present here a brief description and some of the interpretations which are relevant for the discussion.

The sphinxes, mostly fragmentary, have been extensively described and catalogued by T. Chapa (1980; 1985). This author stresses the fact that, with the exception of two of the sphinxes (an oriental import from Galera and the sphinx from Villaricos), the Greek influence on the group is clear, not only in stylistic characteristics but also in their functionality. The sphinxes, generally found out of context, are considered to belong to funerary monuments perhaps culminating a pillar-stele or as part of the block of a more complex monument of the tower type, following Almagro's typology.¹

¹ For a typology of funerary monuments of this area see: Almagro Gorbea 1983.

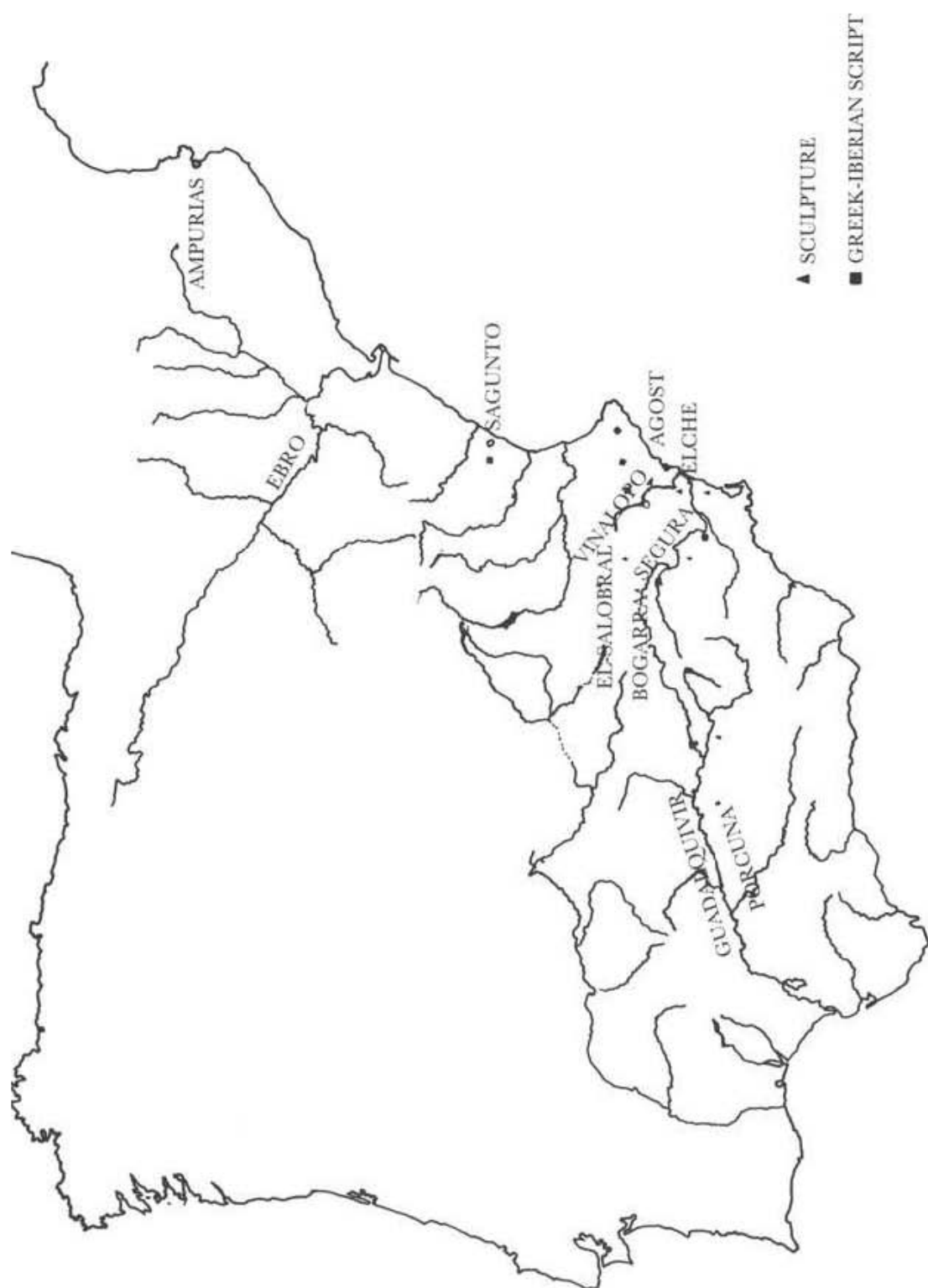


Fig. 1. The south-east of Spain. Distribution of early sculpture and Greek-Iberian script.

Sphinx from Elche (Alicante). Museo Municipal de Elche (Fig. 2)

Found in 1972 in the Parque Infantil de Tráfico in the town of Elche, together with a horse leg carved on a relief and a very schematic bull.

The sphinx measures 69.5 cm in length, is 65 cm high and 28 cm wide. It is made of a roughly rectangular block of whitish limestone, without carving on one of the two main sides. In the other main side there is the carving of a sphinx, of which the head and hind legs are missing, with a feminine figure standing before its front claws and another human figure riding on its back. The second figure is barely a hint: part of the left arm, which almost touch the plaits of the sphinx, and the left foot appears underneath the wing. There is a thin plinth underneath the figure. It has generally been interpreted as a scene of transit towards the other world.

*Sphinxes from Agost (Alicante). Museo Arqueológico Nacional.
Musée du Louvre (Fig. 3)*

These two sphinxes were found in 1893 in a field near the village of Agost, under a fair amount of Roman material. With the sphinxes a relief of the body of a bull was found. The sphinxes were taken to the Louvre while the present location of the bull is unknown. One of the sphinxes was returned to Spain through an exchange carried out in 1941 with France. They are made of yellow sand-stone and the measurements of the one in Madrid are: height 80 cm, length 55 cm and thickness 25 cm.² The two statues are different.

The sphinx in Madrid has its head turned towards the left but part of the face is missing and the rest is very eroded. In what is left, one can perceive the oval eyes, a wide forehead with a thick diadem from which grow two plaits on each side of the head, falling beside the neck and hiding the ears. The front legs have disappeared but the posture of the piece would indicate that they were straight. The wings are divided into two parts, with longer feathers on top and smaller feathers below.

The sphinx in the Louvre is also made of sand-stone. Its face and legs are missing and the surface is deteriorated. The head was turned

² The measurements of the statue in the Louvre were not available to me.



Fig. 2. Sphinx from Elche (Alicante).
Ministerio de Cultura photograph.



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Fig. 3. Sphinx from Agost in the Museo
Arqueológico Nacional. Photograph
from the Ministerio de Cultura.

towards the left and there are still the remains of a diadem from which four plaits grew, as in the previous example, two on each side. The wing covers most of the body and is divided into four parts.

Sphinx from Bogarra (Albacete). Museo de Albacete (Fig. 4)

Found during agricultural work in a field known as Casas de Haches, near the village of Bogarra. It was found with the claw of another (possible) sphinx and another uncarved ashlar block. The sphinx itself is carved on a rectangular block, which probably functioned as a corner piece in a monument of the type of the tower of Pozo Moro; the head is three-dimensional while the rest of the body is carved in relief. It is a block of white-grey limestone and it measures 63 cm in length, 70 cm in height and 23.5 cm in thickness.

Its state of preservation is relatively good, as it is complete, although eroded. The sphinx is represented in a lying position, its head turned towards the right. It has a pointed chin, wide cheekbones, thick lips parted in a slight smile, almond-shape eyes and a wide forehead culminating at a diadem which turns into a kind of veil in the back relief. From that veil grow two plaits on both sides of the head. It also has thin legs and well carved claws.

*Sphinxes from El Salobral (Albacete). Museo Arqueológico Nacional,
Musée du Louvre*

The two sphinxes were found in 1901 during agricultural work and taken to the Louvre Museum. One of them, like the examples from Agost, was returned to Spain in the exchange in 1941. Both are carved in relief; the measurements for the one in Madrid are: height 52 cm, length 52 cm and thickness 20 cm, and its pair in the Louvre probably has the same measurements.³

Both sphinxes are similar, although the one in the Louvre preserves the neck and one of the plaits. They are relieves carved on blocks of stone, and the heads and hind legs are missing. They also

³ The measurements of the statue in the Louvre were not available to me.



Fig. 4. Sphinx from Bogarra (Albacete). Photograph from the Museo de Albacete.

have big claws and a tail, though instead of disappearing underneath the body as in the other examples, in these two it curves on the thigh. There are some remains of red paint. But the most striking feature is their wings, shaped like a fern leaf, long and narrow, they stick out from the body ending in a unusual curve; the feathers are also leaf-shaped and arranged as an ear of corn.

The Sculptures from Porcuna. Museo Provincial de Jaén
(Figs. 5, 6, 7 and 8)

A major step in Iberian studies has been the discovery of the group of sculptures from Porcuna. It consists of a number of fragments found carefully buried at the foot of a little hill (Cerrillo Blanco) in Porcuna, ancient Obulco. After careful work, at least forty pieces of human and animal subjects have been reconstructed. They are less than life-size, in groups or individuals, free standing or in relief; they are of different scales which would indicate that they were not from a single group. Some of the representations are of warriors, some of them with horses, some fighting; standing male and female figures (priests and priestesses?); a fight between a man and a griffin, lions, bulls, sphinxes; a goddess? surrounding by two deer, relief figures of hunters. The sculptures have been published extensively by its discoverer (Blázquez and González Navarrete 1985; González Navarrete 1987) and later by Negueruela (1990) and are dated in the first half of the 5th century B.C. The good state of preservation of the surfaces points out to a brief period in which the sculptures were standing. They would have been hidden relatively soon after their construction.

The group is striking for its sheer volume as well as its attempts to narrate one or more stories. Its function is debated. First, it was considered funerary, belonging to a cemetery, but it could not be archaeologically validated as such. More recent studies have presented the possibility that it is the equivalent of a *heroon*. For some time it was believed to portray a historical event: one of the wars that produced conflict and destruction at the end of the Full Iberian Period (Negueruela 1990). Recently Olmos has interpreted it as a more or less mythological subject, an attempt of the person who order it to legitimise power through the representation of mythic ancestors (Olmos 1992). In any case it will be difficult to propose

one single function until we know exactly how the different fragments of groups were internally organised

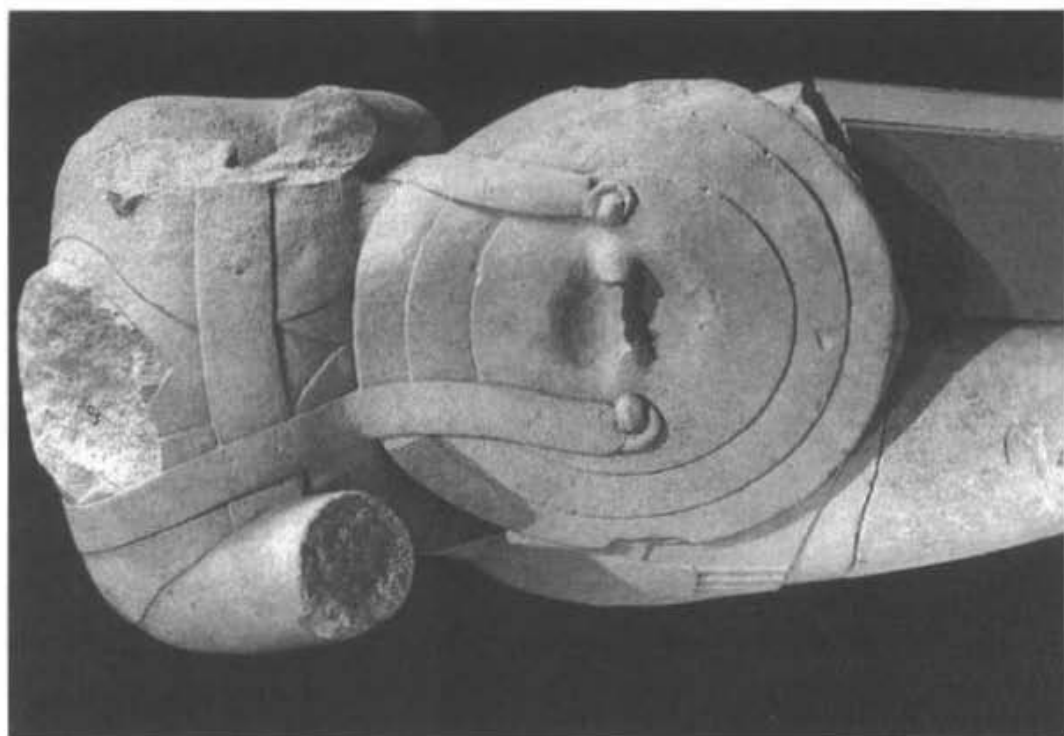
From the beginning, it was considered a *unicum* among Iberian sculpture for its quality and grandiosity compared to many of the other sculptures, although the existence of such a group provides a framework for many fragments scattered around this area such as the fragments from Elche. If all these possible groups are from roughly the same period (first half of the 5th century B.C.), it seems, even if they do not belong to the same school, that in this area there was a need and fashion for sophisticated sculptures. Whether they were funerary or not, they must have carried socio-cultural importance. This group of sculptures was considered an example of 'Phocaeo-Iberian' art because of its Greek flavour but mainly because of its quality: it was too good to be properly native. I do not deny the external factor but I do argue for a more integrated explanation which incorporates the native element.

The Lady of Elche. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Fig. 9)

Because of its early discovery (1897), its good state of preservation and its exceptional beauty, *la Dama* has come to be a symbol of Iberian studies. It was discovered by some farmers preparing a field, carefully hidden, probably in Ancient times. The small amount of material found with her was not properly recorded nor kept. The French archaeologist P. Paris succeeded in buying it for the Louvre and it was there until 1941, when, together with other pieces, it was taken back to Spain.

It is a limestone bust (56 cm high, the distance between the edges of the wheels is 19 cm and the radius of the wheel is 9.5 cm), but the rough lower cut implies that it was originally a full size statue. Several models can be taken into consideration. On the one hand the standing female offerants of the type found in the Cerro de los Santos. On the other hand, the discovery of the Lady of Baza in 1972 gave a new possibility. It was found in a tomb, acting as funerary urn. Some scholars have found support for this theory in that both figures have a hole in the back, but no traces of ash has been found in the lady of Elche, what could be explained by its purposeful change of location to the site in which it was found.

Being such an unique piece it has always been open to discussion.



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Fig. 5. Warrior from Porcuna (Jaén). Ministerio de Cultura photograph.



Fig. 6. Flight between man and griffin from Porcuna (Jaén). Photograph from the Ministerio de Cultura.



Fig. 8. Hunter with hare and dog from Porcuna (Jaén). Photograph from the Ministerio de Cultura.

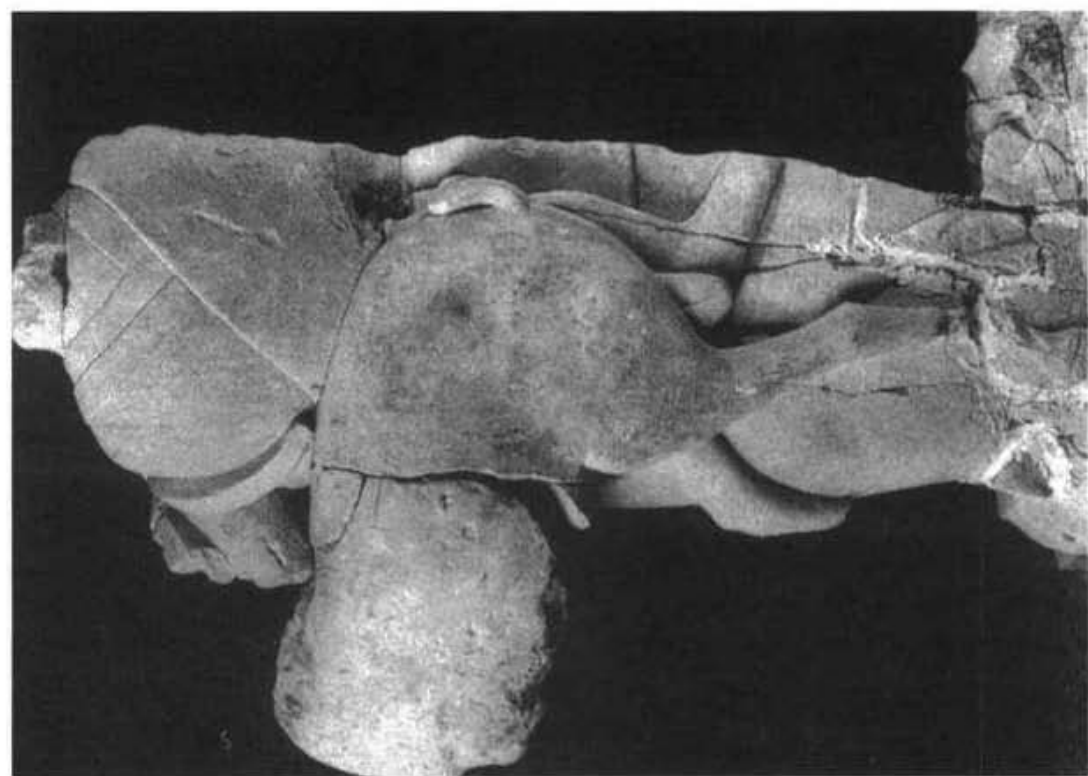


Fig. 7. Female figure encircled by deer from Porcuna (Jaén). Photograph from the Ministerio de Cultura.



Fig. 9. The Lady of Elche. Photograph from the Ministerio de Cultura.

Carpenter saw Greek craftsmanship in the statue, although with native dress and Punic ornaments. He could not see such obvious foreign influence in other Iberian statues:

And yet, as we come to know ancient Iberian things better with the years, the Lady of Elche steps more and more apart. She comes to live in a region of our mind which is shared only by the most beloved things of Greece. Such an experience has only an individual and personal value: to others it is worthless as evidence (Carpenter 1925, 62).

Of course, pieces like those from Porcuna give us a better native connection than that known in 1925. In any case the stylistic identification between local production and Greek action is clearly stated in Carpenter's account.

In 1941 the statue returned to Spain from its 'exile', in the flourishing of post-Civil War Spanish 'patriotism'. In 1943 García y Bellido wrote a monograph on all the sculptures brought back from Paris. The most important and the best studied is the Lady of Elche. This study was written in a period in which, for ideological reasons, the chronologies of Iberian sculpture were seriously lowered. Without convincing arguments the statue was dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. or even later. Bellido overstressed its *Iberianism* and its 'pseudo-archaism'. For him the sculptor, native or not, had been formed in Greece or a Hellenised area (including Romanised areas), and inspired by Classical models. In his account the evident archaism of the figure showed the Iberian artist learning to carve and then fossilising his creations (every art, when starting, is archaic because of its necessarily primitive and unskilled origins). It is true that a certain type of Iberian sculpture (the votive statues of offerants) tends to fossilise the representation, but this is surely due to a symbolic representation rather than to the laziness of the artist without capacity for innovation. It is not worth extending criticism of this work. Its arguments and agendas are so outdated by now that they do not contribute to the discussion unless the focus is historiographical. It is now generally accepted that the Lady of Elche is not later than the 5th century, in the early mature years of the Iberian culture. But of course it is still a polemic figure, as shown by a recent American publication in which is considered a forgery (Moffitt 1995).⁴

⁴ For a response to this accusation see, Olmos and Tortosa 1996 and the *Appendix* to this paper.

Discussion

During the last decade there has been, in Spanish scholarship, a general critical reappraisal of the ideological framework in which Iberian studies have developed, not only those of the culture as a whole but also those of sculpture in particular and of the role played by the Greeks in its formation. Here, I am interested in the last two points but for more general matters the overview of Ruiz and Molinos is an interesting framework. They stress the importance of the diffusionist model in the traditional approach, pointing out that although emphasis was set as much upon the foreign trigger as on the native values, the principle of 'influence/reception' was the same:

From this project [the imperialism of the 19th century] comes the cultural programme which masks the authentic reality of the new organisation of the world market, and a paternalist relationship between coloniser and colonised is constructed; in archaeology this relationship is expressed through a new diffusionists matrix, which we find in Paris and other authors. Thus the figure of the civiliser-invader comes into being (the myth of the Greek or Phoenician coloniser who teaches the native the potter wheel, the cultivation of the olive or the domestication of hens) in a framework of an integrating and non-conflictive matrix (except when the sources make this impossible); at the same time the different degrees of native response are defined: the *Baetici* accept the Roman civilisation better than the *Cantabri* because they are less barbarian and therefore they know the benefits of the coloniser (Ruiz and Molinos 1993, 16).

In 1986 Chapa dedicated a self-reflexive paper to the historiography of Iberian sculpture. In it she highlights several periods in the study of the material, most of them based on the study of Iberian sculpture as a reflection of Greek influence. Most of these studies were more stylistic than archaeological. She also outlines the new paths of research, from which I am drawing in the writing of this paper. Finally Olmos has focused his studies on the iconographical language of Iberian art, both in its relation to Greek motives and more interestingly, in the field of reference of the Iberian world with the study of works such as Porcuna and Pozo Moro (Olmos 1992, 1996).

From the beginning, with the studies of Schulten on Tartessos in the 1920s, there was a pro-Hellenic attitude in the interpretation of Iberian art and culture, little known in those early days. This Greek-orientated attitude derives not only from the literary sources⁵ but

⁵ In particular Herodotus 1. 163.

also from the ideological climate of the first part of this century, in which Semitic cultures were clearly despised, and the Hellenic was overemphasised; as a consequence the opposition became one of Greek *versus* Barbarian; everything that was plainly Greek was good and the imitations were more barbaric as they followed less closely the Greek perfection. Perhaps for us the most conspicuous of these scholars is Carpenter, but the focus on Greek prototypes has lasted until relatively modern scholarship, in the creation of the Ibero-Phocaean art.

In 1925 Rhys Carpenter dedicated a volume to the Iberian Peninsula, *The Greeks in Spain*. The title shows the problem: was Spain properly visited by Greeks? Carpenter's unspoken assumption is that it must have been. The result is that the parts of Spain occupied by Greeks were more civilised and produced relatively good art, even the Lady of Elche. The Punics, on the other hand, did not influence the artistic goals of the locals, not having any art themselves.

The next important step in the study of Iberian sculpture are the works of García y Bellido. Right from the 1940s he introduced a new concept in Iberian studies, that of the existence of a provincial Greek art, to which some pieces belonged. Bellido's firm conviction of the existence of a Greek wave of colonisation, with foundations like Hemeroskopeion, Alonis and Akra Leuke in the Levantine area, induced him to think that, together with proper Greek imports, there were some works, such as the sphinxes from Agost, the griffin from Redován and the female head found near Alicante, made by Greeks with local stone in the local areas. The inadequacy of the concept of 'provincial' Greek art is one of the drawbacks of this theory, but the decontextualisation of those pieces in the whole corpus of Iberian art is more important.

Bellido does not see Iberian art closely following, at least chronologically, this Greek-Iberian production; rather he places it all later. Its archaic features are explained as primitivism and barbarism of the local sculptors. The desire for a later date is explicable given Bellido's contemporary concerns. After the Spanish Civil War there was a certain attitude against the Iberian culture and its Mediterranean influences with, instead, stress on the celtism of the Peninsula and on the importance of Rome as the decisive civilising influence. The result which concerns us was an immediate lowering of the chronologies to the Roman period. As we see, there is a clear contradiction between Greek archaic *stimuli* and the creation of Iberian art virtually *ex nihilo*. But this problem of the lower chronologies was soon

outdated once its ideological support failed (with the end of the Second World War) and field archaeology started its quick development from the 1960s.

The influential work of Langlotz on Phocaean colonisation shaped the studies of the Greeks in the West for the next two decades. The idea that the Phocaeans had produced a special kind of late colonisation based on trade and lack of *chora*, following the pattern of the mother-city, and visible in places like Velia, Massalia and Emporion was fully developed in the late 1960s and 1970s in all fields. The better examples of this current of thought are the two conferences on the topic held in Italy in 1969 and 1980.

To simplify the trend of thought, it was evident that the Phocaeans were responsible for Greek influence in the far West, therefore it should show in sculpture as well as in other fields. The way in which Langlotz presents his plates is a good example. In the midst of this trend of thought the sculptures from Porcuna were found. Now, for the first time, there was a very reasonable group of sculptures that were obviously narrating a story, in the Greek style. If only for this, apart from stylistic reasons, we can talk of Greek influence. Soon it was considered the work of Greek craftsmen for a local aristocrat. It was Ibero-Phocaean sculpture, dated to some time in the 5th century B.C. Thus the concept of Ibero-Phocaean was widely accepted and used until the late 1980s (Blázquez and González Navarrete 1985; Chapa 1982).

At the same time other aspects have to be taken into consideration, namely the increase in excavation, which provided many more examples of sculptures, often within a context, and a more accurate chronology for the material. There was also better knowledge of the actual Greek (and Phoenician sites). Before, Greek presence was a must for the explanation of the Iberian culture, validated by the literary sources; now, the absence of sites similar to Ampurias in the Levantine and southern coast forced archaeologists to give new explanations to the Greek-local relationship. The discovery of the tower from Pozo Moro showed the importance of the Oriental component of the Iberian culture (Chapa 1986). In this climate of 'diffusion' studies there is almost only one discordant voice, that of Llobregat, which in 1966 called for a different approach, centred on the study of the Iberian culture (and art) *per se* and not as a second class peripheral reflection. He did not carry out his own *desideratum*, and it is for us, in the 1990s to see that it is done.

To sum up, the study of practical influences such as the mechanisms of borrowing has focused more on stylistic (subjective) matters than on archaeological evidence. We need a closer analysis of the data to understand why some cultural aspects of the Greek traders were adapted and used by the local populations. This will help to clarify the dynamics of contact and exchange between the two peoples in other terms than Greek colonialism⁶ and native passive reception. In order to do this, there are many aspects that should be studied in the understanding of the culture, their economy, regional organisation, domestic and burial customs etc. These studies are still quite new in our field (for a general revision of the subject see: Chapa 1986) and I hope that this paper, together with the more ample research of my thesis, which analyses a wider area from Marseilles to the Upper Guadalquivir valley, will be a modest contribution to this end.

Focusing on sculpture, the pieces with an archaeological context have been found in cemeteries, forming part of funerary monuments. It is in this context (of private display) that the sphinxes belong. In the sphere of cult, the picture is less clear. We do not know exactly how cult was organised within settlements. The existence of 'open air' sanctuaries such as the ones from Despeñaperros are documented. In them we found votive figurines or even major sculpture, for instance in El Cerro de los Santos, but none of these statues seem to be a cult image. Rather they represent offerants or perhaps priests and priestesses. The Lady of Elche belongs to this group, unless we accept the parallels with the figure from Baza. In any case most of these figures belong to a later period and we could argue that they reflect a different social hierarchy or different ways of display. The figures from Porcuna are, to date, an isolated example, but their interpretation is generally linked to the self-representation of a member of the élite rather than to dedications in what could be considered a more open area such as a sanctuary. We do not know enough of the chronology and function of Iberian sculpture to propose a shift from burial to sanctuaries. There are examples of funerary monuments right down to the Late Iberian Period but it is possible to affirm that in the Early Iberian Period there is an emphasis in the use of sculpture in funerary contexts in the south-east of Iberia, whilst

⁶ Here I use the word in its wider, modern sense, not only of foundation of cities but of a 'civilising' role.

later there are more examples of sanctuary dedications. In later periods, there are conspicuous forms of burial, marked by tumuli, but not necessarily with sculpture. It is also important to keep in mind that many funerary sculptures were destroyed (or left to their fate) after the Early Iberian Period. This could imply that their meaning was lost rather than any purposeful destruction.⁷

In order to understand the use of major sculpture in funerary context (and also the function of the group from Porcuna) we should turn to what we know about the society which produced the monuments. Unfortunately we enter here a typical archaeological vicious circle: our main source of information comes from the cemeteries, often more thoroughly excavated than the habitation sites. Recently, however, more studies have focused on the settlement pattern. For the Upper Andalusia we can rely on the studies carried out by A. Ruiz and M. Molinos. They have identified a settlement pattern for the area of Jaén which tells us about a fairly hierarchical site pattern (for an up to date account see: Ruiz and Molinos 1993, 113–122). The internal organisation of these sites is less clear, but somehow we seem to encounter a fairly structured society. Does it ‘match’ with the evidence from the cemeteries? The other areas under discussion are less well known. For Albacete the number of sites published belonging to this period is discouragingly low; the evidence for Murcia and Alicante is larger but has not been systematised (Ruiz and Molinos 1993, 123–129). The economy of these peoples is still a poorly known aspect. Ruiz and Molinos give the best synthesis, especially valuable because it is an internal analysis. The Iberians lived on agriculture, cattle rearing and some local specialised activities such as mining (Castulo), fishing or hunting. How these resources were distributed and held is not altogether clear.

The evidence from settlement, economy and the burial remains seem to point to a ranked society but this does not explain how the society worked. Ruiz and Molinos, with a Marxist interpretation, consider that the evidence for work specialisation points to a class society: “This complexity in the systems of production goes beyond the division of labour based on sex differences, which, although not totally overcome, becomes secondary, the main division being that

⁷ For a recent re-assessment of the complex phenomenon of the ‘destruction’ of Iberian sculpture see: Chapa 1993.

related to a broad class-structure" (Ruiz and Molinos 1993, 169). I am more inclined to think that, in the Early Iberian Period, social differences were not based on stratification; it was rather a complex segmentary society.

All those areas are associated to two main communication routes: the corridor formed by the Guadalquivir and Segura valleys and the *via Heraklea*. They secure communications towards Atlantic Andalucía, the Levantine coast of the Mediterranean and, finally, through the narrow valleys of the Subbetic System, to the Phoenician sites in the south. It seems clear then that these societies were open to contact with peoples from other areas, through regional and long-distance trade. The level of this contact is obviously important to understand its influence in the community as a whole. In this paper what interests me is the contact with Greek peoples in the area where sculpture, arguably a result of Greek influence, existed. It has to be stressed that sculpture is the product of this single area and therefore it is here and not on the area around Marseilles and Ampurias that we should concentrate.

Despite the literary sources our evidence for profound contact in this period through trade is scanty, apart from some aspects of sculpture, Greek pottery, especially drinking vessels, kraters and lekythoi, and, perhaps, writing. The oldest script of Iberia is the one attested in the south-west of the Peninsula. It is a mixture of syllabic and alphabetic script, probably of Phoenician origin, dating from the 7th century B.C. and found only on (funerary) stele [*cf.* Domínguez paper—Editor]. To this one are linked the later scripts of Iberia, the Southern and the Iberian scripts; the latter found along the Mediterranean coast up to the Languedoc until the Roman conquest. So it seems that one aspect of Iberian culture, writing, is a long-run native development, which can ultimately be linked to Phoenician contact in Lower Andalucía.

During the 4th century B.C. in the region of Alicante, Valencia and Murcia there are examples of the adaptation of a Greek epichoric alphabet to write the Iberian language: the Greek Iberian script. In a very comprehensive paper de Hoz discusses the problem of the origins and development of this script (de Hoz 1985–86). For him its origin is an Ionian epichoric alphabet, probably Samian, between 575 and 450 B.C. The process of borrowing has been dated, on epigraphic bases, to the first half of the 5th century B.C. The

number of inscriptions must have been reduced, which would explain why there are no examples from the 5th century B.C. and only some from the 4th century B.C. In the long run this Greek orientated script was not successful, what seems to support my argument that Greek influence was not pervasive in the Early Iberian Period.

In conclusion, in this paper I have tried to explore issues which are central to the understanding of what we call Iberian culture. I hope that I have made clear, using sculpture as an example, that the definition of Greek *stimuli* is a central factor, not only in the material evidence but also in the way this material evidence has been studied, guided very often by the conscious or unconscious wishes of the academics, creating a complex tangle of facts and prejudices. I have also open many questions which, at this stage of Iberian research, can only have tentative answers. In what way is the Iberian a ranked society? How was sculpture a way of display; was it a new fashion of enhancing monumental burial with the extra bonus of using the power of images, or the whole strategy of monumentalising and use of sculpture is altogether new? Who was going to be impressed by the Iberian monuments? Centring on the Greeks, we should ask how was the 'Greek world' which interacted with the local populations of the western Mediterranean; how 'international' it was; how far the Greek material culture was a culture of prestige in the Mediterranean, desirable for the élites. Finally, is the use of Greek elements 'superficial' or fundamental for the development of the local societies?

It is clear that mechanisms of contact did exist. Greeks, whatever meaning we give to this word, did trade with the western Mediterranean peoples, but this long-distance trade does not by itself explain the existence of phenomena such as sculpture. Close analysis of the material shows that it is the nature of the native populations that dictates the way Greek *stimuli* were used. In the south-east of Spain the local élites were using some external elements from the eastern Mediterranean to emphasise what are essentially internal developments. We have to give up assuming that the degree of colonial presence is directly responsible for the local developments and responses.

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APPENDIX TO S. AGUILAR'S ARTICLE

THE CASE OF THE LADY OF ELCHE: A REVIEW ARTICLE

Ricardo Olmos and Trinidad Tortosa

Art Forgery. The case of the Lady of Elche, by John F. Moffitt, pp. xxi + 324, figs. 65. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1994. ISBN 0-8130-1330-5.

Recent reviews of John F. Moffitt's book—by Anthony Sinclair in *Antiquity* 70, vol. 268, June 1996, 456–7, and by Karen D. Vitelli in *AJA* 99, 1995, 775 provoke this reply and the reflections which follow. The reviews are inadequate in criticism of the extraordinary claims made by the author, but rather serve to sanction the validity of a book which specialists in Iberian archaeology consider both absurd and lacking in that degree of scientific accuracy which would justify their publication in such distinguished journals. The subject deserves, we believe, more rigorous and serious treatment and we will therefore try to advise those readers not expert in this field. They might otherwise be given both a wrong impression of the book and an historically erroneous one of Iberian archaeology. We are not concerned only with the specific subject, the alleged forgery of the best known of Iberian sculptures, the Lady of Elche, which, according to Moffitt, is an invention of the 19th century. His text incorporates, and this is an equally serious point, a complete re-assessment of research in Iberian archaeology, with repetition of obsolete historical clichés which have been abandoned many years ago. Apart from the fleeting commotion that the book may have caused in the daily press—the destruction of the myth of an exceptional work of art will always be an appealing target for a certain public—the circular arguments offered by the author do stand up to expert criticism. It seems to be Moffitt's intention to go beyond the unmasking of a mere sculpture, and to go on to deconstruct the results of a century of popular and scientific literature.¹ The matter has effectively been shown to be intensively laden with ideology and collective passion. There are works of art, like the Lady of Elche, which transcend their sphere by being converted into political, social and aesthetic symbols of a community and of a whole period.²

¹ 'Iberian image and social reception' in R. Olmos *et al.*, *La sociedad ibérica a través de la imagen* (Barcelona-Madrid 1992) 12–13, 38ff.

² On the reception of Iberian art at the end of the 19th Century see: A. Hansen and S. Hansen, 'Iberische Plastik und die Rezeption durch die Moderne', *Das Altertum* 40 (1995) 203–220.

The sculpture was discovered in 1897, on the Iberian site of la Alcudia (Elche, Alicante), and was immediately hailed, especially by foreign scholars, as the 'personification of the soul of Spain', and even, what was even more irremediable, into a prototype and symbol of Spain's eternal femininity, a dignity prefigured in the earlier archetype Carmen.³ A new feminine ideal was seen in the Lady, different from the perverse and sensual one current in the second half of the 19th century.⁴ Throughout a whole century the ambiguity of the form of the bust, and the emphasis on its ornaments have fed the mystery. The Lady, moreover, provided the evidence for pre-Roman national roots in a period of a profound collective identity crisis, after the loss of Cuba, the last American colony (1898). Days after it was found the Lady was acquired by the Louvre Museum. Franco's regime of the early forties recovered it from its Parisian exile. Its image figured in the issue of banknotes of the period (1948), adopted as a symbol of Spanish origins encouraged by the dictatorship. This was a period of the manipulation of classical motifs in Europe.⁵ There seems to exist even today a certain indifference outside Spain in anachronistically maintaining this myth.⁶ For many—as for the writer of the prologue to Moffitt's book, Juan Antonio Ramírez, Professor of Contemporary Art in Madrid—revealing the Lady as a forgery would help to fulfil the old Freudian desire of 'killing the father', by dismantling a symbol dear to the dictator.⁷ It is easy then to understand the passion behind the arguments of the deconstructive and provocative author, who, like William of Baskerville in *The Name of the Rose*, happily takes on the identity of a Sherlock Holmes venturing forth into the dark back streets of Iberian archaeology. His plot could very well have justified a detective novel, and the influence of this genre is evident in his writing and in the actual subtitle of the book (*cf.* p. xx). But Moffitt is seeking something more than mere fiction and his plot, though easy reading, does not convince.

Let us analyse both method and content. The book is divided into two parts: the first recreates the Iberian archaeological context in which the Lady might be situated. The second tries to integrate the sculpture into the cultural and artistic ambience of the end of the 19th century Modernism, and into the wide-ranging and heterogeneous context of the archaeological forgeries of that whole century in Spain. A chapter dedicated to the influence of Iberian art on contemporary sculpture, on Brancusi and Picasso, ends the book.

³ E. Hübner, *JdI* 1898; P. Paris, *Monuments Piot* 4 (1898) 137–168; J. Pijoán, *Burlington Magazine* 1912, 65–74; H. Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain* (1908).

⁴ Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of the Feminine Evil* (New York 1980); Joy M. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives. Women in 19th Century American Sculpture* (New Haven/London 1990).

⁵ N. Himmelmann, *Utopische Vergangenheit. Archäologie und moderne Kultur* (Berlin 1976).

⁶ *Cf.* the review in *Gazette des Beaux Arts* Sept. 1995, 10.

⁷ J.A. Ramírez, 'Foreword. The situation of the Dama de Elche in Post-Franco Spain', in Moffitt, *op. cit.*, xv–xxix.

Moffitt starts off with the intuition, which is immediately converted into a certainty, that the Lady of Elche is a forgery. His discourse is backed up, in part, with authoritative arguments. For example, with the set of the Lady's features which G. Nicolini pointed out in 1974.⁸ But his arguments here are no more than an exposition of the opinions of those who, in the light of their own knowledge, saw an enigma in the uniqueness of the Lady. His second chapter, 'The distinctive characteristics of the Lady of Elche', turns out to be a commentary on previous descriptions of the Lady. Any authentic autopsy of the piece by Moffitt himself is missing. He plays continuously with the imprecision of his unsure research when it comes to classifying the piece in Iberian typology and chronology: today the Lady is dated, still tentatively, in the second half of the 5th century or the first half of the 4th century B.C. Moffitt enlists this uncertainty into proof of his case, and he inserts it into a vehement and confused discourse. Very rarely does he examine objectively the evidence and interpretations within their own context, a pre-requisite for every historian. Thus, the particular traits of the Lady, such as its being a bust (unusual in pre-Roman sculpture in stone), its exceptional state of preservation, the exaggeration of its indigenous character, its hieratic nature and the great wheels which frame the face, etc., are for Moffitt reason to believe it a forgery. But today we consider them simply traits peculiar to this art. For comparison, the Lady of Baza (Granada), which was excavated, itself remains a *unicum*.⁹ The parallels it has with small terracottas—winged goddesses seated on thrones—take us into the Mediterranean idiom of art. Such interplay between different materials and scales is common in Iberian art. Equally exceptional is the monument of Pozo Moro (Albacete), with its unique, enigmatic—but no less authentic for that—scenes like the very strange cooking of a human in a pot and the banquet;¹⁰ or the monumental set of sculptures from Porcuna (Jaén) with the unusual grypomachia in stone, from the middle of the 5th century B.C.;¹¹ or the milestone, unusually decorated on all four sides, from Jumilla (Murcia).¹² The list of singularities could easily be extended. The Iberian record is open, inconclusive and novel, but for John F. Moffitt it is closed. La Alcudia de Elche, where the Lady was found in the last century, has yielded a large number of sculptural fragments during this century, also to a great extent unique and of exceptional quality.¹³ For Moffitt all of these statues, steeped in a tradition which answered the social expect-

⁸ G. Nicolini, 'La Dama d'Elche: Question d'authenticité', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (April 1974) 60–72.

⁹ F. Presedo, 'La necrópolis de Baza', *Excavaciones Arqueológicas de España* 119 (1982).

¹⁰ M. Almagro Gorbea, *Madrid Mitteilungen* 24 (1983) 177–293.

¹¹ I. Negueruela, *Los monumentos escultóricos ibéricos del Cerrillo Blanco de Porcuna, (Jaén)* (Madrid 1990).

¹² J.M. Blázquez, *AJA* 92 (1988) 503–508.

¹³ A. Blanco, 'Die klassischen Wurzeln der Iberischen Kunst', *Madrid Mitteilungen* 1 (1960) 101–121; R. Ramos, *La ciudad romana de Illici* (Alicante 1975).

tations of Iberian aristocracy, seem to be of no importance. Near the site of Elche, the lady of Cabezo Lucero, Alicante,¹⁴ found in recent excavations in a fragmentary state, has, in spite of its excessive restoration, unmistakable and original elements in its ornament (such as the headdress, necklaces, etc.) which strongly relate it to our Lady.¹⁵

Moffitt does not accept the parallel and remains quite unaware of the variety of the Iberian record, even though he frequently speaks of an 'Iberian canon of stylistic expectations', following a definition of style by E.H. Gombrich (pp. 44 and 48). He clings to an imaginary canon which dictates to him the 'anachronisms' and the anomalous deviations of the Lady (pp. 93ff). His extensive chapter dedicated to Iberian sculpture is completely simplistic. He characterises the examples from the area of Contestania, in South-East Spain, as "schematic in treatment, summary in depiction, often crude in execution" (p. 44), a generalising cliché. He does not consider works of synthesis or recent appraisals like those of Teresa Chapa, which have studied in depth the rich spatiality, typology and chronological place of these documents.¹⁶ Perhaps because of this he states that "the remains of anthropomorphic figurations are much more common than the works of a strictly zoomorphic character" (p. 28). He is completely unaware of the votive figurines in bronze, when he so emphatically holds that "(...) when the subject matter of an Iberian artwork involves the depiction of a human figure, then the person is inevitably clothed" (p. 28), a statement which is patently untrue.¹⁷ His classification of three Iberian regions (ch. iii) is non-historical and naive.¹⁸ His obsolete account of Ampurias (pp. 35ff) is valueless as well as irrelevant. In this way he tries to define areas in which to place the sculptures. But sculpture workshops can be itinerant and had to function under the orders of the aristocracy. The works thus easily overcome the spatial limits which Moffitt proposes. The same workshop could have sculpted the female head, possibly from Alicante, now in the Museum in Barcelona, and the head from Ubeda La Vieja (Jaén),¹⁹ of which the author seems unaware. All this chapter is superfluous.

Historical confusion between Punic and Phoenician is constant. Thus, the alabaster Lady of Galera, an oriental product of the 7th century, is for Moffitt Punic (p. 35); he designates Gades a Carthaginian colony like Carthago Nova, etc. (p. 42). His treatment of matters concerning the controversial

¹⁴ Moffitt, *op. cit.*, 68, figs. 19-20.

¹⁵ E. Llobregat, A. Jodin, 'La Dama del Cabezo Lucero (Guardamar del Segura, Alicante)', *Saguntum* 23 (1990) 109-122.

¹⁶ T. Chapa, *La escultura ibérica zoomorfa* (Madrid 1985); *eadem*, 'Influjo griego en la escultura zoomorfa ibérica', *Iberia Graeca. Serie Arqueológica* 2 (Madrid 1986).

¹⁷ Cf. the typology of the masculine and feminine nude in L. Prados, *Ex votos ibéricos de bronce del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* (Madrid 1992).

¹⁸ For the Iberian territory see: A. Ruiz, M. Molinos, *Los Iberos. Análisis arqueológico de un proceso histórico*. Ed. Crítica (Barcelona 1993).

¹⁹ See M. Blech and E. Ruano, 'Zwei Iberische Skulpturen aus Ubeda La Vieja (Jaén)', *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 33 (1992) 70-101.

question of Phocaean colonies like Mainake or Hemeroskopeion (p. 41) is more appropriate to the 1920s, when attempts were being made to locate them,²⁰ than to the 1990s. His concept of the 'Hellenising' functions of Greek colonisation is anachronistic and mechanical, and untenable at least since the 1970s.²¹ The historic framework is based on uncritical readings of other authors, using whatever serves his purpose, and thereby lifeless and antiquated. Iberian culture is explained exclusively by the cliché of the "rise and fall" of a civilisation, which he seems to understand passively, as a mere sequence of military conquests or mechanical influences of Mediterranean peoples, projected and imprinted immediately onto Iberian art. He is unaware of the indigenous dialectic and originality, and ignores the complexity of the process. Punic influence does not exist; Greek influence lasts a long time but ceases, suddenly, in 150 B.C. after the Roman conquest: "Iberian art will no longer be Greek but bear a Roman imprint, it is extinguished almost instantly" (p. 42)—an alarming simplification. The Lady of Baza, to which he dedicates a chapter, emerges with Etruscan origins. The influence of Etruscan thalassocracy is defended to the point of proposing linguistic affinities between the Iberian and Etruscan languages (p. 274, n. 10). He is unaware of the terms of the debate over Etruscan presence in the Peninsula.²² At best these are opinions from a quarter of a century ago, borrowed from others and badly digested. His ingenuity extends then into the field of linguistics: if linking modern Basque with Caucasian languages like Georgian is to turn back several decades, then claiming that the contemporary Basque language is "post-Iberian" (p. 274, n. 10) seems simply to return to the 19th century, to the theories, now discarded, which fed on Humboldt. Moffitt (p. 275) dwells unprofitably on the concurrence of names from the Pontus and Western Iberia.²³

There are several examples of this tendentious discourse, using the opinions of authors which were justified at the time they were expressed, though no longer valid: the old stereotypes about the Hellenisation of Iberian sculpture, which were of variable formulation;²⁴ or the concept of portraiture in the ancient world, of which he is unaware and of which he trivialises the problems and diversity.²⁵ In fact, the Lady cannot be understood as a portrait in the modern sense of the word but as an *eikon*, or a typological and idealised representation of a character: a mortal, a goddess or a woman

²⁰ Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Pennsylvania 1925).

²¹ Cf., for example, A. Domínguez Monedero, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora I* (Amsterdam 1991) 109–161.

²² Cf. J. Remesal and O. Musso (eds.), *La presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona 1991).

²³ For a critical analysis see: A. Domínguez Monedero, 'Los términos "Iberia" e "Iberos" en las fuentes grecolatinas: estudio acerca de su origen y ámbito de aplicación', *Lucentum* II (1983) 203–224.

²⁴ E. Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Köln 1966); T. Chapa, *op. cit.* (1986) 311ff.

²⁵ Cf. K. Fittschen (ed.), *Griechische Porträts* (Darmstadt 1988); I. Scheibler, P. Zanker, K. Vierneisel, *Sokrates in der griechischen Bildniskunst* (Munich 1989), etc.

in her journey towards the beyond, the peculiar sphere of representation which embellishes and decorates an aristocracy, the *meliores*, as is also to be seen in the noble warriors of Porcuna.²⁶ The face, the bust, concentrate the identity of the person depicted. The psychological attitude and the ornaments form an inseparable part of the image.

Moffitt seems also not to have understood the subtle world of ancient gestures (pp. 45 and 95–96). He considers as an anomaly the ‘psychological’ characterisation of the Lady: its particular nature is foreign to the Iberian norm which the author has previously established. However, we can read the slight inclination of the eyes as an intimation of *aidos* or *pudicitia*, an ancient psychological trait which also explains the expression of the woman in the small stele of La Albufereta, Alicante.²⁷ It expresses the feminine modesty of those it portrays, by a pose of restraint, socially regulated. It is then possible to see the Lady as a sacred, initiating, perhaps epiphanic representation of a high-ranking woman.

The author could have analysed the Lady better, both as an individual work and in the context of Iberian sculpture, since he bases one of his arguments on the subjective appreciation of the ‘connoisseur’ who has a nose for forgery. One should not deny the validity of this criterion of familiarity when used by true experts, as was the case with G.M.A. Richter, who used it wisely and carefully in her studies of ancient art.²⁸ She emphasizes “in my opinion”. Gisela Richter was indeed entitled to avail herself of this criterion, after hundreds of hours dedicated to Classical sculpture. We do not believe this to be the case with John F. Moffitt. His superficial description overlooks the small ring-shaped fibula which tightens the fine inner tunic of the Lady: a clear sign of compatibility between the fibula and the quality of the dress fitted close to the body. Fibulae of this type, which are so tiny, are well known in Iberian archaeology: for instance, at Pozo Moro. The innumerable terracotta busts or incense-burners found along the Iberian coast from the 4th century B.C. have them in exactly the same place, below the neck.²⁹ A forger in the 19th Century could capture only with difficulty details such as this, or the complex treatment of the different textures of the Lady’s dress.

John F. Moffitt also ignores a characteristic common to human representations in the earliest Iberian sculpture: the slight asymmetry of ornaments and folds, which appears similarly on the Ladies of Baza and of El Llano de la Consolación (Moffitt, figs. 15–17). This indicates the relationship between the dress and the heart which beats beneath it, a hint of

²⁶ J.M. Blázquez, J. González Navarrete, ‘The Phokaian Sculpture of Obulco in Southern Spain’, *AJA* 89 (1985) 61–69, fig. 11.

²⁷ R. Olmos *et al.*, *op. cit.* (1992) 129.

²⁸ G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* 4th ed. (New Haven/London 1970) 141.

²⁹ M.J. Pena, ‘Los thymiateria en forma de cabeza femenina en el noreste de la Península Ibérica. Grecs et Ibères au IV^e s. av. J.C.’, *REA* 89.3–4 (1987) 349–358.

awareness of life in the image. He does not understand the interplay of Iberian proportions, which expressively underline that to which they intend to draw attention, and he considers them modern emphasis. He falls into the old error of wanting to interpret her ornaments negatively, from texts, having recourse once more to the well-thumbed passage of Strabo (3. 4. 17), taken from Artemidoros, on the peculiar *tympāna* with which Iberian women used to decorate themselves (pp. 179–180). Certainly: the high head-dress of the Lady of Elche does not strictly correspond with Artemidoros' description; it does not have to correspond. This old tradition of philological archaeology has seemed to modern scholars already exhausted because of its mechanical comparisons. We have to analyse the reports and descriptions of ancient authors dialectically and according to their own codes, interests and frame of reference.

The confused circumstances of the discovery of the Lady are, for John Moffitt, another sign, another piece of evidence. And the explanation: the need for quick money for the owner of the land in La Alcudia, who set a trap for the traveller, the expert Frenchman Pierre Paris (Moffitt, ch. xiii). The find was accidental, as have been unfortunately the majority of Iberian discoveries, and it is surrounded by that extraordinary passion and excitement which other unique statues have aroused so often. No less obscure, for example, were the circumstances surrounding the find and acquisition of the Venus de Milo in the 19th century.³⁰ But that does not mean it is a forgery. Fate takes a hand as much in archaeology as in real life: the discovery of the Lady coincided with the already announced visit of the archaeologist from the Louvre Museum. But how do we reconcile the supposed forgery with the fact that on the same site there have appeared notable sculptures throughout the whole of the 20th century? It would have been more worthwhile to have analysed the archaeological expectations of the site at the time of the discovery, expectations which were behind Pierre Paris' visit to Spain, and behind the European colonialism foreseen by E. Hübner³¹ when a new Schliemann was hoped for in Spain.

Moffitt continues with his case. Concomitantly with the circumstances of the fake find and its economic motive, it is time to consider the forger. There indeed existed an atmosphere of forgery in the 19th century, which particularly influenced early Iberian finds. Best known are the forgeries of the sculptures of El Cerro de los Santos throughout the 1870s, which accompanied, like an absurd farce, the first discovery of Iberian culture. It is a complex phenomenon to be studied elsewhere.³² Moffitt has found that the cap fits in the case of the Valencian forger, Pallás i Puig, who imitated Gothic ivories in those years. The existence of contemporary forgers does not prove anything. The works of Pallás i Puig, the alleged forger, belonged

³⁰ A. Pasquier, *La Vénus de Milo et les Aphrodites du Louvre* (Paris 1985) 21ff.

³¹ *La arqueología de España* (Barcelona 1888) 222.

³² R. Olmos, 'Una aproximación historiográfica a las imágenes ibéricas'. *Al otro lado del espejo* (Madrid 1996) 41ff.

to another field of re-creations, with more immediate models and known points of reference; he was an imitator of neo-medieval aesthetics and worked with material as different from stone as ivory: there is no comparison whatsoever. The Lady of Elche has certain traits of style peculiar to her which, if false, would imply a very complex invention of material and stylistic elements for the Iberian world, which is impossible given the range of knowledge at the end of the 19th century. It is not enough to assume as model the obviously rough feminine figure of El Cerro de los Santos, which according to Moffitt (fig. 51) could have been known to the forger through an engraving. Pallás i Puig did not work in stone nor did he venture into the field of antiquity. Again, Moffitt's analysis is simplistic and non-historical.

Happy with his success and his earnings, Pallás i Puig, adds Moffitt, would forge in the following year the torso of an Iberian warrior, to alleviate the feminine solitude of the Lady (Moffitt, 214ff, fig. 56). He easily finds another model for him as well: a masculine torso from the necropolis of El Llano de la Consolación (Albacete), sketched by the Frenchman A. Engel a short time before (Moffitt, 214ff, figs. 57–58). Pallás i Puig, a clairvoyant forger, would add a falcata to it. This is obviously impossible: the exact details of the Iberian weapon, the particularly indigenous way of carrying the sheath horizontally against the side, held by rings, were still a long way from being understood. All of these very specific details relating to Iberian weaponry have been gradually verified by recent patient research.³³ The slight inclination of the attacking torso, and the proportions of the powerful thighs of the male are, without doubt, traits peculiar to Iberian sculpture.³⁴ There are no motives for suspicion.

The presumptuous style of Moffitt's book, the poor use of argument, the temerity of the author when talking about Iberian culture in an indiscriminate and descontextualised manner, provide a model to avoid in future research and should invite reflection today. To this one may add the irresponsibility of the easy criticism in the afore-mentioned reviews, which help sanction the absurdity. It is dangerous to introduce books of this type into the scientific community of students.

We must also acknowledge that a part of the blame is ours: we Iberists have neglected the diffusion of our research outside Spain. We have not communicated well beyond the restricted circle of specialists. Our voice and criticism have scarcely been heard on the international platform of periodicals like *AJA* and *Antiquity*.

In any case, to return to the original argument on the Lady; let discussion of this work, which we still consider, without the slightest trace of doubt, authentic, remain open. Its authenticity in this uncertain game of scholarship may be discussed, if people so wish. But let it be done with scholarly precision. Let us propose debates, analyses, new models which,

³³ F. Quesada, *Arma y símbolo: la falcata ibérica* (Alicante 1992).

³⁴ Cf. similar warriors from Porcuna in I. Negueruela, *op. cit.* (Madrid 1990).

far from exhausting inquiries about the Lady, will allow us to draw nearer to the continuous delicate and changing prospects of research. An interdisciplinary Round Table on *La Dama de Elche: lecturas desde la diversidad*, which took place in Madrid (Madrid, 1997), may be able to propose new approaches to the discussion.³⁵ It will be necessary for all of us to abandon the rhetoric with which we may have surrounded this sculpture: what we know about it is still very little.

³⁵ This work is included in the project *Iconografía y territorio en época ibérica: las cuencas del Vinalopó y del Segura* DGICYT, no. PS 93-0006. The present article has been translated by Sara Aguilar and Emma Sands, and revised by John Boardman.

14. ERBINNA, THE 'NEREID MONUMENT' AND XANTHUS

Thurstan Robinson

The early 4th-century B.C. Lycian sepulchral monument, the so-called 'Nereid Monument' from Xanthus (Fig. 1), stands today in the British Museum, a short distance from many canonical Greek artefacts: the Parthenon frieze, the frieze from the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, a Caryatid from the Erechtheion, and part of the frieze from the Temple of Athena Nike at Athens.¹ The 'Nereid Monument' appears in books on Greek architecture and sculpture, where it, and the city where it came from, are called by Greek names. In many texts, the monument is treated as a kind of multicultural jig-saw; it is subjected to a type of reductive analysis where it is disassembled into its constituent parts to see to what extent it is 'Eastern' (Assyrian and Iranian) or Hellenic. It is spoken of as a 'Graeco-Persian' work, and analyses of its peculiar, 'eclectic' style appear in many works on Greek art. There appears to be a general consensus that "the chief importance of this provincially sumptuous work is as a predecessor of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus" (Robertson 1981, 147). The search for stylistic influence has dominated the quite considerable amount of literature written on the 'Nereid Monument'. Approached from the perspective of Greek art history, it is often treated as an artistic oddity, appreciated mainly for what it inspired.

The search for influences is partially responsible for an often inflexible, antagonistic bi-polarity of Iranian and Hellenic, East and West which can obscure the Lycian identity of the monument.² We hear of "the play of influences which produced the archaeological monuments" of Lycia (Le Roy 1989, 217); a familiar turn of phrase which is nevertheless somewhat insidious. As Baxendall has noted (1985, 58–9) talk of 'influences' implies an unrealistic degree of passivity on

¹ For the date of the monument see: Childs 1973; Childs and Demargne 1989, 395–404.

² See Said 1983, 136.

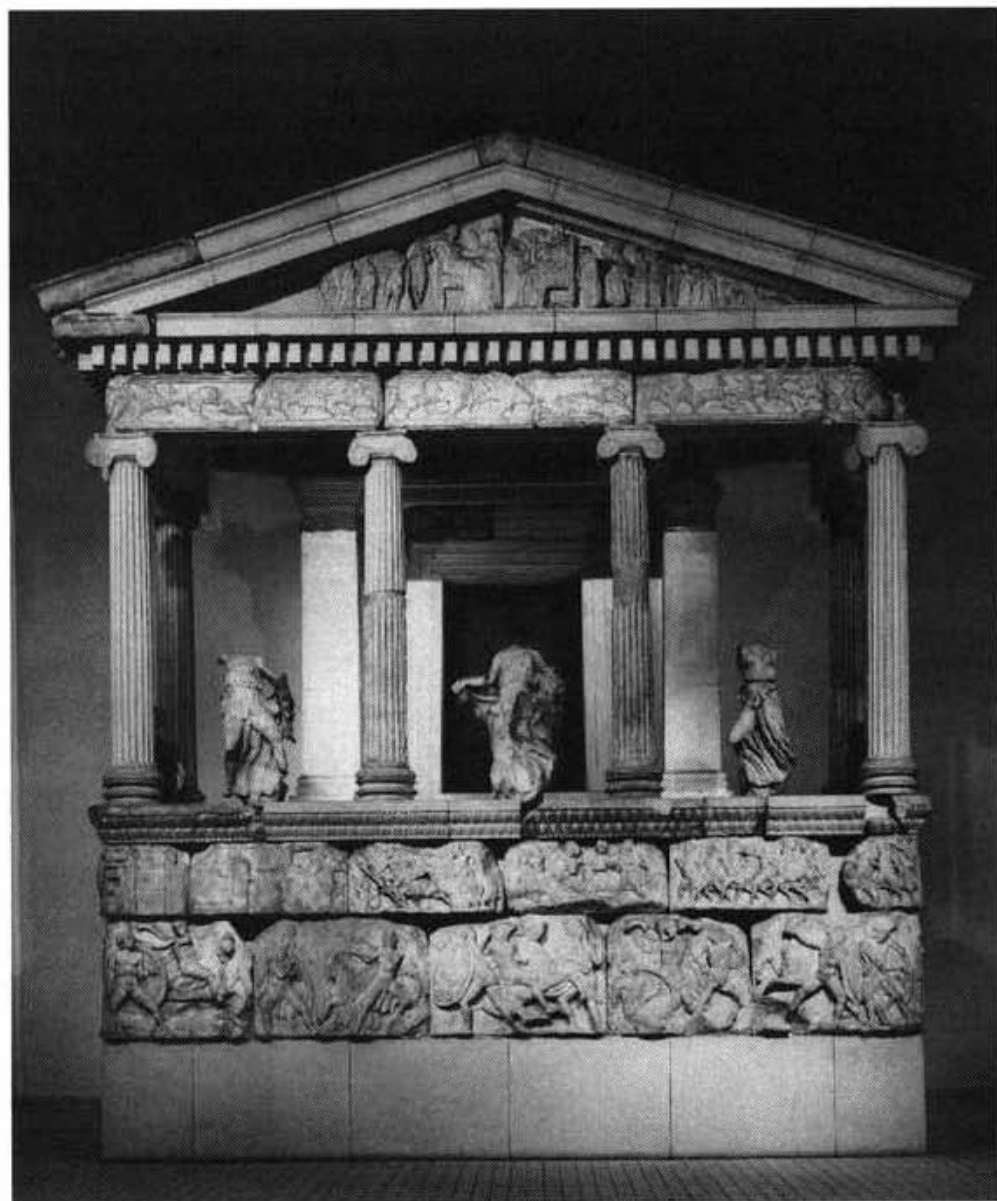


Fig. 1. East facade of the 'Nereid Monument' as reconstructed in the British Museum. Photograph, British Museum. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the part of the artist who should rather be seen as "responding to circumstances", making an active and "intentional selection from an array of resources in the history of his craft". It is not enough to look for 'influences'; we must ask why an artistic creation was made in a particular fashion (and not otherwise). Art and architecture, according to Zanker (1988, 1) are "the mirrors of a society" which "reflect the state of its values, especially in times of crisis or transition". The 'Nereid Monument' was made at such a time of transition and crisis. In this paper I wish to shift the focus from the position of the 'Nereid Monument' within various artistic traditions to a rather more speculative inquiry into the background and reasons for its construction. If we wish to understand the 'Nereid Monument', we must return it to its Lycian context.³

Xanthus, called Arñna by the Lycians, seems to have been the principal Lycian city from the earliest times.⁴ The Xanthus valley is the richest alluvial plain in Lycia; a broad plain covered in glass-houses today, it was commended for its fertility in the *Iliad* (12. 313-4). Xanthus itself is said to have been razed to the ground in about 545 B.C. by the Persians under general Harpagus; Lycia was subsequently included in the First Nomos of the Achaemenid empire (Herodotus 1. 176; 3. 90). Contacts were maintained with the Greek world, however, as abundant finds of Attic and East Greek pottery from Xanthus attest (Metzger 1972, 192-5). Nevertheless, Lycia contributed 40-50 ships to Xerxes in 480 B.C. for his campaign against the Greeks (Herodotus 7. 92; Diodorus Siculus 11. 2. 1, 11. 3. 7). This action appears to have brought them to the attention of the Athenians, and Cimon subsequently 'persuaded' them to join the Delian League (Diodorus Siculus 11. 60. 4); their contribution is recorded in three Athenian Tribute Lists, from the years 452/1, 451/0 and 446/5 B.C. It appears that this state of affairs did not last long, and that some time around 440 B.C. Lycia returned to the Persian fold (Childs 1981).⁵ Throughout this period of wavering international loyalties, the internal political system of Lycia seems to have remained little

³ For a full description of the monument itself and its sculpture see: Coupel and Demargne 1969; Childs and Demargne 1989; see also *inter alia* Stewart 1990, 171-2; Boardman 1995, 190-1.

⁴ Xanthus is *always* called Arñna in the epichoric inscriptions; see, for example, N 320, the *Letoon* trilingual inscription (published most recently in Metzger 1979, 49-127). On Xanthus see: Bryce 1986, 99-103.

⁵ See also Keen 1992 on the Lycian dynasty.

changed, with power remaining in the hands of various dynasts, many of whom are known from the abundant coinage (Mørkholm and Zahle 1972; 1976).

A tentative reconstruction of the Xanthian dynasty from the late 6th to the early 4th century has been proposed by Keen (1992), based on numismatic and epigraphic evidence; I follow his reconstruction in this paper. Erbbina, the man for whom the 'Nereid Monument' was most probably created was the last of a line of dynasts; he seems to have ruled from about 390–370 B.C. (Childs 1981, 71). His rise to power was not easy, as two inscriptions from the religious sanctuary of Xanthus, the *Letoon*, attest (Metzger, Bourgarel and Bousquet 1992, 155–79). It seems that his father, the dynast Kheriga (*ca.* 440–410 B.C.) died, or was deposed, in *ca.* 410 B.C., to be succeeded by Kherei (*ca.* 410–390 B.C.). The Greek epigram from the Inscribed Pillar tells of Kheriga dividing up part of his kingdom between his kin.⁶ It is not improbable that Kherei took advantage of the youth of Kheriga's son by annexing the rest of his kingdom. Kherei's rule was brief, however; in about 390 B.C., at the age of twenty, Erbbina seized power, storming the principal cities of the Xanthus valley—Xanthus, Pinara and Tlos—in the space of one month.

Erbbina's position at his accession was almost certainly very unstable. He had taken power through force of arms; in holding onto his newly-won possessions his youth may well have told against him. He may also have been viewed as an intruder at Xanthus, as it seems that he grew up in Telmessos, a city whose links appear to have been with parts of Caria rather than with the rest of Lycia (Bryce 1986, 105). Erbbina continued to mint coins at Telmessos throughout his reign; a sign of his continued attachment to this city, and perhaps, of the insecurity he still felt at Xanthus. As a young outsider he may have experienced difficulties in maintaining his control over Xanthus and its territories.

As the dynastic seat, Xanthus would have possessed symbolic, as well as strategic and economic, importance; Erbbina's dynastic predecessors, but not, it seems, his father, had all been buried within the city walls (Fig. 2). At Erbbina's accession Xanthus appears to have possessed five dynastic pillar tombs, the so-called 'Lion Pillar', the 'Harpy Tomb', the 'Theatre Pillar', the 'Acropolis Pillar', and

⁶ For the text of the Greek inscription TAM I 44c 20–31, esp. 27, see: Bryce 1986, 97 and Keen 1992, n. 36.

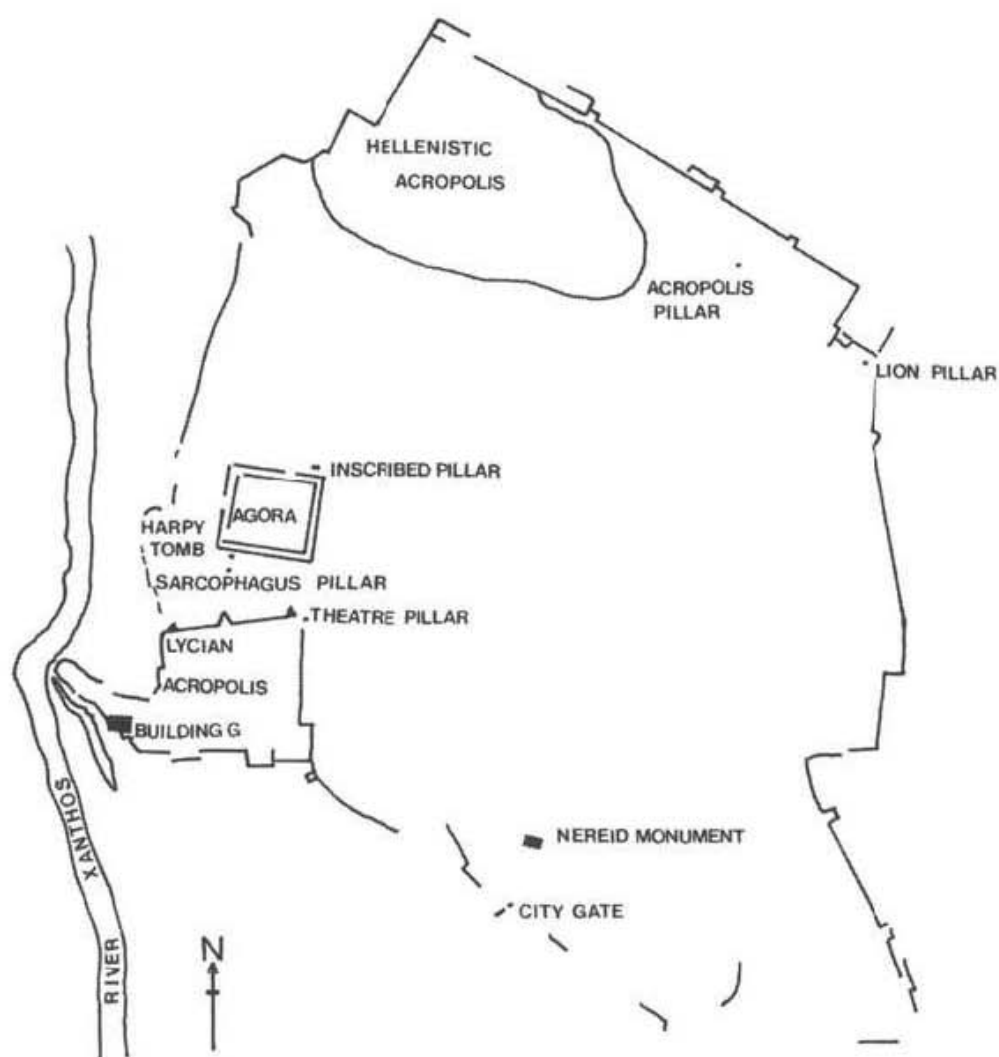


Fig. 2. Plan of Xanthus showing location of dynastic tombs, after Keen 1992, redrawn by T.H. Robinson.

the 'Pillar of the Wrestlers', as well as three other monumental buildings called F, G and H by their excavators. Keen (1995) has convincingly argued that building G should be identified as the *heroon* of the Lycian hero Sarpedon, the Sarpedoneion, mentioned by Appian, among others.⁷ Buildings F and H may have been shrines connected with the Sarpedoneion. Depending largely on stylistic features, the pillars are generally agreed to date from *ca.* 540 (the Lion Tomb) to *ca.* 390 B.C. (the Acropolis Pillar), while the buildings are dated to *ca.* 460 B.C., following what looks like the destruction of the acropolis area in about 470 B.C., possibly as a result of Cimon's expedition.⁸ All of the buildings bear friezes carved in a Graeco-Persian style (Demargne 1958; Metzger 1963; Boardman 1995, 188–92).

Monuments link the past to the present and evoke memory... they can form a focus for later monuments: they represent a visible past which is open to reinterpretation and revision by succeeding generations (Spencer 1995, 277).

Erbina appears to have been well aware of the power of monuments. The sky-line of Xanthus would have been dominated by the tombs of his dynastic successors; a specific building programme, rapidly initiated, would have been a good way of making his presence felt, and of affirming his dynastic legitimacy. It is probable that he was responsible for the erection of a magnificent pillar tomb for his father, the so-called 'Inscribed Pillar', to surpass any that had been made before (Keen 1992, 59; Deltour-Lévie 1980; Shabazi 1975, pl. XX). At the *Letoon*, he erected a new temple to Leto, together with a statue of himself with Greek poems inscribed on the base honouring his valour and deeds.⁹ For himself, he had built a tomb of a kind never seen before in Lycia (or elsewhere): the 'Nereid Monument'. Erbina was establishing his noble lineage and his rights

⁷ Sarpedon's tomb may also be mentioned in the text of the inscribed pillar; Keen pers. comm.

⁸ There is some disagreement, due to a disparity between the archaeological evidence and the texts, as to whether Cimon was responsible for the destruction of the city, but it may be that the acropolis area was destroyed accidentally when people from the surrounding territories sought refuge from Cimon's forces. For an overview of the arguments for the dating of the dynastic pillar tombs see: Keen 1992.

⁹ One of the Greek poems inscribed on the base refers to Erbina's programme; Metzger, Bourgarel and Bousquet 1992, 158, lines 16 and 17 of Poem B:

... to behold now [the monuments of your glory which
are here (the *Letoon*).]

and the others [which stand] on the acropolis of Xanthus.

to the dynastic title; he was at once ingratiating himself to the priests of Leto (who may have been useful allies) as well as declaring himself to be a pious man, and, with the erection of his own unprecedented and sumptuous funerary monument, he was staking his claim to be the most powerful of all dynasts.

The monument Erbbina erected in his father's memory, known today as the Inscribed Pillar, is the only Lycian pillar tomb to carry an inscription. Above the inscription the pillar was decorated with a trophy relief of the dynast's conquered foes, the seven Arkadian hoplites whom, the Greek inscription tells us, he killed in one day. The pillar was crowned with a statue, most probably of Kheriga himself, flanked by lions.¹⁰ The pillar itself is described in the inscription as an "immortal monument to his victories in war", and it proclaims that "no Lycian has ever yet raised up such a stele to the Twelve Gods in the holy temenos of the agora" (Bryce, 1986, 97-8). The wording suggests that this is indeed a monument, and not the final resting place of Erbbina's father, which may be why the statue was placed above where his body should have lain. The man responsible for raising this unprecedented monument was almost certainly Erbbina. The Greek inscription concludes that "Kheriga crowned his family with his illustrious exploits"; the glory of Kheriga was reflected upon his son.

The Inscribed Pillar was set up in the agora, standing diagonally opposite from, and in visible contrast to, what had hitherto been the most impressive of the Lycian pillar tombs: the Harpy tomb (see Fig. 2). Erbbina took a traditional shape of dynastic tomb, and emblazoned it, in sculpture and writing, with the valiant deeds of his father. Unlike the more staid and funereal nature of the sculptures of the Harpy tomb with its portly figures and deities, the Inscribed pillar is honorific and triumphalist, a monument to a warrior and hero. The iconography is strikingly different: Erbbina wanted to stress the valour and ferocity of his warlike ancestor. The Inscribed pillar towered physically over the citizens, *perioikoi* and visitors of Xanthus while they carried out their daily business in the agora, reminding all of the might of Kheriga and, perhaps more importantly, of his son.

The inscription on the Inscribed Pillar is normally seen as trilingual, with a long text in Lycian, covering the entire south and east

¹⁰ On the Inscribed Pillar see: Demargne 1958, 79ff.; for a reconstruction see: Shabazi 1975, pl. XX.

sides of the pillar, as well as the upper part of the north side, a twelve-line epigram in Greek and, on the bottom of the north side and the entire west side, a text in another form of Lycian, which has been called Lycian B (Bean 1978, 177–9; Kalinka 1901, 44). Lycian B appears to be a dialect of Lycian, and has tentatively been identified as Milyan (Bryce 1986, 52 n. 19, and 71; Gusmani 1993, 27–30). It seems, however, that the ‘Milyan’ section of the inscribed pillar consists of two closely related but different languages (Shafer 1967, 125–9). This fourth language has been identified as Solymian. Strabo (13. 4. 16–7), writing at the time of Augustus, says that the Kabalians (the inhabitants of the mountain plains to the north of the Xanthus valley) were said to be Solymi, and that four languages were spoken in Kibyra: Pisidian, Lydian, Greek and Solymian.¹¹ Solymian was a language spoken perhaps not only in the plain of Kibyra, but throughout the Kabalis.

Why should Erbbina go to the trouble of having a monument inscribed in four languages? The reason may have been symbolic rather than practical, as we can not be sure how many of those viewing the pillar could actually read. However that may be, it appears to have been seen to be desirable for Milyans and Kabalians as well as Greeks and Lycians to read of his father’s exploits, and it is interesting to reflect on the possible reasons for this.

In the 4th-century B.C. trilingual inscription from the *Letoon* near Xanthus, *perioikoi* are mentioned three times, as distinct from the *Xanthioi*.¹² A similar distinction is attested in several inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C. from Limyra and Telmessos (Wörle 1977; 1978; 1979). It has been argued that these *perioikoi* represent a non-urban, non-Hellenised, Lycian population, who were not members of a *polis* and lacked the property qualifications and political and legal status of full citizens, and therefore had no inalienable rights over the land they occupied (Hahn 1981, esp. 55–6). However, there is no evidence to support the assumption that these people were Lycians. It would only make sense to inscribe the pillar in Milyan and Kabalian if it were expected that Milyans and Kabalians would

¹¹ Shafer 1950, draws attention to this particular passage; it is surprising, however, that he should consider Solymian esoteric. Before the arrival of the Pisidians, the inhabitants of the Kabalis may have been almost entirely ethnically Solymian; see Hall†, 1994, 51.

¹² For the full text and a discussion of the *Letoon* trilingual see: Metzger 1979, 49–127.

have the opportunity to read it; furthermore, it would only be possible to inscribe the pillar in Milyan and Kabalian if someone either in Xanthus or brought there for this purpose was able to write in these languages. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the people for whom this was inscribed were in close contact with Xanthus, and were perhaps living in its territories as *perioikoi*.

It is a commonplace of literature on Lycia that transhumance was practised in antiquity much as it continued to be until very recently. In 545 B.C. when Harpagus sacked Xanthus, Herodotus (1.176) recorded that eighty families escaped the slaughter as they were absent at the time. Treuber (1887, 92–3) suggested that these families were in the mountains with their flocks, and this solution has been suggested many times since (Metzger and Coupel 1963, 80 n. 23; Bean 1978, 50). While it is unwise (and probably incorrect) to presume that transhumance has remained unchanged in the region since antiquity, there is some reason to believe that at this time some form of transhumance was taking place. Lycian presence in the highlands may be seen in several Lycian-style tombs that have been found in the Kabalis and the Milyas, as well as possible ancient shepherd encampments at Karlağacı Kayası and Çaltılar (Coulton 1993; Robinson 1995a). Furthermore, the terms laid out in a recently discovered inscription resolving (amongst other things) a dispute over land-rights between Tlos and Oinoanda are indicative of a conflict arising from the encroachment of herders from one city onto the agricultural land of the other (Gates 1994). Some of the Lycians and/or Milyans and Kabalians may well have been involved in transhumance during this period, moving their flocks into the mountain pastures in the summer months. It might seem appropriate for Erbbina to boast of the warlike feats of his father (and the fate of those who opposed him) to those whose land he wished to exploit.¹³ The Greek epigram may likewise have been directed at Greek traders, *perioikoi*, or metics who appear to have been responsible for much of the sculpture at Xanthus (Boardman 1995, 188–92). The Inscribed Pillar was a multilingual statement of might.

¹³ The presence of transhumant Milyans and Kabalians may be seen in Herodotus 1. 176: he states that of the Xanthians who claimed to be Lycians after the sack of the city in 545 B.C. the majority were of foreign descent. The Athenian Tribute List of 446/5 B.C. refers to *Lukioi kai sun[tel]* (ATL, II, list 9 [III, 33–4]); *sunteleis* could refer to the *perioikoi* and/or to the inhabitants of Highland Lycia; Childs 1981, 57.

Erbina erected a monument for his father in the traditional, albeit elaborated, form of the dynastic pillar tombs. The positioning of the Inscribed Pillar was also not out of the ordinary. For himself, however, he chose a new, overtly Hellenic style, and he placed his monument above the entrance to the city, far removed from the other dynastic tombs. Erbina shifted the focus of the Lycians from what may have been a less frequented part of the city, the Lycian acropolis, towards his father's and his own tomb, which were placed so as to tower over the busiest areas of the town.

The 'Nereid monument' took the form of an Ionic tetrastyle, peripteral building adorned with a considerable quantity of sculptural decoration. It was raised high on a limestone and marble podium which was also decorated with sculpted friezes. The height of the podium is not known exactly, but the limestone base had a height of 5.16 m and the marble layer probably added another 2 m (Coupel and Demargne 1969, 31). The monument itself (excluding the base) was over 8 m high. The tallest of the pillar tombs of his successors at Xanthos, the Harpy Monument, at 5.43 m in height, was dwarfed by Erbina's new creation.

To those approaching the city who were familiar with the buildings at Athens, the Nereid Monument may have seemed like the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens (427–424 B.C.), which when viewed from the West gives a similar appearance of being mounted on a lofty platform. It was not a temple—it contained funerary couches not a cult statue—but it may well have been intended to have been (mis)read as such even by Lycians, who would only have to compare it to the temple Erbina was building at the *Letoon*. However, importantly, the 'Nereid Monument' would have sent similar messages to those familiar with Achaemenid and Lycian architecture. Both Cyrus the Great (who died in 529 B.C.) and his son Cambyses had been buried in monumental graves on raised (although stepped) podia, and the Lycians may have been aware of this practice, although it should be stressed that Pasagardae is some 2300 km from Lycia (Stronach 1978, 24–43). Regardless of this, a Persian viewer would have recognised the monument for what it was. To the Lycians, and the Xanthians in particular, the contrast not only with the other pillar tombs but also with building G, the Sarpedoneion, must have been immediately apparent, and entirely intentional. The Lycians had two great Sarpedons in their mythology: one had led them out of Crete, the other had led them at Troy against the Greeks (Bryce 1986, 21;

Keen 1995). Erbbina's monument was similar in form to building G, yet it surpassed it in decoration, size and grandeur. The message must have been clear: Erbbina was a hero at least as mighty as Sarpedon. On the statue base at the *Letoon*, Erbbina was compared with Achilles, a hero of greater stature than, and an enemy of, Sarpedon (Metzger, Bourgarel and Bousquet 1992, 158). It appears that he may also have been compared with Patroclus in the same poem; if so, the comparison was bold, as Patroclus killed Sarpedon at Troy. The 'Nereid Monument' clearly invited comparison with the Sarpedoneion, and surpassed it: the Lycians had a new, heroic leader.

In the sculpture and iconography of the Nereid monument we, not unsurprisingly, find a similar situation as with the architecture. The monument is covered with a profusion of friezes laid out in four distinct registers. On the podium are two friezes, one on top of the other: the lower, larger frieze depicts a vicious, heroic battle; the smaller, upper frieze depicts the siege and storming of a city. On the temple-like building above, the architrave is sculpted with a hunt-scene at the front, and with a tribute-scene at the sides; the cella is sculpted with a sacrificial procession and a banqueting scene. The pediments are also sculpted: the West pediment bears a scene of Erbbina seated with his wife and entourage, while the East pediment returns to the theme of the heroic battle. Here made explicit in stone are the poems inscribed on the statue base at the *Letoon*. Erbbina was praised for his supreme might and power, for taking three cities in one month, for slaying many people, for being conspicuous among all for his wisdom, his skill at archery, his courage and his horsemanship.

The lower frieze shows us heroes at war, with naked warriors fighting clothed opponents. The nudity of some of the warriors may be indicative of their heroism and valour. The upper frieze is most probably a representation of Erbbina's most heroic actions, the storming of the three cities, and he is probably to be seen in the figure seated on a covered throne under a parasol wearing a tiara, receiving the elders of the city who are presumably suing for peace.

The differences between these two friezes is noteworthy, and they are more than just a question of style. Why is the upper frieze significantly smaller than the 'heroic scenes' on which it rested? For the sake of the viewer below it would perhaps make more sense for the frieze to be the same size or slightly larger than the frieze on which it rests. If it were simply a matter of trying to introduce a

sense of perspective the scenes would not have to differ so greatly in size, nor would the styles of the two friezes have to differ.¹⁴ It could be that the friezes were created by workmen of differing abilities, or that this was simply an early, slightly clumsy attempt at introducing perspective. A more satisfactory answer, however, may be found by considering the content of the two friezes.

The cities which Erbbina stormed were all Lycian, and they included the city in which these friezes were displayed so prominently. Although he could hardly leave his remarkable military achievement off the monument, therefore, it would be equally unwise to draw too much attention to the fact that he was storming Lycian cities. In marked contrast to the lower frieze—in which the ethnic identities of the protagonists are very difficult to judge, but the heroic nature and the extreme violence and desperation of the battle are readily apparent—the upper frieze is remarkably static and almost tranquil: nowhere is a casualty to be seen, and although the cities are clearly being stormed, the defenders are making no visible effort from within the cities to defend themselves.¹⁵ A few figures appear to be casting stones, but no other weapons can be seen within the city walls, although, of necessity not to diminish Erbbina's achievement, a resistance of some description can be seen to be put up outside the city walls. In the upper frieze there is also no heroic nudity; it would probably be a mistake to stress the heroic nature of either side, and the battle shown is deliberately monotone and uneventful. If we compare this siege scene with an Assyrian scene from the wall of the Palace at Nineveh from the early 7th century B.C., from which, it has been claimed, Lycian siege scenes may have originated, the difference is clear (Childs 1978, 49, and pl. 27.3). Not a drop of Lycian blood is shed in the upper frieze, and Erbbina can be seen to be dealing with the elders, from a position of power, but in an apparently civilised manner. The difference in style and size between the upper and lower friezes, therefore, is not simply a case of different artists being employed, nor simply of an attempt to introduce a sense

¹⁴ Stewart (1990, 171) suggests that these 'perspective tricks' may have been inspired by Agatharchan scene painting.

¹⁵ Compare the remarkable violence and realism of BM 854L in which a prostrate man arches his back in agony, grasping the blade of the sword which his opponent is attempting to free by stamping on his head, with the monotonous scenes of the upper frieze, for example, BM 870.

of perspective (although this may have been a consideration), but rather is a careful attempt to portray Erbbina as a conquering hero while avoiding depicting him as a brutal invader slaughtering the inhabitants of the cities he now ruled (and in one of which the frieze was prominently displayed).

The friezes on the main body of the monument show Erbbina as a leader in peacetime pursuing kingly pursuits: making a sacrifice, hunting bear on horseback, banqueting, and receiving tribute. In the banqueting scene Erbbina is depicted holding a rhyton and phiale. The horn-shaped rhyton had Achaemenid origins, and it is probably symbolic of prestige. It was perhaps an official token of a satrap; we cannot be sure, but it is certainly Persian in origin, and intended to show the status of its user (Ebbinghaus 1998). Demargne (1976) saw the upper friezes as depicting the real life of Lycian dynasts, reflecting the Lycian dynastic ideology, so similar to the Oriental monarchies of the Achaemenids and the Assyrians before them. These friezes are a portrayal of Erbbina as the ideal dynast. In the west pediment which faced the gateway to the city, Erbbina himself crowns the monument, seated opposite his wife, and surrounded by his family and entourage. He can be seen at the head of his family, with his children who (he must have hoped) would be dynasts after him.

I have, so far, neglected the curious and misleading title that Erbbina's funerary monument has been given, not least because the name draws attention to a feature which is not the central focus of the monument. The monument is a unified statement about Erbbina, and the so-called 'Nereids' are only one (albeit important) aspect of the whole. Although the representation on Erbbina's monument of Nereids, Greek deities with no known significance in Lycian religion, may appear to be a somewhat peculiar choice, several theories have been proposed to explain the presence of these minor and relatively attributeless Greek deities in the most eye-catching positions on the monument—in the intercolumniations and as acroteria. The figures on the podium, however, do not match the iconography of Nereids in the Greek world, and it is remarkable that serious consideration has not been given to the identification of these figures with Lycian deities.¹⁶

The mid-4th century *Letoon* trilingual refers to '*Eliyāna*' equated in

¹⁶ This is addressed in greater detail in Robinson 1995b.

the Greek version with *Numphai* (Metzger 1979, 49–127, esp. 54 lines 40, 76 and 114 #25.3). The *Eliyāna* are invoked as agents of retribution:

whoever removes anything will be answerable before these gods and the . . . mother of this *sanctuary* {?} and her children and the nymphs. (Metzger 1979; Bryce 1986, 91–3)

It may have been too much to have the figures of Leto, Artemis and Apollo standing as guardians over Erbbina's tomb, but the nymphs or *Eliyāna* would be suitable guardians for the devoted servant of Leto. The poem on side B of Erbbina's statue base calls upon Artemis and the *Numphai* to give (immortal) glory to his father. It is precisely this role that the Nymphs or *Eliyāna* play on his own tomb (Robinson 1995b, n. 21). The 'Nereids' have been seen to signify the apotheosis of the dynast; there is no reason why the *Eliyāna* should not fulfil the same role.¹⁷ The Nike-like aspect of the statues is indicative of the heroic, semidivine nature of the man they accompanied. As the Lycians did not have an independent school of sculpture, it is unsurprising that the *Eliyāna* should be depicted in a similar way to Greek female deities. Here, as with the rest of the monument, Greek style and Greek content should not be confused.

There is little doubt that the 'Nereid Monument' was built by, or at least with considerable technical assistance from, Greek craftsmen, and Coupel and Demargne (1969, 44, 73, 157, 159) suggest that the monument was built under the guidance of Ionian architect/workmen who had already worked in Athens as metic craftsmen in the Periclean building programme on the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Nike. Clearly, Erbbina sought Greek (or, at least, Greek-trained) assistance in the construction of his monument. Equally clearly there is much about it that is non-Greek, and we lose much if we dismiss this as simply provincial misunderstanding of, or incompetence in, the Greek idiom. It is important to understand why Erbbina chose such an obviously Hellenic form, and proceeded to fashion it after his own style. Lycia occupied an important position on the sea route between the Aegean and the east Mediterranean. Both the Achaemenids and the Greeks, therefore, had an interest in having Lycia on their side, while Lycia had an interest, from a trad-

¹⁷ For an overview of the 'Nereids' and their role on the Monument see: Barringer 1995, 59–66.

ing point of view, in keeping both sides (relatively) happy, while exploiting her position on an important naval and trade route (Keen 1993). At the time of Erbbina, Lycia was a part of the Achaemenid empire, yet Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 161), in the 4th century B.C., was able to state that Lycia had never been subdued by the Persians. His statement is incorrect but (besides ignorance) may reflect the liberty that the Lycians had in pursuing their own affairs. Xanthus was a city truly poised between East and West. It is in this context that we should look at Erbbina's monument, as a multilingual text to be read (or misread) by all who came to Xanthus. It was a visible expression of the power, wealth and relative independence of Xanthus and its dynast; a city that could afford to employ foreign workmen to build such a highly sculpted monument of marble (probably from Naxos or Melos) was wealthy (Childs and Demargne 1989, 158). To some Lycians and *perioikoi*, the monument may have been a symbol of oppression; an embodiment of all that they hated in their new philhellene dynast. To others it may have been a source of pride, even a symbol of the progressive realpolitik espoused by the dynast: if the Greeks were reckoned to be more profitable friends than the Persians, it could do no harm to become more hellenocentric. The monument may have been seen as a symbol of the supremacy of Xanthus over all Lycia and its neighbouring regions. However, it must also be remembered that to a contemporary Athenian, much as to the modern Classically-educated viewer, it may well have appeared as a bizarre folly, an Ionic temple, garishly decorated and oddly proportioned: a sculptural and architectural solecism.¹⁸ Interpretations of, and reactions to, the Monument may have been as numerous as its viewers, yet it was clearly a claim to, and an assertion of, power, and was understood as such by those who were to copy and compete with it in following generations.¹⁹

It is perhaps ironic that the new visual language adopted by Erbbina and his entourage as an expression of power has come to be interpreted as an expression of cultural weakness, signalling the crumbling of ethnic identity. I wish, therefore, to stress the importance

¹⁸ The monument of Erbbina would have acted as a focus of domination and resistance which "produces and transmits power, reinforces it, it also undermines and expresses it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it"; Foucault 1978, 101.

¹⁹ The 'Limyra Monument' of the Lycian dynast Pericles was clearly built in competition to the Nereid Monument. Borchhardt 1993.

of viewing the monument of Erbbina as a Lycian artefact, and a deliberate synthesis of different artistic traditions, eastern and western. The dynastic coinage of Lycia, the expression and instrument of sovereignty, provides an apt comparison: the iconography is mainly Greek, sometimes Achaemenid, but the legends are always Lycian.²⁰

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²⁰ A version of the following article was delivered on 22 February 1996 as part of the 'West and East' seminar series which was attended by Dr A. Keen (Royal Holloway, University of London). Many of the points made in the 1996 paper subsequently appeared in his recently published book *Dynastic Lycia* (Leiden, 1998), see esp. 69–70, 147, 158, 183. It is regrettably not possible to discuss further points arising from Keen's book at this late stage of publication.

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15. ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ.
A NOTEWORTHY USE FOR A PERSIAN GOLD PHIALE

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The large number of drinking bowls in precious metals commonly ascribed to the workshops of the Achaemenid Empire is a prominent feature in the archaeological heritage of the Near East. Their characteristic 'carinated' profile is considered diagnostic of the period, and is shared by humbler examples in baser metals (see especially Moorey 1980, 29–36), and a wide range of derivative forms in pottery.¹ The simpler examples may have served the purpose of ordinary drinking vessels, or of utensils for the pouring of libations. In later periods, there is evidence for the accumulation of the more precious examples in the treasuries of temples,² where they may have been put to use in rituals, or merely remained as a store of value. The present note is offered to call attention to a more specialised use.

In connection with enquiries into the Persian connections of Plato, a matter concerning which hyper-scepticism has long been fashionable, my attention was drawn to an interesting passage of the orator Lysias. It may be useful first to sketch something of the background.

Plato was the son of Ariston and Perictione, but his father having died early, his mother remarried, to her uncle Pyrilampes, an older man, apparently also a widower. This man had been an associate of Pericles, under whose leadership he had exercised political influence, and been employed on embassies to the Persian king, and possibly to other potentates in Asia. Visiting Susa, he attracted the favour of the Persian king, as "the handsomest and tallest of those engaged on such missions" (Plato, *Charmides* 158a). At the same time, we may notice that his name, meaning apparently 'Shining Fire' or 'Shining like Fire', had exactly the character of a Zoroastrian name, a coincidence which may also have interested the Persians. There were,

¹ For example, Stronach 1978, 243 and fig. 106. Most of the examples from this location belong to the 4th century B.C.

² For example, in the celebrated inscription containing a letter of Seleucus I to Miletus: Bradford Welles 1934, 34–5, listing vessels donated to the temple of Didyma.

of course, numerous Zoroastrian personal names compounded with OP Atro-, MP Ādūr- 'Fire'.

One such embassy may indeed have been the famous mission of Callias in *ca.* 429 B.C., instrumental in negotiating peace between Athens and the Persian Empire. If Plato as a young man did not actually live in the home of his stepfather, he would have been a regular visitor. He must have heard stories of the latter's days in office, and of his exotic travels 20 years previously. Apparently during his sojourn in the East, Pyrilampes had acquired, probably by gift, an aviary of peacocks. That he kept them for presentation to society ladies who were seduced by Pericles was, manifestly, no more than a saucy comedian's joke (Plut. *Per.* 13. 15). After Pyrilampes' death, the birds were bequeathed to his son by his first wife, Plato's stepbrother, Demos (*Athenaeus* 9. 397C). This young man was likewise celebrated for his good looks—so much the case, indeed, that in his youth, the son's name was prominent in the amatory graffiti fashionable at the time (Arist. *Wasps* 98). He had aspirations to public office, and in 390 B.C. was appointed as trierarch, to fit out and command a warship being sent to support King Evagoras of Salamis, in Cyprus, in his rebellion against the Persian king. The true purpose of the mission, however, as we shall see, is likely to have been secret, and from the sequel probably unknown to Demos himself.

To fit out such a vessel involved substantial expense, and the orator Lysias has an interesting story of the expedient adopted to raise the money:

Demos, the son of Pyrilampes, appointed a trierarch for Cyprus, requested me to visit him, saying that he had received a golden phiale, a token from the Great King, and that he wanted to pawn it for sixteen *minae*, so that he might have means for the expenses of the trierarchy. When he reached Cyprus, he would redeem it for twenty *minae*. Possession of the token would secure for him many benefits in cash and kind on the continent of Asia.

(*Orationes* 19. 25)

It is not entirely clear from the context whether Demos had obtained the phiale by bequest from his father, as he evidently had the peafowl; or whether he had personally maintained the family connection with the Persians, receiving the phiale subsequently as a direct gift from the Persian king. Platthy (1990, 26) very reasonably concludes that the gift had been received by Pyrilampes during his mission. If,

on the other hand, we should prefer the alternative interpretation, not improbable from the Greek,³ the evidence of a lasting family contact with the Persian court is even stronger.

At the time of drafting a discussion on the foregoing lines for my UCLA lectures *The Personalities of Mithra* (currently in press), I had not seen the article by M. Vickers (1984 [1990]). Vickers follows J. Hofstetter (1978, 159–60, No. 278) in concluding that Demos had himself received the phiale directly from the Persian king, having accompanied the Athenian admiral Conon on his visit to the Persian king in 395/4 B.C., a most interesting possibility. Vickers moreover deals with the monetary and metrological aspects of the text quoted. Here we shall be concerned with the politico-social significance of the heirloom, and its relevance to the family background of Plato.

That such opulent gifts were not mere souvenirs, but involved reciprocal obligations, and, at the same time, as 'tokens' of the king, commanded benefits from local administrators, is, if we take the account literally, a further sidelight on the function of these much studied artefacts. If we may speculate precisely what was the privilege conferred by the phiale, it seems probable it was a pledge of mutual hospitality between the recipient and the king, and involved also the king's officers and officials.

Comparable was the gift of a javelin by which the unnamed son of Pharnabazus, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, established a pledge of hospitality with the Spartan general Agesilaus (Xen. *Hel.* 4. 1. 39). We may guess that as in the latter case, so in the case of Demos, the recipient too would have had obligations, to entertain and support Persian visitors in Athens. Moreover, it appears that such bonds of hospitality would pass by inheritance in a family. Since however Demos, perhaps unknowingly, was going to Cyprus to fight *against* the Persian king, his expectations on this score, however fondly entertained at the time, might indeed have been minimal.

In fact, then, as we have suggested, Demos could have been unaware of his squadron's true objective. For this was the celebrated and paradoxical occasion when the Athenians, officially at peace with

³ As preferred by MacDowell (1971, 143–4) in his edition of *Wasps*; in his excellent comments on l. 98 of the comedy he writes: "Later in his life he [Demos] received a gold cup from the King of Persia, to whom he possibly went as an ambassador like his father".

Persia, contrary to their own interests sent a squadron of ten war-ships, including apparently that of Demos, under Philocrates son of Ephialtes to aid Evagoras in his rebellion. However these vessels were intercepted and captured near Rhodes by the Spartan fleet of 27 ships under Teleutias, although the Spartans were nominally at war with Persia and should have supported their mission. Demos is not mentioned again in the sources, and we know nothing of his fate on this occasion, though Xenophon (*Hel.* 4. 8. 24) speaks of the Athenian squadron as having been "destroyed". As we shall explain, the possession by Demos of the phiale as a 'token' (σύμβολον) suggests that perhaps his father, and evidently himself, had a pact of mutual hospitality (*xenia*) with the Persian king. On account of the royal connection, this would inevitably have had a semi-official character, approximating to the consular function of *proxenos*.⁴ Whether therefore Demos was killed in the action, or taken prisoner and held for some time in captivity, there could thus evidently have been a vacancy for a Persian *proxenos* at Athens, and one which Plato, as his step-brother, would have been well placed to fill. When many years later, after Plato's death, we hear of a Persian named Mithridates having dedicated a statue to Plato at the Academy,⁵ there may have been more behind his gesture than mere admiration of the philosopher's intellectual achievements. It is perhaps no accident that of all the celebrated figures of Classical antiquity, Plato is the most widely respected in Iranian popular tradition today.

The incident of the phiale pawned by Demos, son of Pyrilampes, thus throws an interesting light on two problems. On the one hand, the wide geographical dispersal of precious tableware, both under the Achaemenids, and even more so under the Sasanians, suggests presentations to foreign visitors in Iran not improbably connected with the establishment of *xenia*—host-guest relationships endowed with a certain political significance.

In accordance with the ancient Iranian tradition of oral transaction, material tokens rather than written contracts were used to document the understanding, just as fictile representations of a right

⁴ Perlman (1958, 185–91, esp. 185, n. 5): "When the state is a kingdom, the *xenos* of the king may also be the *proxenos* of the state".

⁵ Diogenes Laertius, *Vita Philosophorum* 3. 25; Favorinus (ed. Mensching) fr. 5 (= Favorinus [ed. Barigazzi]) fr. 6; Westerink 1962, 11; cf. Kingsley 1995, 197.

hand were sent by the king as tokens of good faith.⁶ We see also that not all tokens were in the form of terracotta pieces with fitting serrations quoted in pottery catalogues. In the case of the phialae, these vessels are likely to have been used at banquets organised by the Persian court for distinguished visitors, especially, no doubt, at the festival of the Mithrakāna (Mihrgān), when eminent guests could have received as presents their individual cups. The appropriateness of these tokens, associated with hospitality and entertainment, to a compact of *xenia*—even, in the case of the king's guests, with the establishment of *proxenia*—is especially evident. Such resumption of diplomatic arrangements would be particularly needed on the conclusion of peace treaties, or alliances, after long periods of hostility, as was the case at the Peace of Callias, or at the time of the delegation of Conon.

On the other hand, the episode of the gold phiale casts interesting light on the family connections of Plato with Iran. In the past, it has been indignantly denied that the philosopher's writings could possibly show the influence of eastern religions, of Oriental writings such as the works of the apocryphal 'Zoroastres', as asserted by the Epicurean Kolotes (*Athenaeus* 11.508), or of the sciences of the Magians. Now that we have grounds to believe that the philosopher was the third member of his family to have maintained close connections with Iran, that he regularly received Magian visitors, possibly even on the last night of his life (Kingsley 1995, 199–200), and that he included in his writings numerous motifs reminiscent of Iranian, more particularly Mithraic, doctrines, amongst which are the Lion-Man of the *Republic* (10. 588b), the antithetic 'World-Souls' of Good and of Evil (*Theaetetus* 176a; *Laws* 893b) and a vision of the afterlife as depicted in the celebrated 'Myth of Er' (*Republic* 614b), the whole matter merits serious re-examination. That, however, is a question to be reopened in a wider context.

⁶ Cf. Sherwin-White (1978, 183), where one of the items quoted, an ivory plaque from Lilybaeum with a representation of clasped hands and Greek inscription, seems explicitly a token of *xenia*, in this case between a Carthaginian and a Greek.

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16. BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA: RHYTA IN THRACE FROM THE LATE 5TH TO THE EARLY 3RD CENTURIES B.C.

Susanne Ebbinghaus

On the way to Greece, Xerxes' army marched through the southern coastal region of Thrace. Roughly 150 years later, Alexander passed over the same territory before crossing into Asia. The present study takes account of this intermediary position of Thrace. It aims to contribute to the exploration of the extent and limitations as well as the motivations of cultural interaction taking place between Thrace and its neighbours in West and East, Greece and Persia, or more precisely Asia Minor under Achaemenid rule, respectively. While Greek influence may be traced in different areas of Thracian life, material evidence for Persian influence is mainly restricted to the occurrence of a certain range of precious metal plate. The following investigation centers on the most elaborate of the relevant vessel types, the rhyton with animal forepart. These rhyta are essentially drinking cups or horns with a pierced lower end terminating in the head or protome of an animal. The liquid is poured into a bowl or directly into the mouth, and the vessel cannot be put down before it is empty. Accordingly, the use of rhyta presupposes a specific way of drinking. This as well as their complicated form and especially the variety of statements which may be made by the choice of the forepart is bound to provide these objects with a potentially high symbolic value. The adoption of such a specific shape is therefore unlikely to result just from superficial contacts between two cultures, while its subsequent transformation can be seen in terms of adaptation to local needs and customs. Widespread in the Persian Empire, the rhyton arrived in Thrace in a Hellenised guise and appears to have fulfilled similar functions to the more conventional drinking horn. The circumstances of its occurrence in Thrace allow us to catch a glimpse of the relations of this region with Greeks on the one hand and the Persian Empire on the other, and to evaluate the uses made by the local tribes of Greek and Persian culture.¹

¹ This paper has grown out of my research on the diffusion of rhyta with

Before we turn to the rhyta known from Thrace, let us first set the stage by looking briefly at the general development of the region in the relevant period, *i.e.* from the late 5th to the early 3rd centuries B.C. Up to now, there is no evidence for the occurrence of rhyta in Thrace earlier than the end of the 5th century B.C. By this time the Odrysian kingdom, centered in southeastern Thrace, had acquired a leading role among the many Thracian tribes. As allies and enemies of the Athenians in the struggle for control over the Straits the Odrysian rulers entered the stage of international politics, while living conditions in inland Thrace become more conspicuous with increasing Hellenisation (Höck 1891; Archibald 1994, 444–465; Stronk 1995, 48–58). In the areas south of the Balkan Range, this process of Hellenisation is more marked after the Macedonian conquest in the middle of the 4th century B.C., when a network of settlements and garrison towns with mixed populations was established in the place of existing native centres (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 264–267, 281–285, 554–566, 672–674; Archibald 1994, 465–475; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 32–39, 50–55). Local rulers could still indulge in the notion of independence, as is well illustrated by the revolts as well as the name and layout of the capital of the Odrysian dynast Seuthes III at the time when Lysimachus was satrap of Thrace, a situation which has been described as “Odrysian Renaissance” or “revival” (Dimitrov and Čičikova 1978; Hoddinott 1981, 121–126; Lund 1992, 19–50). Similarly, the Getae in the north seem to have experienced a flourishing period from the mid-4th century B.C. (Archibald 1994, 473; compare the tomb at Sveshtari: Fol *et al.* 1986).

animal foreparts undertaken for a D.Phil. thesis at the University of Oxford. Earlier versions were delivered at the ‘West and East’ seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies in London and the Greek Archaeology Group in Oxford in spring 1996. Grants from Lincoln College and the Craven Committee allowed me to travel to Bulgaria in November 1995, and I wish to thank curators and museum staff in Burgas, Karlovo, Nesebar, Sofia, Sozopol, and Varna as well as the Hermitage in St Petersburg and the National Museum in Prague for information and access to the material. I am grateful especially to John Boardman, Nino Luraghi, and Oswyn Murray for comments on drafts of this article, and to Theodore Christchev, Kamen Dimitrov, Cornelia Ewigleben, Pavlina Ilieva, and Ivan Marazov for advice, discussion, and translation. As Thracian gold and silver has attracted much scholarly attention and is illustrated in a number of exhibition catalogues, the references given here can only be selective. The drawings are by the author.

Greeks from Asia Minor as well as from Megara and Athens settled along the Aegean, Propontic, and Pontic coasts of Thrace from the 7th century B.C. onwards (Danov 1976, 175–222; Boardman 1980, 229–250; Graham 1982, 113–124; Isaac 1986). The extent to which these colonies provided meeting places for the Greek and local populations needs more precise definition (Danov 1976, 348–368; Samsaris 1980; Loukopoulou 1989; for the presence of handmade Getic pottery in the city of Histria see Coja 1990, 164–168). Thracians were living in the immediate hinterland of the Greek cities which appear at times to have been more or less under Thracian—especially Odrysian and Getic—control, a number of them paying tribute to the local rulers (Archibald 1994, 454–455, 462–464, 472–473; independence of the main cities on the Aegean coast is argued by Veligianni 1995). Fairly close contacts with the Greek cities may be assumed especially for the Odrysian élite: Sitalces married a woman from Abdera (Thucydides 2. 29. 1), and Seuthes II understood the Greek language quite well (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7. 2. 9). More generally, the Greek and Thracian worlds were connected by trade which penetrated inland along the river valleys and other routes (new evidence is provided by an inscription found near Vetren: Velkov and Domaradzka 1994). In the hinterland of the colonies on the Black sea coast, local pottery manufacture betrays Greek influence as early as the second half of the 6th century B.C. (Alexandrescu 1977). From the second quarter of the 5th century onwards, rich Thracian burials contain Greek silver and bronze vessels, jewellery and armour, as well as Attic painted pottery (Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, 63–97; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 88–110; Archibald 1983).

The Persians arrived in Thrace with Darius' campaign against the Scythians around 513 B.C. and held certain parts of the country for the following three decades. The extent of Achaemenid control in Thrace is disputed. Achaemenid rule appears to have been fairly unstable and largely restricted to the southern coastal area; it is doubtful whether Thrace, identified with the 'Skudra' of the Achaemenid sources, ever reached the status of a satrapy proper (Balcer 1988; Fol and Hammond 1988; Zahrandt 1992, 250–252, 269–273; Stronk 1995, 45–47). In any case, Persian presence in Thrace brought with it specimens of the distinctive class of precious metal plate which figured prominently in Achaemenid court life and gift exchange, the partly gilt silver amphora from Duvanli being the most well-known

example (Luschey 1983; Alexandrescu 1986; Abka'i-Khavari 1988, 102–105; Taylor 1988). At the turn of the 5th to the 4th centuries B.C., we meet again contexts with silver plate, now including rhyta. Most of these vessels betray Achaemenid influence, and the fifty-year gap between the period of direct Persian involvement in Thrace and the occurrence of this silverware is puzzling, if it is not in fact artificially created by chance survival or dating conventions.

Even in a study which mainly concentrates on gold and silver plate, the lack of background knowledge of the lifestyle and beliefs of the ancient Thracians is acutely felt as soon as the objects are to be set in context for interpretation. The rich metal finds from Thracian tombs and hoards have largely conditioned our picture of Thracian culture (the most recent and at the same time most prominent example is the Rogozen treasure consisting of 165 silver vessels: Fol 1988; 1989; see also catalogues such as Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979; Palais de la Civilisation 1987; Japan 1994). On the other hand, there is still very little published archaeological evidence from settlements which could supplement the sparse information on Thracian life and customs given by Greek sources. The Thracological approach of the past decades has aimed to amend this situation, often taking recourse to broader Indo-European concepts as well as Bulgarian and Romanian folk traditions and, as it appears to the outsider, driven by a notion which has been nicely described in the following way:

... although these scholars are only minimally, if at all, direct descendants of the Thracians ... nevertheless Bulgarian Thracologists feel an intimate link, almost a sense of complicity, with their all-but-ancestors (Palais de la Civilisation 1987, 6).

In the following, we are first concerned with the recognition of Thracian art.

Rhyta from Thrace or 'Thracian' Rhyta?

It has become general usage to apply the term 'rhyton' to a variety of drinking and pouring vessels of special, mainly zoomorphic, shapes. As is already implied by the etymology of the word (from Greek 'rhysis', the 'flowing'; compare Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 11. 497e), however, the term refers to the functioning rather than the shape of a vessel; accordingly, it is here restricted to the category of vases

equipped with a second outlet in the form of a pouring hole or spout. This precision allows us to trace more clearly differences in the handling, use, and symbolic function of such vessels which, unlike normal cups, cannot be drunk from the rim. In the ancient world, rhyta occurred in several different shapes, the most well-known being the rhyton with animal forepart. Consisting of an animal protome (*i.e.* head, chest, and forelegs) joined to a beaker or a more or less smoothly curved horn, this type evolved in the Achaemenid Empire. It experienced a first flourishing period and was spread to faraway regions under Persian rule. Only few Achaemenid rhyta in the form of a cup or goblet with animal head are preserved, but this shape is represented by the well-known series of painted terracotta examples of Attic and South Italian production, more often cups rather than rhyta (Svoboda and Cončev 1956; Tuchelt 1962; Hoffmann 1962; 1966).²

In finds from Thrace, we mainly encounter horn-shaped rhyta with animal protome and animal head rhyta with a short, cup-like container part set at a right or obtuse angle. These vessels have already been described in a monograph by Ivan Marazov (Marazov 1978). It is the aim of the following paragraphs to determine their place in the general development of the two types of rhyton and to bring out those features which appear to be specifically 'Thracian', *i.e.* common to a number of specimens found in Thrace and not normally attested elsewhere. In this way, it will be possible to evaluate the Thracian contribution to the diffusion of the rhyton with animal forepart. We will then need to address the issue of which craftsmen participated in the production of these vases. Are the rhyta from Thrace 'Thracian' only in the sense that they were made *for* Thracians and so to a certain degree reflect their taste and needs, or were they also made *by* Thracians?

² Since the early 1960s, the number of rhyta known from the Achaemenid period has been greatly enlarged by specimens from the art market and also by chance finds such as the silver examples from Yerevan: Arakelian 1971; Museum Bochum 1995, Nos. 106–108. These allow us to trace the history of this shape with more certainty. The Achaemenid animal protome rhyta seem to have developed from spoutless cups composed of a horizontal animal forepart and a wide, vertical container, while the taller terracotta rhyta from Northern Iran which are usually referred to as their predecessors are better understood as clay copies of precious metal rhyta of the Achaemenid or even Parthian periods. In the Achaemenid period proper, three types of rhyta may be distinguished: examples with vertical beaker and protome at a right angle, specimens with a tall, more or less strongly bent beaker, and horn-shaped variants (detailed discussion in Ebbinghaus, D.Phil. thesis).

Horn-shaped rhyta

As may be gathered from the evidence available at present, the history of the rhyton in Thrace starts with a piece which is most probably an import. With its elongated horn shape, the horse protome rhyton from the Bashova Mogila at Duvanli is unique among the rhyta from Thrace (Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 1517; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: silver, partly gilt; height 21.4 cm—Filow 1934, 66–67, 210, fig. 83, pl. 6; Marazov 1978, 30–33, 35, 139–140, figs. 23–24; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 98 No. 182, pl. on p. 27). It was most probably made by a Greek craftsman in Asia Minor, a region for which the existence of rhyta of this form is demonstrated by vessels held in the banqueting scene on the Nereid Monument (Dentzer 1989, 415–419 R 50, figs. 291–296). Both the stylistic features and the find context of the horse protome rhyton point to a date in the last years of the 5th century B.C.³

The rhyton from the Bashova Mogila heralds the main series of rhyta from Thrace, which it became possible to define more closely following the important find of silver plate made in a field near the village of Borovo in northern Bulgaria in 1974. With raised rather than cast foreparts, the bull, horse, and sphinx protome rhyta from Borovo are already technically distinct from the Bashova example. Moreover, their style clearly harks back to Achaemenid rhyta. In fact, the rhyton with the protome of a kneeling bull and vertical beaker fulfils all criteria to be classified as Achaemenid (Fig. 1a; Ruse, District Museum of History II-359; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: silver, partly gilt; height 16.5 cm—Marazov 1978, 4, 50–55, figs. 42–43; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 144–146 No. 290, pl. on p. 136; Taylor 1988, 85–86 No. 107b. Compare the Achaemenid example Taylor 1988, 84–85 No. 106b), but certain technical details such as the perfectly smooth interior of the apparently hammered beaker—where one would nor-

³ The lotus and palmette frieze running below the rim of the rhyton shows lotus flowers springing from a calyx of acanthus leaves. Parallel renderings appear in architectural decoration roughly in the last decade of the 5th century B.C. (Billot 1993, 62–65). A fairly carelessly painted red figure hydria seems to be the latest among the grave goods from the Bashova Mogila and might move the burial down to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. (Reho 1990, 43, 156 No. 459, pl. 33), but see also the opinion of Schefold (1936, 575).

mally expect the negative form of the fluting to be visible—indicate that it is part of the same workshop tradition as the other animal protome rhyta from Borovo. These other vessels are horn-shaped and, stylistically, represent different stages in a progressive Hellenisation of Persian forms. The horse protome has the head contour, mane, and thighs with ‘tulip’ pattern of an Achaemenid-style horse, but the forelegs are stretched out rather than folded under the body, the modelling of the anatomical detail, although schematic, goes beyond what is known from Achaemenid depictions of horses, and the lion head of the spout is Greek rather than Persian (Fig. 1b; Ruse, District Museum of History II-357; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: silver, partly gilt; height 22 cm—Marazov 1978, 2, 36–39, 116, 141–142, figs. 29–30, 114d; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 144–146 No. 228, pls. on pp. 36, 134; Taylor 1988, 85–86 No. 107a). The sphinx protome combines the female head of a Greek sphinx—with neo-Classical rather than classical features—with the ‘tulip’ pattern and sickle-shaped wings of Achaemenid derivation (Fig. 1c; Ruse, District Museum of History II-358; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: silver, partly gilt; height 20.2 cm—Marazov 1978, 26. 62–66, 69–70, 140, figs. 58–59; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 144–146 No. 289, pl. on p. 135; Taylor 1988, 85–86 No. 107a). The secondary ornament of both vessels is entirely Greek.

Both the horse and sphinx protome rhyta from Borovo carry an inscription in Greek letters reading *Kotyos ex Be[o]* and *Kotyos e Beo* respectively, which obviously gives the owner of the plate. The name ‘Kotys’ of these and parallel inscriptions on other silverware is generally assumed to refer to Kotys I, the Odrysian king who ruled from 383 B.C. until he was assassinated in 359 B.C. During this time span, he extended his control over great parts of Thrace (Luschey 1983, 317; Cook 1989; Mihailov 1989; Archibald 1994, 459–464).⁴

⁴ The Rogozen treasure has added several new examples to the corpus of known inscriptions: SEG 37, 618; Mihailov 1989; Painter 1989. The occurrence of the name ‘Kersebleptes’ in an inscription with the same formula shows that members of the Odrysian royal dynasty are likely to be named (rather than the deity Kotys as has been proposed by Dörig 1987, 10). At present, Kotys appears as the owner of some 21 silver vessels from different contexts, which we may take as an additional hint of the importance of this individual. The fact that his plate has up to now only come to light in northern Thrace, some of it in burials dated to the middle of the 4th century B.C. or later, may of course be used as an argument against the identification with Kotys I (Alexandrescu 1983, 48–50). However, there is a

Fig. 1a. Silver rhyton from Borovo; Ruse, District Museum of History II-359 / Sofia, National Museum of History.

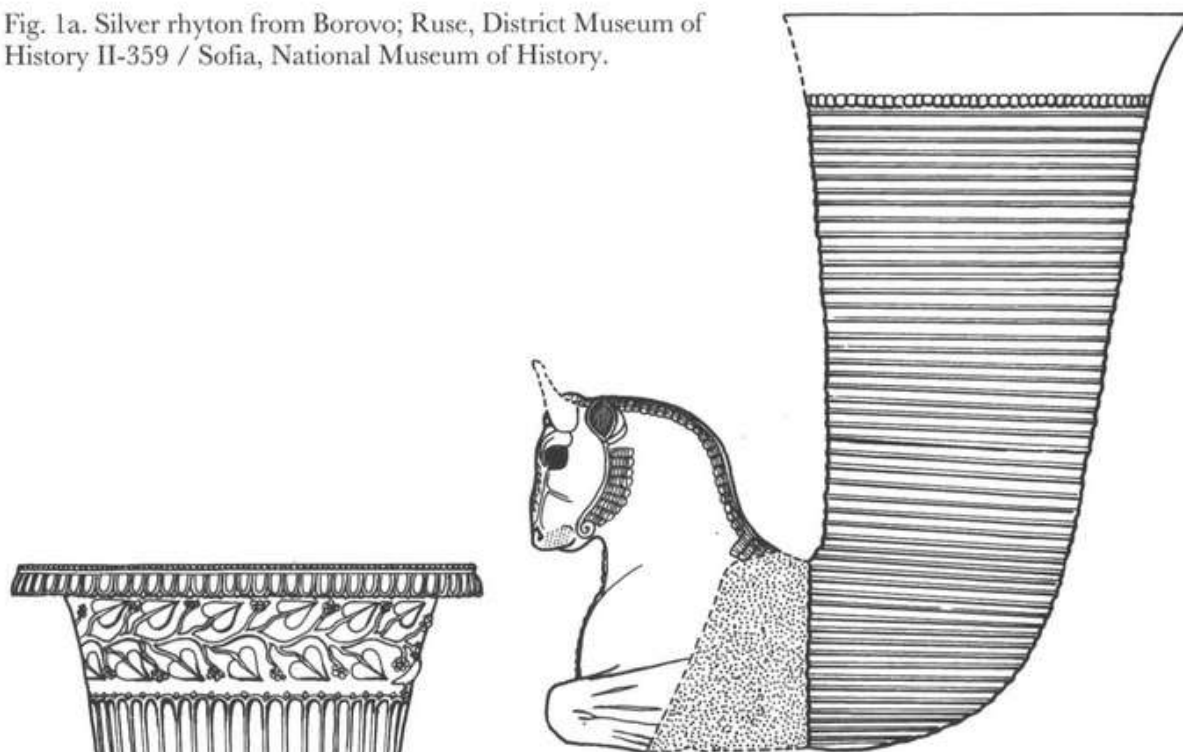


Fig. 1b. Silver rhyton from Borovo; Ruse, District Museum of History II-357 / Sofia, National Museum of History.

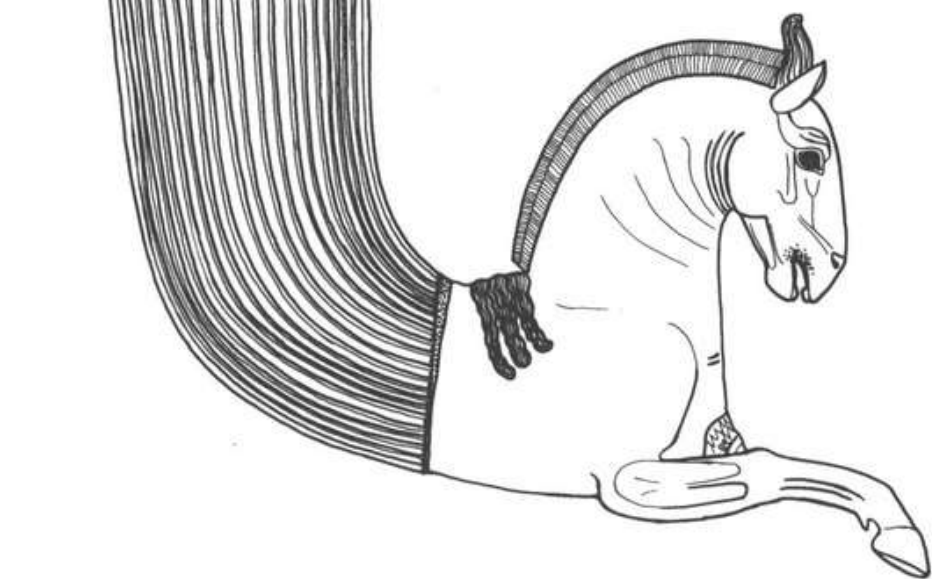




Fig. 1c. Silver rhyton from Borovo; Ruse, District Museum of History II-358 / Sofia, National Museum of History.

If this interpretation is correct, the inscriptions provide us with a *terminus ante quem* for the production of the two horn-shaped rhyta from Borovo. Certain features suggest that these formed part of a larger group of similar vessels and were probably even mass-produced. Their beakers have the same dimensions (height 20.2 cm, diameter 10 cm) and, in the present arrangement, do not fit the protomes perfectly well, which might mean that originally more beakers and foreparts of the same series were involved in the find. There exists a beaker of roughly the same height and with the same unfinished ivy ornament as occurs on the horn now mounted on the sphinx protome (New York, Metropolitan Museum 1979.446). Since the three rhyta from Borovo show distinct traces of wear, the fact that little care was taken to finish the subsidiary ornament is best explained by assuming that they were ordered as a batch and produced in a limited period of time, the value of the metal being of greater importance than diligent craftsmanship. These observations together with the most probably royal inscriptions lead to the conclusion that the type of rhyton represented by the examples with horse and sphinx protome from Borovo, *i.e.* with a fairly wide and strongly bent, vertically fluted horn decorated with an ivy ornament below the rim, was the, or at least one of the, main types of rhyton in Odrysian Thrace.

The rhyta depicted on a jug rhyton again from Borovo appear to follow the same type (Fig. 5; Ruse, District Museum of History II-361; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 146 No. 292, pls. on pp. 137, 147). It cannot be excluded that this 'Borovo variant' was also in use outside Thrace, but at present there is no evidence for a wider diffusion. A Thracian connection seems reasonably certain for two other vessels which display the same horn type and ivy ornament below the rim. An example with horse protome from the region of Poltava in the Ukraine (Fig. 2; St Petersburg, Eremitage S 72: silver,

general lack of finds from Odrysian territory proper, and the silverware which probably reached the northern tribes as diplomatic gifts or booty may well have been kept for a while or distributed further before it was finally deposited as grave goods. This idea receives some confirmation from the traces of wear and the presence of possibly secondary inscriptions for example on the horse protome rhyton from Borovo. Other members of the Odrysian royal dynasty with the name of Kotys are known from the 3rd century B.C. and later, which is in any case too late to account for the style of the silver plate.

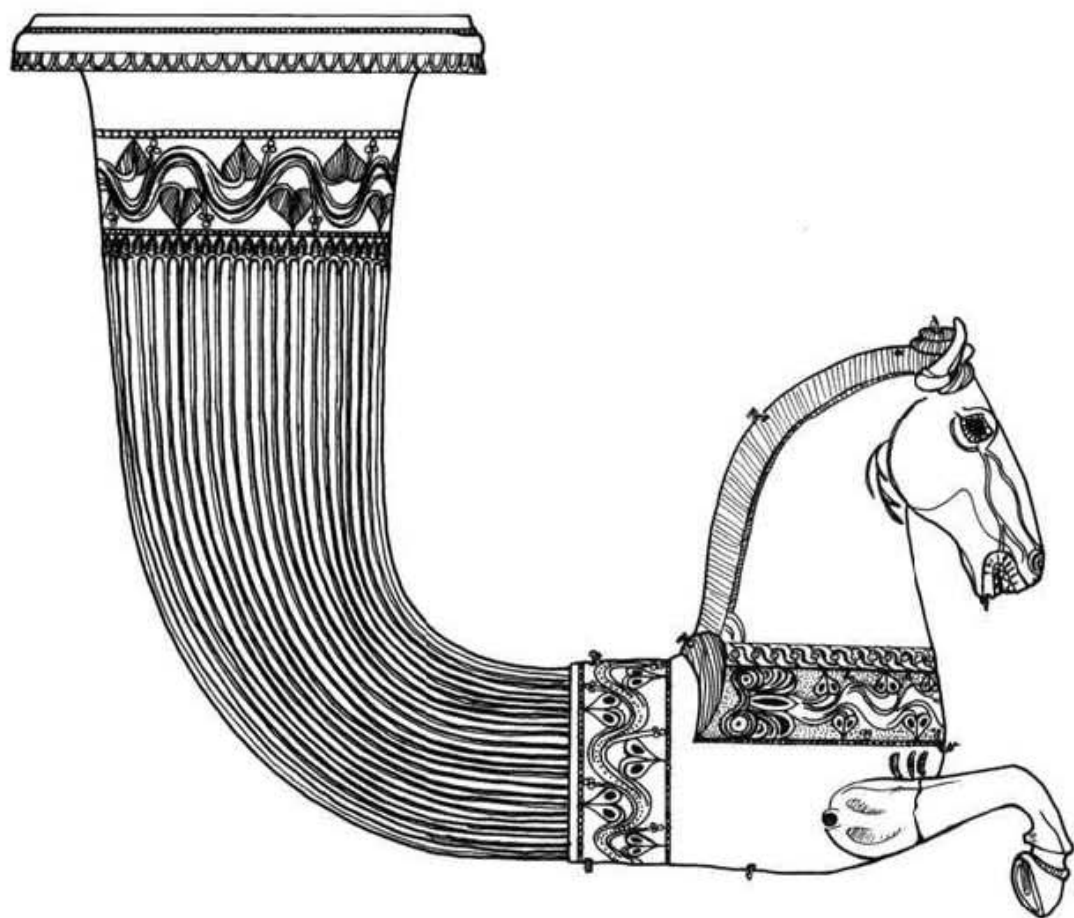


Fig. 2. Silver rhyton from the region of Poltava; St Petersburg, Hermitage S 72.

partly gilt; height *ca.* 20 cm—Makarenko 1916; Svoboda and Cončev 1956, 53–54, 83, fig. 15; Marazov 1978, 39–42, 44, 116, 141–142, figs. 32–33, 114g) shares many stylistic elements with finds of metalware from northern Thrace including the Rogozen treasure and should therefore be attributed to a workshop active in the area of the Triballi or Getae in the second or third quarters of the 4th century B.C.⁵ The best parallels for the horse protome of the other vessel, a piece thought to have come from Thrace (Prague, Historical Museum 1407: silver, partly gilt; height 22.6 cm—Svoboda and Cončev 1956, 9–14, 75–89, pls. 1–4; Marazov 1978, 35–36, 116, 139–140, 142, figs. 26–28, 114v), are provided by the horses depicted on the Alexander Sarcophagus (von Graeve 1970), which places this rhyton in the early Hellenistic period. The topknots of this and the preceding piece may be seen as artistic or perhaps even real survival of the Persian fashion. The style of the rhyton in Prague is otherwise entirely Greek, which might well be due to its later date. I propose a development opposite to that described by Marazov in his monograph (1978, 142–143, 145, 150). Instead of evoking the picture of Greek style being (consciously) adapted to Persian norms by workshops in the Propontis in order to cater for the needs of Thracians felt to be barbarians with a taste similar to that of the barbarian Persians, it appears to me more probable that initially, Achaemenid models were taken over to be subsequently Hellenised.

According to this model, the rhyta from the Borovo hoard with their clear debt to Achaemenid art may be placed at the head of the production of the specifically Thracian variant of the horn-shaped rhyton; the Borovo workshop might even be credited with the creation of this form. The number of vessels representing the Thracian variant is not great, but their unity is further underlined by a similar height range (between 20 to 23 cm) and the common feature of an area of gilding on the shoulders or upper thighs of the foreparts. This was first noticed for the rhyton in Prague by Svoboda who gave a practical explanation, assuming that the vase was gilt in those spots where it was commonly held (Svoboda and Cončev 1956,

⁵ Compare features such as the broad palmette on a flat base, the use of dots for filling and lining, the long strand at the horse's withers which recalls the Persian-type mane, and the hatched border around eyes and mouth which is characteristic of the so-called Thracian animal style: Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, fig. 244; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, Nos. 295, 269, 276–281; Fol 1988/1989, Nos. 80, 96, 100, 119, 127, 145, 158–162, 165; Schneider and Zazoff 1994.

10–11). Two more horse protomes have been found in Thrace. The forepart of a pegasus of gold from the area north of Razgrad is both slightly more schematic and more ornamental than the horse in Prague and may be dated to the late 4th or early 3rd centuries B.C. (Razgrad, District Museum of History 1409: gold; preserved height 14.8 cm—Gabrovski and Koloianov 1980; Palais de la Civilisation 1987, 45, 205 No. 337, cover; Japan 1994, 59, 65 No. 89, pl. on p. 21). It lacks a pouring hole, while a probably roughly contemporary and cursorily modelled protome of local grey ware is fully functional. The latter is a stray find made near the site of a Thracian fortress south of modern Burgas on the Black Sea coast (Burgas, Archaeological Museum: grey clay fired red on outside; preserved height 12 cm—Karayotov 1975; Marazov 1978, 46, 50, 141–142, fig. 41). Because of the possibly fairly late date of the two incomplete vessels, it is not certain whether these followed the same type as the horn-shaped pieces previously discussed, or whether they did in fact have a more smoothly curved horn with figure decoration. The combination of a horn-shaped protome vessel with the figure decoration commonly found on animal head cups or rhyta is represented by a rhyton with the protome of a wild goat from the Panagurishte treasure (Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 3196; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: gold; height *ca.* 14 cm—Svoboda and Cončev 1956, 132, 135–138, fig. 5, pls. 7–9; Simon 1960; Marazov 1978, 88–93, 140, figs. 87–90; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 180, 187 No. 363, pl. on p. 181) and a fragmentary horse protome rhyton which was bought in Kerch at the end of the 19th century but appears to be of Thracian workmanship (St Petersburg, Hermitage 2538–1: silver, partly gilt—Kondakof *et al.* 197, 203–205, 212, fig. 184; Marazov 1975; *idem* 1978, 42–46, 49–50, 140–142, figs. 34–39). This hybrid form is taken up by Roman terracotta rhyta with debased animal protome or head (Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1993), but might well have been another Thracian speciality in early Hellenistic times.

Animal head rhyta

While Thrace may be seen as the source of one or possibly even two distinctive variants of horn-shaped rhyta, its share in the development of the animal head vase is far more difficult to evaluate. The examples found in Thrace are fairly diverse, and clear-cut criteria

which would define a certain form as Thracian do not emerge. Instead, it will be suggested that Thrace participated in a broader phenomenon without much contribution of its own. Generally, we have to distinguish between straight vessels with animal head and cup aligned, perpendicular examples characterised by a right angle between head and cup, and bent variants where the cup rises from the head at an obtuse angle. The great majority of the animal head rhyta from Thrace falls into the bent category, while the earlier Attic red-figure animal head vessels are mainly straight or perpendicular, the latter often being equipped with a foot (Hoffmann 1962). In addition to the examples found in Thrace, precious metal rhyta of the bent type include pieces from Tarentum (Trieste, Museo Civico 4833: silver, partly gilt; height 19 cm—Simon 1967; Marazov 1978, 72–74, 76, 140, 143, figs. 71–74; Pfrommer 1983, 265–266 No. 157, figs. 31–32, 39; Dörig 1987, 8–9 No. 5, pl. 1) and Yerevan (Erebuni Museum, Yerevan 21: silver, partly gilt; height 17.5—Arakelian 1971, 143, 149–152, figs. 6–9; Pfrommer 1983, 270 No. 173, figs. 34–35; Museum Bochum 1995, 56, 100 No. 108) as well as some unprovenanced specimens which have only recently become known (Ortiz Collection: two rhyta of silver, partly gilt; length 29 and 25.4 cm respectively—Royal Academy 1994, Nos. 152, 154; another example in a private collection in New York).

For years, discussion has centered on the question whether or not the specimen from Tarentum now in Trieste was the product of a silversmith from Southern Italy. When Pfrommer reviewed this problem in the early 1980s, he came to the conclusion that the bent silver rhyta were at home in an area extending from Asia Minor to Thrace and the Northern Pontic region, chronologically bridging the gap between the Attic animal head vessels of the 5th century B.C. and the bent examples of the Southern Italian series, which started in the mid-4th (Pfrommer 1983). Already Hoffmann (1966, 106) had assumed that the transformation of the Attic animal head cup with handle into a true rhyton "... originally took place along the Persianized fringes of the Greek world towards the end of the fifth century B.C.". Some random checks can show, however, that at least by the last quarter of the 5th century, specimens with pierced muzzle were more numerous among the Attic animal head vessels than is generally thought (or indicated by Hoffmann). Still, these rhyta follow the old straight or even stemmed, perpendicular types, while bent, stemless examples remain exceptional. In the 4th century B.C.,

the black gloss animal head rhyta of the mainland Greek 'von Mercklin' class show elongated, horn-shaped beakers and low placing of the handle, features which clearly set them apart from the bent metalware pieces (Hoffmann 1989, 162–163). The absence of any close parallels in Attic or mainland Greek pottery makes it most likely that the bent animal head rhyta were indeed a phenomenon of the zones on the border of the Greek and the Persian worlds, *i.e.* areas where the meeting of Attic animal head vessels and Achaemenid protome rhyta could result in the bent, stemless form which is appropriate for a pouring vessel. This claim is strengthened by evidence from Lycia, where bent animal head vessels used as rhyta are depicted on the 'Nereid' Monument as well as a tomb relief and a fragmentary pediment at Myra (Dentzer 1982, 395–396 R 39, 401–404 R 40, 415–419 R 50, figs. 233–234, 239, 291).

All animal head rhyta of precious metal which have been found in Thracian territory carry figure decoration on the rim. The assemblage consists of an example terminating in a deer head reportedly from a burial mound at Rosovets (Rachmanlii) in central Bulgaria (Fig. 3; Sofia, Archaeological Museum B 49: silver, partly gilt; height 16.8 cm: Filow 1934, 163. 166–169, 210–214, figs. 182–183, pl. 10; Marazov 1978, 68–72, 74, 116, 140, 143, figs. 66–70, 114a; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 160 No. 314, pl. on p. 154; Pfrommer 1983, 268–269 No. 166), another with bull head found by a peasant of the village of Poroina in southwestern Romania (Bucharest, National Museum AR 849: silver, partly gilt; height 27 cm—Odobesco 1889–1900, 494, 498–500, figs. 202, 205; Berciu 1969, 236–238, 259–260, fig. 11, pls. 135–136; Marazov 1978, 58–62, 141, 143–144, figs. 54–57; Pfrommer 1983, 270 No. 175), and three vessels which were part of the Panagurishte treasure, two stag heads and one ram head (Plovdiv, Archaeological Museum 3197–3199; currently on display in the National Museum of History, Sofia: gold; heights *ca.* 12.5, 13, and 13.5 cm—Svoboda and Cončev 1956, 126–135, figs. 2–4, pls. 1–6; Simon 1960; Marazov 1978, 75–88, 141, 143, figs. 75–86; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 180, 187–188 Nos. 364–366, pls. on pp. 182–3, 185). To these, Marazov has added a rhyton with the head of a calf from the region of Kerch (St Petersburg, Hermitage 575: silver, partly gilt; height *ca.* 19 cm—Jahn 1857, 91–93, pl. 107, 1–2; Marazov 1978, 55–58, 60, 141, 143, figs. 50–51; Pfrommer 1983, 268 No. 164), and he has also included the rhyton in Trieste with the rhyta from Thrace. He points to common features in the

figure style of these vessels, such as the treatment of the hair in separate curly strands and the archaic frontal eye which gives the figures in profile view a staring glance (Marazov 1978, 147–148). In fact, these characteristics together with the patterning of the garments with grouped or evenly spread punched dots are common to a wider circle of silver plate, including the above mentioned silver rhyta of various provenances as well as the jug rhyton from Borovo and a janiform head vase with Lycian inscriptions in the British Museum (inv. 1962, 12–12,1: silver, partly gilt; preserved height *ca.* 16 cm—Barnett 1974; here belongs also a janiform head rhyton in the Ortiz Collection: Royal Academy 1994, No. 153).

It can hardly be argued that all these objects are connected with Thrace, instead, we have to assume that their production was centered around a region whose finished objects or artistic impact reached Lycia and Armenia as well as the Thracian lands. Pfrommer (1983, 281) has thought of a workshop in one of the Greek cities on the Hellespont for the rhyton in Trieste.⁶ Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (1966, 39, 47–48) assumed an atelier situated on the southern shores of the Black Sea. Generally, Eastern Greek involvement would offer the best explanation for the diffusion of this kind of silver plate. Unfortunately, there is no recognised corpus of toreutics from Asia Minor to which we could turn for stylistic parallels, and comparison with objects and monuments in other media is generally hampered by the problem that conventions such as the patterning of the dress in order to make it stand out from the background are most appropriate for toreutics and therefore probably largely restricted to it. Accordingly, the identification as East Greek of this specific style of silverware characterised by the staring 'bird's' eye and soft, fairly schematic drapery will have to await confirmation through new finds from controlled excavation in Asia Minor, although we cannot be wrong in assuming that the gold- and silversmith's craft flourished in this area, considering the proximity of neighbours with a taste for precious plate such as the Persians and native Anatolians. The figure decoration of the known examples is not always of the highest quality, ranging from the more elegant warriors and satyrs on the Ortiz rhyta to the awkward rendering of the hand of the cupbearer gath-

⁶ In looking for the artistic context of the rhyton, Pfrommer as well is drawn towards Thrace, the home of Boreas who is most probably depicted on this piece. Similar arguments may also be found in Dörig (1987), but being guided by the iconography in such a way is in my opinion an approach of debatable value.

ering the folds of her dress on the rhyton from Yerevan. Obviously, different—possibly itinerant—craftsmen and ateliers participated in the manufacture, and regional workshops situated in Armenia, Lycia, or Thrace might also have been involved and responsible for a number of stylistic peculiarities.

For the question of the animal head rhyton in Thrace, the postulation of an Eastern Greek school of metalwork means that we might need to distinguish between possible imports on the one hand and pieces which display features indicating an adaptation to Thracian taste on the other. From analogy with the shapes of Attic and Apulian terracotta specimens, Pfrommer (1983, 274, 282; 1993, 343) has observed that metal rhyta which are less strongly bent and have a comparatively wide neck are earlier than those with a more steeply rising and elongated container. The deer head from Rosovets with a Dionysiac scene on the neck accordingly appears to be the earliest of the rhyta found in Thrace and is also placed in the first half of the 4th century B.C. by the still fairly compact form of the calyx crater carried by the Silenos at the centre of the frieze (Pfrommer 1983, 269; 1993, 343). Compared to the probably slightly earlier rhyta from Trieste and in the Ortiz Collection, the Rosovets deer head is modelled more softly and with less precision. The schematic folds over the eyebrows recall the multiple eyebrows of Achaemenid art, and here as with the rhyton from Yerevan, the absence of a handle speaks for a further assimilation to the horn-shaped rhyton and departure from Greek principles. However, the figures of the frieze are Greek in both style and iconography. This mixture of Greek and Achaemenid elements recalls the rhyta from Borovo, but it need not be seen as specifically Thracian.

A stronger case for Thracian origin may be made concerning the calf head rhyton from the region of Kerch, which shows an illustration of Telephus threatening to kill little Orestes rendered in what one is tempted to call a provincial style. The shape of this rhyton with a heavy head and short, narrow, nearly cylindrical cup is close to that of several Apulian rhyta of the second half of the 4th century B.C. (Hoffmann 1966, pls. 9, 12–13), while the prominent dewlap recalls the calf head from Yerevan. The arrangement of the tufts on the forehead, however, is best paralleled by the rhyton from Poroina, the handle attachment in the form of a human head occurs also on the Panagurishte rhyta, and the heads of the female figures of the frieze lie stylistically somewhere between the Borovo jug rhyton and clearly Thracian works such as the Letnitsa plaques and

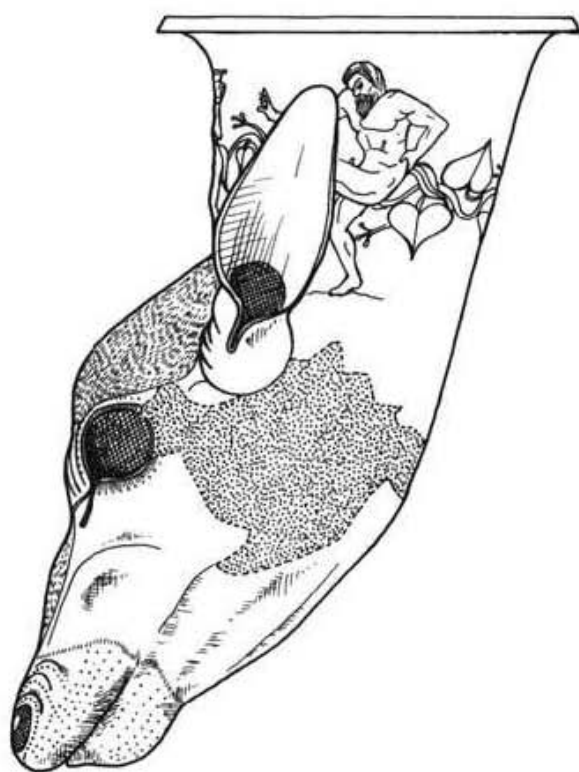


Fig. 3. Silver rhyton reportedly from Rosovets; Sofia, Archaeological Museum B 49.

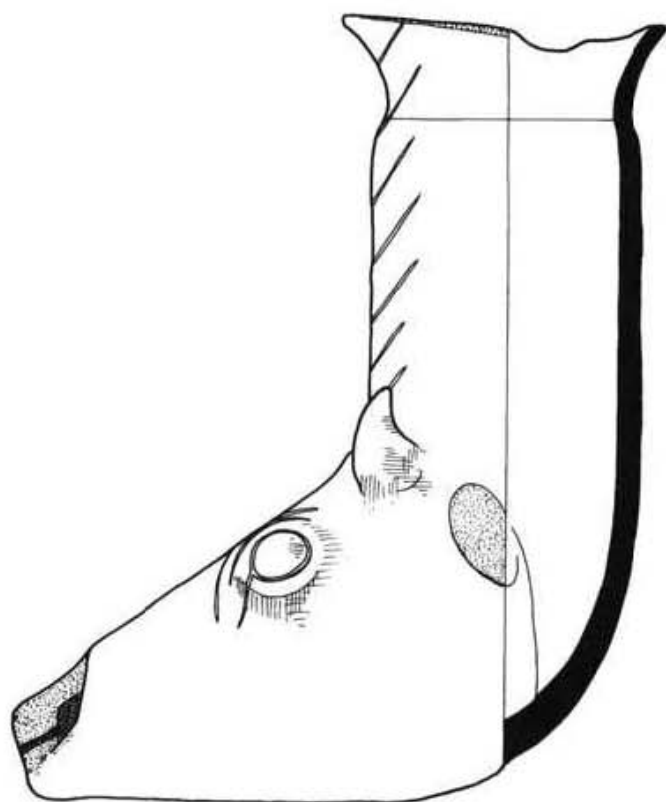


Fig. 4. Terracotta rhyton from the region of Karlovo; Karlovo, City Museum of History.

certain jugs with relief decoration from Rogozen (Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, pls. on p. 133; Fol 1988/1989, especially No. 157).⁷ The local attribution of the bull head rhyton from Poroina is comparatively straightforward. Found north of the Danube, it is already linked to the Animal Style of northern Thrace by the schematic tufts covering the forehead and the heavy hatching around the eyes. Because of the figure style of the symmetrical scene depicted on the cup, Ewigleben could assign this vessel to a workshop active in Triballian territory in the second half of the 4th century B.C. (Ewigleben 1989, 30). Its elongated and fairly strongly curved shape recalls the above mentioned series of black gloss rhyta. In contrast to these it lacks a handle, however, and is therefore better compared to the specimen held by a centauress on an early 3rd-century B.C. mosaic from Pella (Ginouvé 1994, 121–122, fig. 108). The fluted vessels depicted on the rhyton from Poroina itself are of a related form (Fig. 7), and so is a more strongly bent bull head rhyton of grey terracotta from the region of Karlovo, most probably the product of a local potter (Fig. 4; Karlovo, City Museum of History: grey-brownish clay; height 17.5 cm—Tsonchev 1959, 102–103 No. 19, figs. 22–23).

A fragmentary pig head rhyton provides another instance of a local potter taking up this vessel type. It probably stems from the later 4th century B.C., the period of flourishing of the hillfort at Pernik where it was found (light grey clay—Changova *et al.* 1981, 88–90, figs. 44,3, 45,1). These local silver and terracotta examples demonstrate Thracian interest in the animal head rhyton at least by the later 4th century B.C. and thus give encouragement to look for Thracian traits also in the gold animal head rhyta from Panagurishte. In addition to the three animal head rhyta and the horn-shaped rhyton with the protome of a wild goat, this find included three jug rhyta in the shape of female heads, an amphora rhyton with handles in the form of centaurs, and an elaborately decorated phiale. It is generally dated to the later 4th or the beginning of the 3rd

⁷ No stylistically related objects come to mind from the Scythian area. The wild coiffures of the male figures depicted on the Kerch rhyton find some parallels in Apulian vase painting of the 'Ornate' style of the middle of the century (especially in the works of the Lycurgus Painter: Trendall 1989, fig. 148), but the reclining figure on the Trieste rhyton has a similarly unkempt appearance, and the fashion may well have extended to more than one region, being partly determined by iconography as in the case of the Boreas on the piece in Trieste.

centuries B.C. (Svoboda and Cončev 1956; Simon 1960; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 180, 187–188 Nos. 361–362, 367–369, pls. on pp. 184, 186, 199, 201, cover and frontispiece). When the treasure was first found in 1949, it was still relatively isolated as a find of precious metal from Thracian territory and seemed to display outstanding wealth. This tempted scholars to link the vessels directly or indirectly with Alexander the Great or alternatively, to secure them as examples of Attic art (Anonymous 1954; Simon 1960; Kontoleon 1962; Del Medico 1967–68). Actually, the quality of the Panagurishte rhyta is not the best; Amandry (1959, 54–55) even wrote: “Ce serait faire injure à un orfèvre athénien, ou même ionien, de lui imputer la responsabilité de telles fautes de goût et d’exécution.” The animal heads are fairly schematic and composed of plain surfaces structured by linear folds. The figures of the friezes are ambitiously executed in high relief but show certain shortcomings. These have been interpreted as “konsequente Umbildung” by Zazoff *et al.* (1985, 605–612, 616) and taken together with criteria such as the ‘bird’s’ eye and the rich patterning of the garments to denote the manufacture of the vases in Thrace. As we have seen, however, the latter features as well as the central whirl on the forehead of the animals are shared by a wider range of metal plate and place the Panagurishte objects in the same tradition as the earlier silver rhyta discussed above, *i.e.* a tradition which most probably started from Asia Minor. There is one point, however, which speaks strongly in favour of a Thracian connection. On the three animal head rhyta, the figure decoration is arranged in two symmetrical groups with the central axis placed over the forehead of the animals, even though in one case this freezes the narrative of the judgement of Paris into a static scene. Other objects of undisputably Thracian origin such as the rhyton from Poroina suggest that the opposing of figures in a symmetrical composition was a structural principle especially common in Thracian art (Zazoff *et al.* 1985, 613–616, 620; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 150 No. 295, pl. on p. 151; Fol 1988/1989, No. 157).⁸

⁸ Zazoff *et al.* (1985) have interpreted these symmetrical arrangements as timeless reflections of courtly ritual and hierarchical order. However, not every precious metal object which displays such a composition should automatically be attributed to Thrace; the head vase with Lycian inscriptions in the British Museum, for example, may easily be compared to an Attic head vase of the early 4th century B.C. in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G. 227 (CVA 1, 1927, 10, pl. 4,7–8 = Great Britain 96).

In characterising the rhyta from Panagurishte, mention has finally to be made of the presence of Achaemenid elements. Here belong the zoomorphic handles of the animal head and female head rhyta, while inspiration for the amphora rhyton as such was clearly derived from Achaemenid models (Amandry 1959). The assemblage of pouring vessels from Panagurishte emerges as yet another example of the mixture of Greek and Persian elements characteristic of most earlier silver plate from Thracian soil. This tendency finds its clearest expression in the above mentioned goat protome rhyton which combines the shape of the animal protome vessel ultimately of Persian origin with the figure decoration of the Greek animal head cup. Essentially, the two basic types of rhyton used in Thrace are here cast into one. In a sense, the Panagurishte gold vessels are eclectic; the employment of Achaemenid elements which appear mostly translated into Greek style is deliberate and, in contrast to objects such as the Borovo rhyta, speaks of a certain distance from Achaemenid art. We have moved on into the time after the Persian Empire. Altogether, the Panagurishte rhyta may be seen as the final manifestation of a typically Thracian tradition of combining Persian forms and Greek style in the creation of precious metal plate, although objects of a related spirit might well have been more widespread in the immediate aftermath of Alexander.

The question of the craftsmen

In the preceding discussion, a distinction has been made between a series of examples which are not immediately recognisable as local products but still display features that appear to be regionally determined and rhyta which are clearly the products of native Thracian workshops. In the former category fall the Borovo rhyta including the jug, but also the vases from Panagurishte. How do we explain the character of these vessels, or to put it differently, under what circumstances and by which craftsmen were they produced? The works of a craftsman do not necessarily reflect his nationality, but their style may at least indicate the tradition in which he received his training. Looking back on the pieces in question, this tradition seems predominantly Greek—in spite of the partly Persian shapes. We also have to take into account the concessions made to Thracian demands as well as taste, a phenomenon which requires fairly close contacts between workshops and clients. The most likely candidates

are then either craftsmen originally from Asia Minor who might have been itinerant or started a local school in Thrace, or gold- or silversmiths from the Greek cities along the Thracian coasts, or Thracian masters trained by either of these. Marazov (1978, 144–148) locates the ateliers of the Thracian rhyta on the shores of the Propontis and notes a gradual adaptation to local taste. Plate inscribed with the name of Kotys generally shows few local traits; its manufacture appears to antedate and might even have provided the stimulus for the activity of craftsmen working in a less Hellenised style and for a northern Thracian élite, producing the kind of plate studied by Ewigleben (1989). One could imagine that at an early stage, demand for precious plate was largely fulfilled by (East) Greek craftsmen. These may have started a workshop tradition whose regional tendencies increased with time and which later involved Thracian craftsmen as well.⁹ If not the work of Thracian craftsmen, demand by Thracian clients lead to the creation of at least one characteristic variant of horn-shaped rhyton, and although a homogeneous group of animal head rhyta cannot be recognised for Thrace, the extant examples still demonstrate local interest in this type of vase.

Why Rhyta?

Clearly, the examples of rhyta found in Thrace amount to more than just a collection of random imports. This means that this vessel was taken over by the Thracians and subsequently integrated into their own culture at least to such a degree that local demand arose. What prompted Thracian tribesman to adopt the foreign and peculiar rhyton, and which functions did this vessel fulfil in the new environment? As there is no direct literary evidence to help us with answering these questions, the following arguments centre on the qualities and iconography of the vessels themselves as well as extant representations.

⁹ For the Panagurishte treasure, ateliers on Thasos or in Lampsacus have been proposed on metrological grounds (Cahn in an *appendix* to Simon 1960, 26–29; Venedikov 1961, 22–23), but other locations in or at the fringes of the Thracian world remain equally feasible as places of production, since it cannot be excluded that coins struck in one city were given to a workshop situated elsewhere.

"The riches of the Thracian rulers"

If we want to reconstruct the context in which rhyta were used in Thrace, we should first of all note the predominance of precious metal pieces over those of other materials. At present, only three examples of terracotta are known as opposed to fifteen of silver and gold. The appearance of rhyta in Thrace must therefore be connected with the rich finds of precious metalware, mainly plate but also jewellery and armour, which are common in this area of the ancient world. Metal plate was deposited as grave goods in burials and also in hoards (well illustrated by catalogues such as Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979; Fol 1988/1989). These are also the find contexts of the provenanced metal rhyta, while of the terracotta specimens at least the Burgas and Karlovo rhyta seem to have come from settlements. What was the source of this wealth, and why was it displayed in precisely this way, *i.e.* partly turned into precious metal plate? One could think of the metal derived from the rich gold and silver mines on Thracian territory, but scholars usually turn to Thucydides to explain the income of the Thracian rulers. The much-quoted passage is repeated here. It gives reasons for the wealth especially of the Odrysian kings, and it also compares Thracian habits to those of the Achaemenids, which is of some interest considering the Persian elements noticeable in Thracian rhyta. Thucydides (2. 97. 3-6) writes:

In the reign of Seuthes who was king after Sitalces and raised the tribute to its maximum, the tribute from all the barbarian territory and the Greek cities which they ruled was worth about four hundred talents of silver which came in as gold and silver; and in addition, gifts of gold and silver equal in value were brought, not to mention how many embroidered and plain fabrics and the other furnishings, and all this was not given only to him but also to the other mighty and noble Odrysians. For they had established a custom opposite to that of the kingdom of the Persians, to take rather than to give; this custom was indeed practised by the other Thracians as well (and it was more shameful not to give when asked than not to receive when having asked), but because of their power the Odrysians exploited it even more; as a matter of fact, it was impossible to do anything without giving gifts. Consequently, the kingdom gained great strength.

According to the picture sketched by Thucydides, leading Thracians derived substantial amounts of precious metal both from payments of tribute and from gifts. This compares well with the greed for gifts

which characterizes the petty king Seuthes II as he is described by Xenophon, *Anabasis* book 7. 3. 15–20 and 26–32 shows the practice of gift-giving at work. Next to a white horse and a slave boy, gifts include a silver bowl, clothes, and a carpet, and so correspond well with Thucydides' statement.

Horses, robes, and precious metal plate also feature prominently as gifts in the Persian Empire (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989), but then Thucydides says that Thracian and Achaemenid gift-giving were opposed to each other. How distinct were they in reality? There is sufficient evidence to show that both Thracians and Persians gave and received gifts,¹⁰ but in each case a different side of the exchange appears to have been more prominent. This may of course be due to a bias in perception. Concerning the Persian Empire, Thucydides was surely most familiar with the situation in the Greek cities on the western fringes of the empire and reports of individuals who had been rewarded by the Great King, rather than being informed about life at the royal court itself, while he was possibly ignorant about a redistribution of gifts in Thrace which might well have been more important in intertribal relations than in contacts with the Greek colonies. It has been remarked by Briant (1996, 329–331), however, that handing out rather than receiving gifts constituted an important means of political control for the Achaemenid king who put the recipients under obligation without being obliged himself. With this notion we may have reached the root of the differences perceived in Thracian and Achaemenid gift-giving, which are best understood as functions of the respective social organizations. Inequality rather than the reciprocity common in Greek communities is characteristic of Thrace as well as Persia, but the Thracian king receives rather than gives (Mitchell, in press). Essentially, the two different kinds of inequality are connected with royal ideology and reflect the different ways in which authority was acquired, consolidated, and represented within the two systems. The economic and political foundations of the Achaemenid Empire may largely have rested on the income of

¹⁰ So worthwhile returns are promised (if not always delivered) to those who offer their service or make presents to the Thracian ruler in *Anabasis* 7. 2. 38 and 7. 3. 18–20, and the objects—now seen as gifts rather than tribute—brought by the various delegations on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis are destined for the Great King (Schmidt 1953, pls. 27–49).

tribute and gifts, but in order to govern and to secure his control, the king needed to hand out shares among the élites, creating loyalty within the empire and possibly also diplomatic contacts with the outside world (Briant 1986; 1989; 1996, 314–335, 399–422). In this framework, giving of gifts became a way to demonstrate power and, since it functioned on several levels, to preserve the structures of an already existing empire. This latter aspect was clearly less developed in Thrace where the king's authority seems to have received confirmation directly through the constant obtaining of gifts. Essentially, this means that the status of each individual depended on how much he owned, *i.e.* generally on how much he could give rather than how much he had received from the king, which could explain why Thucydides says that it was shameful not to give when asked. In contrast to the sophisticated hierarchical system of the Achaemenid Empire, we meet here a more direct competition for personal power which goes well with a monarchy still in the process of expansion.

In the Persian Empire, an important occasion for the demonstration of the king's power was the royal banquet, at which both food and tableware had to be provided by the subject peoples of the empire and were then shared out by the king among dining companions, selected Persian nobles, and the army. Similar arrangements may be assumed for the table of the satrap (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; Briant 1989). Seen against this background, it becomes clear why gold and silver plate was an important gift in the Achaemenid Empire, both given to and by the king (*e.g.* Lysias 19. 25; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8. 3. 33–35; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 11. 35; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2. 48–49; Aelianus, *Varia Historia* 1. 22/32; see Calmeyer 1993 for a description of the vessels brought as presents to the king on the Persepolis reliefs). The Thracians must have come into contact with the Achaemenid institutions of tribute and gift-giving and also with aspects of provincial court life during the period of Persian occupation, and it is tempting to propose that these left their traces in Thracian customs. While native rulers may have combined Achaemenid practices with locally existing systems of obligation, they might also have been interested to copy ways of expressing a higher status and to acquire those paraphernalia which denoted prestige, accommodating them to their own needs. This would explain the large number of precious metal vessels occurring in Thrace and showing a clear debt to Achaemenid models. Here belong different types of bowls as well as the rhyta with animal forepart and the

amphora rhyton with zoomorphic handles. Even the Thracian jug, the second main constituent of the Rogozen treasure, appears to have been created by adding handle and foot to the shape which forms the body of amphorae and flasks in Achaemenid toreutics (Ewigleben 1989, 26). The time lag between the end of Persian domination in Thrace and the increase in silverware from Thracian contexts which has already been alluded to in the introduction of this paper might be explained by internal economic and political factors, such as the record height of the tribute under Seuthes I (424—*ca.* 410 B.C.) mentioned by Thucydides or competition intensified by the power struggle taking place in the Odrysian kingdom in the following decades (Archibald 1994, 455–465).

If the Greek inscriptions which occur on silver plate from Thrace including shapes of Achaemenid origin such as phialai and rhyta really refer to the Odrysian kings, they confirm the link between the abundance of precious metal vessels from Thracian territory and the wealth and self-representation of the local rulers. Most of these contain a toponym introduced by the preposition *ek/ex*, in some cases written as *eg* and *e*. Four of the five place names known up to now may be located east of the river Hebrus, inland in the southeastern part of Thrace which today belongs to Turkey (Hind 1989, 40–41; Mihailov 1989, 54, 67–68). It has been suggested that these toponyms record the origin of tribute which was converted into the plate in question by a single royal workshop, or alternatively, that they give the names of tax collection points or the location of workshops manufacturing tableware from the tribute of the Greek cities situated not too far away on the sea coast (Painter 1989, 75–76; Archibald 1994, 462). The inscriptions known from Achaemenid vessels identify these as objects belonging to or coming from the royal household (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989, 134, 136, 142 n. 14; Curtis *et al.* 1995); the inscriptions known from Thrace seem to state the source of the plate in the king's possession. This divergence in practice neatly illustrates Thucydides' remark that in gift-giving, Thracian rulers placed more emphasis on receiving. The different interpretations of the Thracian inscriptions all presuppose the transformation of silver coins or bullion into plate on a large scale and as a regular procedure, an assumption which goes well with the fairly uniform character for example of the many drinking sets included in the Rogozen treasure (Fol 1988/1989). Although sizes and weights are not normally

standardised, shapes and decoration are generally fairly simple and repetitive, and as with the rhyta from Borovo, most of these bowls and jugs appear mass-produced.¹¹ Presumably, all this plate fulfilled a practical function only on special occasions, while its main function was the conspicuous storage of wealth. The acquisition of precious metal vessels enabled the Thracian ruler to display wealth as well as the power connected with it, while he could at the same time further enhance his position by claiming the status which was apparently connected with the possession of precious plate in general and with certain shapes in particular.

Rhyton and drinking horn as attributes

The preceding observations have shown that the massive appearance of precious metal plate in Thrace may be understood as an attempt by local rulers to appropriate Persian ways of expressing and defining status. How does this conclusion compare to the specific connotations of the rhyton in both the Achaemenid Empire and Thrace? Although this vase is absent from the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis which otherwise represent a corpus of the standard gifts given to and by the king, the wide distribution of rhyta in Achaemenid style both within and beyond the borders of the empire leaves no doubt that vessels of this type were part of the same system of gift exchange. This is confirmed by rhyta with protomes in the form of a bull, lion monster, griffin, or even lion and bull combat, *i.e.* motives which reflect royal Achaemenid ideology as is manifest in the remains of monumental sculpture at Persepolis.¹² The function of the Achaemenid rhyta as symbols of status is best illustrated by a large silver example from Yerevan (Yerevan, Erebuni Museum 20: silver; height 32 cm—Arakelian 1971, 143, 146–148, figs. 1–4; Museum Bochum 1995, 56, 99 No. 107). It shows the forepart of a rider who with his costume and equipment could have sprung directly from the files

¹¹ Even if Marazov (1989) is correct in suggesting that the inscribed vessels were presented to the king whenever he visited a (religious) site, manufacture was obviously based on standard models.

¹² See Root (1979) for a comprehensive study of Achaemenid monumental sculpture as “commissioned in the service of kingship”. The iconography of Achaemenid precious metal rhyta is discussed by Ebbinghaus (D.Phil. thesis).

of dignitaries and guards depicted on the Persepolis reliefs (Schmidt 1953, pls. 52, 64–65, 74, 101). Like Darius in the inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam (Kent 1950, 138–140: DNb), he might speak: “As a horseman I am a good horseman.”

While no representation of a rhyton has survived from the Persian heartland, there are some instances of figures holding rhyta on artefacts from Thrace. What can these tell us about the uses of the rhyton in Thrace? First of all, it should be said that the occurrence of this vessel type on monuments from the Greek colonies such as coins of Maronia and Ainos, Thasian amphora stamps, so-called funerary meal reliefs found at Mesambria and Apollonia Pontica, and even a pair of Hellenistic gold earrings with Nike, does not provide any information on Thracian practice, unless perhaps to confirm that rhyta were a common sight in the Thracian region from about 400 B.C. onwards (Schönert-Geiß 1987, 31, 114, 143–144 Nos. 273–302, pls. 13–14; May 1950, 220–222 Nos. 362–364, pls. 5, 10; Bon and Bon 1957, 165 No. 512, 230 No. 814, 240 No. 867, 256 No. 948, 490 No. 2134; Dentzer 1982, 371 R 76, fig. 340; Savova 1971, 6–9, fig. 9). More relevant is the evidence of the jug rhyton from Borovo which depicts two rhyta of roughly the same form as the Thracian variant of horn-shaped rhyton with which it was found (Fig. 5; for good reproductions of the scenes on this vessel see Dörig 1987); one of the illustrated rhyta even has the forepart of a sphinx. Like the horn-shaped rhyta, the jug rhyton belongs to the category of objects which we have defined above as made for Thracians. This may explain the presence of certain unique features in the iconography of the Dionysiac scenes decorating this vase, which have encouraged a specific *interpretatio thracica* (for example Marazov 1986; Dörig 1987, 10–18; Hoffmann 1989, 162 No. 195). However, there is no agreement on the identity of the two Silenos-type figures who are shown pouring from rhyta into phialai. In Greek art before the Hellenistic period, Dionysos and his followers usually prefer kerata to rhyta. Are the rhyta on the Borovo jug a Thracian addition to an otherwise Greek figure type?

A source referring more certainly to local customs is provided by a series of gilt silver objects produced by native Thracian craftsmen for members of an élite whose home lay north of the Danube in an area which is thought to belong to the territory of the Getae. The material which includes beakers, helmets, and greaves is therefore



Fig. 5. Silver jug rhyton from Borovo (detail); Ruse, District Museum of History II-361 / Sofia, National Museum of History.

generally designated 'Thraco-Getic'.¹³ Recent studies have demonstrated that the images decorating these objects form a partly eclectic, but close-knit system of recurring icons which reflect the social code and world view of the élite for whom the silverware was made (Taylor 1987; Schneider and Zazoff 1994). On a gold helmet from Baiceni whose date has been lowered by Alexandrescu to the first half or even the middle of the 3rd century B.C., a figure in chainmail is seated on a throne and holds what might be a bow or a phiale and a bent or horn-shaped vase with animal head (Fig. 6a; Bucharest, National History Museum: Alexandrescu 1988; Schneider and Zazoff 1994, 144 No. 8, figs. 4, 11; Krauß 1996, 153, fig. 117). A greave from the tumulus at Agighiol, a grave dated to the middle or the second half of the 4th century B.C., also shows a seated figure in chainmail, this time with a bent drinking horn and a bird of prey (Fig. 6b; Bucharest, National History Museum 11.175: Berciu 1969, 218, pls. 113–14; Schneider and Zazoff 1994, 144 No. 5, figs. 1, 22; Krauß 1996, 153–154, fig. 119). This analogy suggests that rhyton and drinking horn could fulfil similar if not the same functions and had a related symbolic value. The iconography of the man in chainmail who also appears as a horseman on this and other Thraco-Getic silver has been interpreted as referring to élite pastimes such as hunting and drinking, *i.e.* activities in which the main carriers of Thraco-Getic art, armour and beakers, were used. In this case, rhyton and drinking horn were chosen to denote élite status. Did they express this status directly because of a certain symbolic value inherent in the vessel shapes themselves, or did they function indirectly as a *chiffre*, implying that their owner was a man holding great feasts, just as the same man presenting a bow would have been thought of as a great hunter or warrior? One possibility need not exclude the other.

As rhyton and drinking horn appear interchangeable at least in the context of later 'Thraco-Getic' art, exploring the use of the drinking horn in Thrace might help us to understand the place of the

¹³ Taylor (1989, 96) suggests that the Getae lived primarily south of the Danube and that 'Thraco-Getic' art was actually made by 'local silversmiths' working for 'an élite group of incursive steppe nomads', but see Hornblower (1991, 372) for the location of the Getae according to later sources. Pieces from findspots very far to the north such as Baiceni may in fact have reached there as gifts or booty in the same way as other examples ended up in Triballian territory further to the south.



Fig. 6a. Gold helmet from Baiceni (detail); Bucharest, National History Museum (after Petrescu-Dimbovita and Dinu 1975, fig. 4).



Fig. 6b. Silver greave from Agighiol (detail); Bucharest, National History Museum 11.175.

rhyton in Thracian life. From Xenophon's (*Anabasis* 7. 2. 23 and 7. 3. 21–33) description of his dealings with the Thracian leader Seuthes we get the impression that drinking from horns was standard practice among the Thracians. It has been argued that “*kaia ton Thrakion nomon*” referred to peculiarities of Thracian drinking other than the use of horns (Krauß 1996, 138), but we may also cite Diodorus’ account (21. 12. 5) of the feast prepared by the Getic chief Dromichaïtes for Lysimachus and selected captives, at which the Macedonians are given gold and silver cups while the Getae drink from vessels of horn and wood. The contrast between the luxurious furnishings of the defeated and the simple lifestyle of the victors is a literary topos (Lund 1992, 48), but it is explicitly stated that the choice of vessels of horn and wood is in accordance with Getic custom, “*kathaper en ethos tois Getais*”. The evidence for drinking horns in Thrace is summarized by Krauß in his recent study which traces the diffusion of this vessel in prehistoric Europe and the ancient world. He concludes that the “Trinkhornmode” reached the eastern Balkan peninsula around 500 B.C., probably *via* the Scythians, and that the horn served as an attribute of the ruler (1996, 152–155).¹⁴ Generally, he does away with the cliché of the horn as a typically barbarian utensil, representing its adoption in the Celtic world as a result of the copying of Greek drinking customs among the local élite. This is not the place to discuss Krauß’s extensive work in full, but one point which is relevant for the question of the drinking horn in Thrace needs to be raised. In his line of argument, Krauß does not always make a clear distinction between elaborate drinking horns associated with an élite and plain animal horns used by larger parts of the population or by specific groups such as pastoralists. As metal is typically employed in their production, the former are visible in the ground, and they also tend to be represented on other monuments because of their possibly more specialized function as indicators of social status, while the plain horn escapes the attention of the archaeologist since—as Krauß himself stresses more than once—the organic material is not normally preserved. Because of these uncertainties

¹⁴ It should be added to Krauß’s account that the later 6th- or early 5th-century B.C. greyware drinking horn from Ravna is now paralleled by a better preserved example from a grave at Dobrina (both in the hinterland of ancient Odessos, *i.e.* modern Varna on the Black Sea coast); the Dobrina horn was excavated during the 1992 season and is kept in the Archaeological Museum at Varna.

involved in the archaeological record it cannot be excluded, in my opinion, that for example among the Thracian tribes the drinking horn could already look back on a long tradition by the time it gained prominence as the attribute of local rulers.

In any case, the horn was well-established as drinking vessel of the Thracian horse-owning élite at least by the Classical period. In addition to Xenophon's testimony, there is a possibly 4th-century B.C. bronze statuette of a horseman with drinking horn from the vicinity of Provadia west of Varna (Sofia, Archaeological Museum 8003: Vasiliev 1989, 22–24), and the same motif recurs on a gold fingerring of the late 4th or early 3rd centuries B.C. from Gloshene (Sofia, Archaeological Museum 7955: Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, pl. 208; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 128 No. 251, fig. on p. 116; Krauß 1996, 152, 155, fig. 115). Another gold fingerring of the 4th century shows a crudely rendered, apparently female figure holding out a horn to a figure seated on a horse (Fig. 7; Sofia, Archaeological Museum 1579; from Brezovo: Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, pl. 209; Römisch-Germanisches Museum 1979, 116 No. 214; Krauß 1996, 152, 155, fig. 116). This scene provides the basis for Marazov's interpretation of the meaning of the rhyton in Thrace. According to him, one of the main themes of Thracian art is the "royal investiture", an act of legitimisation in which the king-priest or king-hero receives the insignia of royal power from the Great Goddess (Fol and Marazov 1977, 40; Marazov 1978, 129–137; 1987, 51, 57). These insignia fall into three categories: spiritual (drinking horn, rhyton, and cup), military (spear and bow), and economic (yoke of oxen). Marazov's interpretation of the Brezovo fingerring and his theory of royal investiture in general have obviously been inspired by what appeared to be a parallel phenomenon in Scythian art and was first described by Rostovtzeff at the beginning of this century (Rostovtzeff 1922, 104–106; 1993, 153–168). Krauß (1996, 121–127) has now very convincingly demonstrated that the relevant Scythian scenes do not depict a deity offering a drinking horn to a king, but rather "ein Schlüsselereignis im Leben der vornehmen skythischen Frauen", probably a marriage ritual. In the relevant Scythian representations, the women are never shown as drinking from the horn which remains essentially the attribute of the Scythian warrior or man in general, with whom it is also connected in a series of other monuments (*e.g.* Krauß 1996, fig. 85).

Without supporting evidence from Scythia, the theory of royal



Fig. 7. Gold fibula from Brezovo (detail); Sofia, Archaeological Museum 1579.



Fig. 8. Silver rhyton from the region of Poroina (detail); Bucharest, National History Museum AR 849 (after Odobesco 1889-1900, 495, fig. 202).

investiture cannot be maintained for Thrace. Instead, the image of a horseman with drinking horn, spear, or bow is best understood as the depiction of a Thracian in a characteristic pose which, together with the attributes, makes a statement about his status, but this status need not be that of a king. Although a certain mythical or heroic element may be present in these depictions, we should take care not to confuse the 4th- and early 3rd-century representations of horsemen with the Thracian Horseman worshipped in Roman times. Reliefs which show the latter with a drinking horn are rare exceptions rather than the rule (Cermanović-Kuzmanović *et al.* 1992, Nos. 260–261*).¹⁵ Returning to the rhyton in this context, it is of interest to note the predominance of horses among the protomes of the Thracian horn-shaped variant; if we include the pegasus, we count seven examples out of a total of nine. This strongly supports the idea that the meaning of the rhyton in Thrace was at least partly congruous with that of the drinking horn which it could replace as the attribute of an élite commonly portrayed as horsemen. However, the connotations of the rhyton in Thrace were not exclusively male, since it is two female figures who are shown with vessels of this type on the bull head rhyton from Poroina (Fig. 8). These two figures are arranged as mirror-image and might in fact mean just a single figure duplicated to comply with a compositional principle of Thracian art, which has already been alluded to in the discussion of the Panagurishte rhyta. In any case, they are or she is very similar to some of the females illustrated on jugs from the Rogozen treasure, who are engaged in activities such as riding a panther and are therefore probably meant to be deities (Fol 1988/1989, No. 155). If goddesses or a goddess are represented on the rhyton from Poroina, it is strange that the attending figures should be of the same size—unless of course these are deities as well. As with Scythian art, there is a strong tendency to see goddesses or at least priestesses in any representations of females occurring in the art of Thrace. However, we know very little as yet about the role of women in Thrace or the Thracian élite more specifically; the woman buried in the Kukova Mogila at Duvanli towards the end of the first half of the 5th century B.C.,

¹⁵ A horseman with a drinking horn in his right hand is depicted twice on bronze matrices of the Roman period found near Razgrad (Palais de la Civilisation 1987, Nos. 570–571). In one case he appears to be given another horn by a woman whose small scale leaves no doubt that she is meant to be an adorant rather than a deity.

for example, received rich grave goods including silver plate such as the Achaemenid amphora with zoomorphic handles (Filow 1934, 39–58).¹⁶ Apparently, in both Scythia and Thrace, women participated in drinking unmixed wine (Plato, *Nomoi* 1. 637c).

Few but diverse, the representations of rhyta on Thracian monuments leave a number of questions open, and one may wonder to what degree evidence from a particular region and of a certain period may be valid for all of Thrace. At least two of these representations, however, illustrate the use of the rhyton together with a phiale, as is indicated for the Borovo rhyta by the presence of distinctive traces of wear.¹⁷ The comparison with the drinking horn has shown that the rhyton could serve as an indication of status, while the Dionysiac connection suggested by the scene on the Borovo jug rhyton comes as no surprise in vessels for the consumption of wine. In a detailed iconographical study of the vases from the Panagurishte treasure, Simon (1960) has proposed that those rhyta were used for libations in the joined cult of Nemesis and a local Thracian deity. Generally, however, it is very hard to recognise an overall pattern in the iconography of the animal head rhyta found in Thrace or identified as the work of Thracian craftsmen. The range of animals represented includes bull, deer, ram, as well as pig and does not differ significantly from that of the Attic and South Italian animal head cups (Hoffmann 1989, 141). This confirms the notion that Thrace made no specific contribution to the shape of the animal head rhyton, an observation which may be linked to the fact that there is no native Thracian tradition of zoomorphic or animal head vessels preceding the introduction of the animal head rhyton in Thrace. The figure decoration on the cups of the animal head rhyta cannot be treated here in any detail, but once again, a coherent picture does not emerge from the choice of the scenes, most of which follow Greek models and include myth as well as Dionysiac themes. If rhyta were employed in cult ritual, this was obviously an acquired function which left no clear trace in the formative process of the rhyton in Thrace.

¹⁶ She may of course have held the position of a priestess (Hoddinott 1989).

¹⁷ They are worn in such a way that they must have been held with the base of the animal protome resting in the palm of the hand. In this way, it is possible to close the spout with the index finger, but the liquid contents cannot be poured directly from the rhyton into the mouth, since it is impossible to lift the arm to a sufficient height.

Conclusions

The notion that the rhyton was appropriated as a status symbol by members of the Thracian élite corresponds well with the evidence of the function of this vessel type in the Achaemenid Empire. This supports the assumption that the rhyton was taken over from Persia when need arose for a new class of luxury objects expressing the growing wealth and power of the Odrysian rulers from about 400 B.C. onwards. As the passage from Thucydides implies, a number of Odrysian nobles probably shared in this new form of self-representation, while the leaders of other Thracian tribes further to the north may have been quick to copy the Odrysian model once inscribed silver plate had reached them, possibly as gifts from rulers such as Kotys. The idea to use the acquisition of precious metal plate for the definition of status in a system of tribute and formalised gift-giving was derived from Thracian contact with the organisation of the Achaemenid Empire, either in the period of Persian rule in Thrace or through diplomatic exchange in subsequent years.¹⁸ While the Achaemenid Empire provided the concept and with a range of prestigious vessel shapes also the instruments for a conspicuous display of status, the Thracians turned to Greek expertise in the adaptation of the Persian model to their particular needs. Greek impact is manifest not only in the tradition of the craftsmanship and the introduction of the probably East Greek type of animal head rhyton, but also in the use of the Greek script and language in the inscriptions which emphasize the function of the relevant silverplate. This situation clearly reflects the more long-standing and thorough contacts between Thrace and the Greek world, presumably through the presence of the Greek colonies in Thracian lands. Local traditions also played a role in the introduction of the rhyton in Thrace, since it seems that the horn-shaped rhyton was more readily adopted because

¹⁸ Briant (1991, 232–235; 1996, 215) sees another instance of Achaemenid influence in the notice of Theopompus (*apud* Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12. 531e–f; *FGrHist* 115 F 31), according to which Kotys established *hestiatoria* in well shaded and watered locations all over the country. The French scholar interprets this as an imitation of the Persian *paradeisoi*. It is questionable, however, to what degree the Thracian aristocracy would have been familiar with the concept of the *paradeisos* and understood its meaning for royal Achaemenid ideology. Theopompus describes how Kotys appropriates the most beautiful spots of the countryside, but there is no sign of the concern for their luxuriance which characterises the relationship of the Achaemenid king to the *paradeisoi* in his Empire.

of its similarity to the drinking horn. However, it is important to stress that the rhyton was not normally assimilated to the horn to such a degree that it was drunk from the rim; the spout and with it the characteristic use of the rhyton as a pouring vessel was retained.¹⁹ Drinking from rhyta appears to have remained largely an élite phenomenon in Thrace. The exiguous evidence for rhyta being executed in less precious materials suggests that the broader majority of the population continued to drink from horns or other cups.

Postscript:

Since this paper was submitted for publication in spring 1997, Z.H. Archibald's monograph *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace* (Oxford 1998) has appeared, to which the reader is now referred for the wider background as well as a list of the metalware found in Thrace.

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¹⁹ A jug of regular Thracian type from Vratsa was in fact transformed into a rhyton by a circular hole in the centre of its foot (Minčev 1978, figs. 9–10). This indicates that the act of pouring had acquired specific importance in 4th-century Thrace.

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17. THRACIAN CULT – FROM PRACTICE TO BELIEF

Zofia Halina Archibald

Images and Etymologies

But mortals consider that gods are born, and that they have clothes and speech and bodies like their own.

(Xenophanes fr. B14, Diels-Kranz, Kirk/Raven, no. 170 [= Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V 109])

The Ethiopians say that (their gods) are snub-nosed and black, the Thracians that theirs have light blue eyes and red hair

(Xenophanes fr. B16, Diels-Kranz, Kirk/Raven no. 171 [= Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII 22])

Xenophanes' perspicacious remarks about the way human beings form their ideas of the divine was a philosophical insight lost on his contemporaries. The Greeks of Colophon, Xenophanes' home town, and elsewhere continued to practise their cults and represent their gods as though the latter did have human expectations. Xenophanes picked his examples seemingly at random, in order to emphasise two common intellectual weaknesses in the human approach: first, the arbitrary nature of human representations of the divine; and second, the tendency to reduce gods to human terms.¹ When he referred to the Thracians, was he merely extrapolating from the behaviour of other known groups or might he have had some genuine knowledge of Thracian cults? The answer has some bearing on how we view the religious behaviour of ancient Thracians.

How far did the Thracians personalise their deities? How did their divine personalities express what was beyond the human sphere? Such mythologies as surely existed have not survived. Ancient Greek writers do provide some information about beliefs and practices but such references cannot be readily excerpted from their Greek context and Greek audiences. The explicitly philosophical context of most relevant texts makes it particularly hard to understand cult behaviour

¹ Kirk/Raven, Ch. V, esp. 163–8; Hussey, E., *The Pre-Socratics* (London 1972), 14.

as a social phenomenon (because most participants in cult were not philosophers). The relationship between philosophy and religious practice in Thrace is confused and confusing.² In our earliest prose source, Herodotus' *Histories*, Thracian religious beliefs are already couched in a self-consciously philosophical framework (2. 81: *Orphikoi* bracketed with *Pythagoreioi*; 4. 94–96: Zalmoxis, Pythagoras and the Getai). There is no obvious way of subtracting from such isolated texts, certainly from such texts alone, what might have been non-Greek, in this case Thracian, ideas or beliefs, from what look like tentative Greek philosophical speculations. Even more hazardous is the use of heterogeneous texts from different periods (as has been done in the case of 'Thracian Orphism'), particularly when the majority of these post-date by a very considerable margin the formative phases of cult development for the region in question.³ The criteria by which an indigenous Thracian ritual tradition can be distinguished from the imagination of a Greek poet or philosopher's armchair have yet to be elucidated.

Ancient Greek authors generally showed more interest in myth and philosophy than in cult history or practice, not least because the social dimension of cult was taken for granted.⁴ The most detailed evidence of regular cult activities comes not from poets and prose writers but from other documentary sources, mainly inscriptions. Outside Athens, only small groups have survived of those public decisions which got as far as being committed to stone, and of these only a tiny fraction are directly connected with cult institutions. There is thus an uncomfortable imbalance in the written sources between the wide-ranging and constantly elaborated body of myth on the one hand, with its fantastic encounters, timeless settings, the breaking of all manner of taboos; and on the other, the nature of ordinary cult behaviour.

² Hosek, R., 'Der thrakische Mythos und die thrakische Wirklichkeit', *Pulpuđeva* 5, 1982 (1986), 66–72 provides some helpful introductory remarks.

³ This applies particularly to the many works on this subject by Alexander Fol, which have been highly influential in Bulgaria; see esp. Fol, A., Venedikov, I., Marazov, I., Popov, V., *Thracian Legends* (Sofia 1976); Fol, A., *Thracian Orphism* (Sofia 1986, in Bulgarian); *idem*, *Politics and culture in ancient Thrace* (Sofia 1990, in Bulgarian) 21–22, 58–66, 131–2; *idem*, *Der thrakische Dionysos, Erstes Buch: Zagreus* (Sofia 1993, tr. of Bulgarian text, 1992); *idem*, *The Thracian Dionysos, Book Two: Sabazios* (Sofia 1994, in Bulgarian). The relationship between myth and history is further explored below.

⁴ Parker 1996, 1–9.

The cults of Roman Thrace are better documented than those of any other period of antiquity. Wilhelm Tomaschek and Gavril Katsarov were the first to make up lists of deities and their epithets. Tomaschek divided these into four groups—‘Dionysus and his circle’, ‘Apollo and related’ (including Bendis, Thamyras, Orpheus and Rhesus); a group of unrelated major gods (Ares, Kandaon, Hermes, Derzelates (?), Heros—the Hero or Horseman); and finally miscellaneous sky gods (Hera, Zbelsourdos, Gebeleizis and Zalmoxis).⁵ Katsarov wrote on most subjects connected with ancient Thrace but the focus of his research on cult remained the carved and inscribed dedications to Zeus, Hera, Dionysus, Apollo, Artemis, Hecate and especially the Hero god, which formed his primary database. Not surprisingly, therefore, he viewed these as his yardstick; indigenous concepts of the divine were primitive and animistic until transformed by more civilised Mediterranean traditions; Thracians simply adopted Greco-Roman religious ideas and iconography. There were one or two examples of particular native colouring in the cults of individual deities, notably Dionysos and Herakles, Artemis as Bendis and some of the more obscure chthonic deities.⁶ But otherwise native cult practice was envisaged as a passive acceptance of more sophisticated Aegean precedents.

Katsarov’s work has been particularly influential. His analysis of carved votive reliefs still shapes work on Roman provincial cults, notably of military associations and dedications.⁷ The choice of topics investigated by his contemporaries and successors reflects a very similar approach to that which Katsarov set. First and foremost came studies of dedications to deities which could readily be identified with known categories from the Aegean. Some of these were connected with inland sanctuaries, others with coastal colonial cults. Iconographic idiosyncracies were taken as indications of indigenous departures from the Mediterranean norm.⁸ An emphasis on the best preserved and

⁵ Tomaschek *Die Alten Thraker*, II/1, 36–68.

⁶ Kazarow, G., in *RE* VI.A.1 (Stuttgart 1936), Wissowa, G. and Kroll, W., eds., cols. 472–551 (Thrace, Religion).

⁷ Mackintosh, M., *The Divine Rider in the Art of the Western Roman Empire* (Oxford 1995); the Bulgarian funerary stelae were first documented by Kazarow, G.I., *Die Denkmäler der thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (Budapest 1938). For studies of particular cult objects see e.g. the bronze hand-shaped votives examined by Petrikovits, H. von, ‘Sacramentum’, in *Rome and the Northern Provinces, Papers pres. To Sheppard Frere*, Oxford 1983, eds. Hartley, B. and Wachter, J. (Gloucester) 179–201.

⁸ Dechev, D., ‘Asklepios als thrakisch-griechischer Gott’, *IBAI* 3 (1925), 131–64 (in Bulgarian); Salac, A., ‘Le grand dieu d’Odessos-Varna et les mystères de

seemingly most articulate evidence was understandable as an intellectual starting point building from antiquarian roots. With reference to the Roman Empire, the systematic collection of representative material was indispensable for any general assessment of local preferences within a wider Mediterranean cultural tradition. Such data reminds us that attitudes to cult were ultimately bound neither by ethnic nor linguistic affiliation.

Alternative Approaches to Thracian Cult

Dedications in stone are a rather specialised form of dedication in general. They can tell us something about where sanctuaries were located, which images were preferred as votives for which gods and, if inscribed, something about the votaries. For example, we know that Apollo was especially popular south of the Haimos range, that stone reliefs showing the Rider or Hero were placed in urban and rural sanctuaries where the cult of Apollo is otherwise documented, notably at Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and other important cult sites in central Thrace and in the vicinity of the Black Sea colonies.⁹ But the curious adoption of a completely untraditional image as a votive offering in Apollo's sanctuaries suggests that something rather different was going on here from what might be expected in Greece or Italy. The fact that the Hero on these plaques is given epithets which are also given to Apollo does not necessarily mean that these were differ-

Samothrace', *BCH* 52 (1928), 395–8; Botusharova, L., 'Monuments antiques de la Bulgarie', *GNAMP* 1 (1948), 49–56; *eadem*, 'Le sanctuaire thrace près de Dulevo', *ibid.*, 61–74 (Bulgarian with French summary); Toncheva, G., 'Contribution à l'iconographie du grand dieu d'Odessos', *IBAI* 18 (1952), 83–91 (in Bulgarian); Botusharova, L., 'Contribution à la religion des Thraces', *GNAMP* 3 (1954), 203ff (Bulgarian with French summary); Dechev, D., 'Der Artemiskult im Gebiet des mittleren Strymon', *IBAI* 19 (1955) (in Bulgarian); Z. Gocheva, 'Der Apollonkult in Odessos', *St. in hon. Veselini Beshevaliev* (Sofia 1978), 288–98; J. Mladenova, 'Monuments d'Hécate dans les terres bulgares', *Arkheologiya* 3/3 (1961), 36–43 (in Bulgarian); *eadem*, 'Sur le culte de Zeus et Hera dans les terres bulgares', *Arkheologiya* 8/3 (1966), 34ff (in Bulgarian); W. Szubert, 'Notes on the Influence of Thracian Religious Cults in the West Pontic Greek Towns of the Great God—Darzalos at Odessos', in *Dritter Internationaler Thrakologischer Kongress* vol. 2 (Sofia 1984), 275–83.

⁹ Z. Gocheva and M. Oppermann, *Corpus cultis equitis Thracii* I–II (Leiden, 1979–1984); M. Oppermann, 'Die Bedeutung der römischen Weihplastik für die thrakische Religion vorrömischer Zeit auf dem Territorium der VR Bulgarien', *Pulpudeva* 5 (1986), 77–82; Z. Gocheva, 'La vie religieuse à Philippopolis à l'époque romaine', *Thracia* 8 (1988), 50–7.

ent versions of the same cult.¹⁰ What the relationship was between the enigmatic 'Hero' reliefs and the cult of Apollo cannot be explained exclusively by looking at the iconography of the votives themselves or at the etymology of cult names. Dedications are the physical outcome of activities and ideas which we need to understand if we are to make any sense of the 'religious' mentality which lies behind them. Modern interpretations of ancient religious behaviour have systematically enlarged the field of enquiry. Any general consideration of symbolic acts (acts concerned with attributing abstract meanings) within a particular community has to begin with what that community's principal pre-occupations were, what it considered worth expending collective energies on and how such pre-occupations have been imprinted, both on the landscape and generally in the material sphere.¹¹

Archaeology can be expected to play a far more significant role in the interpretation of religious behaviour, not simply because written sources are meagre but because it provides evidence which no ancient writer was capable of giving. Systematic information which helps to outline modes of symbolic behaviour, types of monument, the relative importance of spatial locations and distribution, the spectrum of offerings and the boundaries between living and dead goes some way towards enunciating the communal pre-occupations which constitute the parameters of cult behaviour.

As a researcher in the field as well as a philologist and historian,

¹⁰ For this view see: G. Katsarov, 'The Thracian sanctuary near the village of Dinikli', *Izvestiya na Narodniya Muzei v Plovdiv*, 1925, 127–69 (in Bulgarian); Kazarow, G., *Beitrage*, I, 500ff; III, 13ff; *idem*, *Denkmäler der thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien* (1938) 15; Gerasimov, T., 'Excavations at tumuli near the village of Sveti Kirilovo', *IBAI* 15 (1946), 180–4 (in Bulgarian); cf. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, II, 48, 51; Pettazzoni 1950, 295ff; *idem*, 1954, 86–93; cf. *idem*, 1956, 178–84.

¹¹ For an anthropological perspective see esp. Rudhardt 1958 and Gould 1985, 1–33; spearheading the change in Aegean archaeological approaches to religion: Renfrew, C. ed., *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London 1985); see also the essays by J. Wright, 'The Spatial Configuration of Belief', and C. Antonaccio, 'Placing the Past: the Bronze Age in Cultic topography in Early Greece', in Alcock and Osborne 1994, 37–78, 79–104, with reflections on method which are particularly apposite in the case of Thrace. The contributors to Hagg and Marinatos 1993 are also concerned, however broadly, with the dynamic aspects of ritual behaviour in space. A conscious change of emphasis from the intellectual and etymological origins of particular deities to ritual acts in the context of society is reflected in Bruit Zaidman L. and Schmitt Pantel, P., *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (Cambridge, 1992, translation with modifications by P. Cartledge from the original French title, *La Religion grecque*, Paris 1989).

Katsarov was aware of the relevance which certain material phenomena had for ancient religious considerations. He noted the strange pits in Koukova Mogila, Duvanli and devoted a considerable amount of space to burial customs.¹² But the pre-Roman characteristics of Thracian cult remained an intractable problem, which he and his contemporaries were reluctant to confront head on, with one important exception. Paul Perdrizet crowned his years of research in the north Aegean coastal zone on behalf of the French School at Athens with a theory that the ecstatic cult of Dionysus originated in this area and was particularly associated with Mount Pangaion (Perdrizet 1910). This burst of enthusiasm was succeeded by a gradual but systematic retrenchment. The Thracian origins of various deities, especially Ares and Hermes as well as Dionysus, were discarded on etymological grounds, decisively in the case of Hermes and Dionysus after the decipherment of the Linear B script.¹³ In the same years Jeanmaire presented a coherent and convincing thesis, independent of the Linear B evidence, which undermined the pseudo-historical origins of Dionysiac cult in the north and eliminated any simple geographico-evolutionary explanation of the cult connections between Thrace and Greece.¹⁴

A conscious polarisation began to emerge in scholarly writings separating Greek from Thracian cults. One of the most extreme expressions of this polarisation came from J.E. Fontenrose:

(Thracian religion) appears to have been crude and barbaric before Greek influences transformed it. There is evidence of primitive animal worship, human sacrifice, magical ceremonies, orgiastic rites. The earliest evidence, however, shows a belief in a future life. The Thracians brought to their worship powerful religious emotions that were still evident in later times. Their native gods may have been vaguely conceived until individualised in Greek forms. The chthonian powers were especially favoured...¹⁵

¹² Kazarow, *RE* VI.A.1, cols. 536–551.

¹³ Burkert 1985, 156–9, 161–7, with bibl.; W.K.C. Guthrie was still claiming the Thracian origins of Dionysus in 1950 (*The Greeks and their gods* (London), 31, 154).

¹⁴ Jeanmaire 1951, esp. 99–100.

¹⁵ *Oxford Classical Dictionary*² (Oxford 1970), 917; but the tendency to belittle non-Greek cult traditions was in any case well rooted; cf. Rose, H.J., *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London 1928), 150: “(the birth of Dionysus)... Clearly we have here a barbarian myth; Greek legend does not lend itself to such grotesques, but parallels can be found in North America, at the other end of that series of Asiatic peoples, Mongolian and other, of whom the Thracians of antiquity form the western extremity.”

These words closely paraphrase part of Katsarov's rather glib assessment of pre-Roman cult published in 1936.¹⁶ Doubtless the effect of his words was unintended and somewhat ironic in view of the author's clear interest in grounding ideas about Thracian cult in the context of indigenous social traditions.¹⁷ Katsarov's views had not affected the general consensus among historians of religion so long as Thrace was conceived as being connected historically and geographically with the development of some early Greek cults. Katsarov himself was not particularly interested in the wider ramifications of early Thracian cult, not least because of his Roman perspective. But the fundamental change in the conceptualisation of cult development, epitomised by Jeanmaire's Dionysus, had the unexpected consequence of marginalising Thracian religion altogether. From being a major formative region in the development of Greek cult,¹⁸ Thrace was cast out as an unsuccessful also-ran. Students of Aegean cults in the Balkan region, principally historians and epigraphers, have not questioned the assumptions implicit in Fontenrose's assessment, assumptions which are not based on any objective evidence, literary or archaeological, but extrapolate backwards from a putative phase when more sophisticated (Greek) practices replaced cruder (Thracian) ones. The language of our documents is predominantly Greek, the names of deities are frequently Greek names. The foundations of many cults can therefore be assumed to have pre-dated the Roman conquest of Thrace and the creation of a political province. The appearance of Greek-sounding cults in the interior, away from the Greek colonies of the Aegean and Pontic coasts, has usually been interpreted, whether explicitly or implicitly, as one of the cultural concomitants of Macedonian political control

¹⁶ *RE* VI.A.1, col. 475.

¹⁷ Katsarov, G., 'The life-style of the ancient Thracians according to ancient Classical sources', *Sbornik na Bulgarska Akademya na Naukite* (Annual of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) I (1913), 1-97 (in Bulgarian).

¹⁸ Authors who supported the Thracian origins of Dionysus include Lobeck, Ch. A., *Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis* (Königsberg 1829), 289-98; Muller, K.-O., *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (1844), 372-7; Rapp, *Die Beziehungen des dionysischen Kultus zu Thrakien und Kleinasien* (1882); Rohde, E., *Psyche. Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* I-II (Freiburg 1894), II 264ff; Farnell, L.R., *Cults of the Greek States* IV, (Oxford), 105ff; Perdrizet 1910, 50ff, 65-86; Nilsson, *GGR*, 564-8; Danov, Chr., *Drevna Trakya* (Sofia 1969), 212-3 (= *Altthrakien* Berlin/New York 1970, 156-75); Mihailov 1972, 222-8; *idem*, 'Problems in Thracian mythology', *Vekove* 4 (1975), 5, 5-14 (in Bulgarian). Ulrich von Willamowitz-Moellendorf, by contrast, explored the Phrygian-Lyidian connections: *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I-II (Berlin 1931-2) II, 61.

from the time of Philip II onwards. But this has been difficult to demonstrate. Documents from the Hellenistic period are comparatively rare and archaeological evidence until recently equally sparse. The academic division of cult into neat ethnic boxes has meant that students have consistently shied away from a holistic approach, preferring to document Greek colonial traditions as evidence of Greek regional practice, with uncomfortable, less readily identifiable phenomena either ignored as irrelevant to the subject, or consigned to a waste bin labelled 'syncretism'. Indigenous religious concepts and practices have consistently been side-lined.¹⁹

As a result Thracian cults of the pre-Roman period are still comparatively unknown. Thrace falls neither within the remit of Asiatic religious traditions nor into those of the Aegean, although the Balkans were undoubtedly connected with both, historically, culturally and economically.²⁰ Notwithstanding Celtic movements into the Balkans from 4th century B.C. onwards, this is not an area usually included in studies of Celtic and related cults.²¹ But the potential relevance of such work in neighbouring areas needs at least to be borne in

¹⁹ D. Samsaris, *The Hellenisation of Thrace in Greek and Roman Times* (Thessaloniki 1980, in Greek with French summary), 190, 194–223 on Greek epigraphy documenting cults (only 114 out of a total 414 inscriptions [27.5%] of all types published by Mihailov date from the pre-Imperial age; of these, six belong on letter forms to the 4th century B.C., 33 to the 3rd century B.C.). Perceptions of cult are sensitive to perceptions of cultural interaction in general; for the conventional view of 'Hellenisation' in Thrace see: Hammond in N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia III, 336–167 B.C.* (Oxford 1988), 54. Like Hammond, L. Robert was anxious to dissociate colonial cults from the taint of any Thracian syncretism (in N. Firatli, *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance Greco-Romaine* [1964], 150–59 Artemis and Bendis). This is independent of Robert's disagreement with Firatli's assessment of Byzantine colonial onomastics (*ibid.*, 26–7, 45). Loukopoulou follows Robert but is concerned with ethnicity rather than cult (1989, 96, 100–110). Isaac noted the complexity of the colonial evidence, with about a third of colonial cults reflecting some non-Greek connections (1986, 288–91).

²⁰ The search for links between Indo-European linguistics and archaeology is still too mercurial and controversial to provide any secure basis for investigating cult. Straightforward analogies from known Indo-European or Indo-Aryan pantheons may simply not be appropriate (as e.g. R. Hoddinott, 'Rogozen and Thracian Religion: the Indo-European factor', in Cook 1989, 50–58). Nor is it clear how a skeletal Indo-European vocabulary might be said to explain or illuminate cult practices over several thousand years. Fol has rightly questioned the applicability of such theories but his interpretation of the relative role of Aryan and Indo-European elements in Thracian religion relies too heavily on controversial hypotheses about population movements in and out of the Balkans (Fol 1990, 10–20, 206–8).

²¹ The articles by A. Ross, J. Webster and M.J. Green in *The Celtic World*, ed. Green, M.J. (London/New York 1995) conveniently summarise ritual, use of space and beliefs.

mind. Histories of Greek religion, the best documented and most thoroughly studied set of practices in the Balkan—east Mediterranean area, have understandably treated Thrace as of marginal importance. But the absence of a correspondingly detailed body of data on the Thracian region has meant that where there is some perceived overlap between Greek and Thracian cults, the tools for assessing this common ground are not available. Our problem is therefore how to define what was distinctive about the religious behaviour of Thrace and how mutual interactions with other traditions affected this distinctiveness.

The phrase 'Thracian cults' presumes that the 'symbolic' behaviour of ancient Thracians had a cultural identity recognisably different from that of other neighbouring peoples. But at what level do we try to extract such an identity? Should this be at the level of Thracians in general, of tribes or on a regional basis? Although many ancient writers refer to 'Thracian' practices or cults, it is clear from our earliest prose source, Herodotus' *Histories*, that different religious customs and ideas were associated with different regions or different tribes (4. 94; 5. 6). These particularities are hard to isolate with few written sources; Herodotus' descriptions, which refer only to a small number of named tribes and a very few rituals, are unfortunately rather ambiguous, both as regards the geographical areas he sought to distinguish and the ideas he sought to describe.

Cults of the Odrysian Kingdom, ca. 450–250 B.C.

The Odrysian kingdom provides a suitable model for examining the full scope of religious behaviour in a particular region of Thrace. Between the 5th and early 3rd centuries B.C. a dynasty of the Odrysian tribe united under its leadership the land bounded by the Balkan (Haimos) range to the north, the Strymon river to the west and the Aegean and Black Sea coastlines to south and east (Fig. 1).²² It was an area exposed to Aegean and other Mediterranean traditions for many hundreds of years before its political annexation to Macedon. The relationship between Greek and Thracian attitudes to cult was not determined in these earlier stages by political *fiat*.

²² For a full description of these territories see: Archibald, *Odrysian Kingdom*, ch. 4.

Contemporary textual evidence includes not only Greek prose and poetic excerpts, notably Herodotus' *Histories*, several plays by Euripides and Sophocles, the 'Euripidean' *Rhesus*, as well as the distorting lens of 5th and 4th century B.C. comedies, but also epigraphic documents from Athens, Seuthopolis, Batkun and Vetren-Pistiros.²³ Greek prose and poetic texts describe Thracian cults or rites only indirectly and all interpretations necessarily involve an imaginative leap into the unknown. So it seems methodologically preferable to start with the surviving material evidence. A very large body of archaeological data is now available, including sites (both settlements and cult places), burials, shrines accompanying burials or other, less well defined deposits, as well as objects depicting cult scenes or images—tomb paintings, coins, metallic vessels and plaques, jewellery. A survey such as this has to be selective and I will concentrate on the best documented material, primarily inscriptions and settlement evidence. The process of documentation has hardly kept pace with the rapid rate of discoveries over recent decades. This poses considerable problems for any interpreter of the mental universe inhabited by the practitioners of activities whose traces we seek to identify. As a first step we need to understand the context of our sources; only then can we evaluate their relevance. Secondly, we need to clarify existing assumptions about what Thracian cults involved. In particular we need to form some idea of ritual, of the timing and regularity of ritual and its social significance.

In principle inscriptions constitute the least ambiguous evidence, but even their testimony is by no means clear cut. As far as can be ascertained from the contexts in which they were found, all the documents from Thracian sites represent native initiatives. The earliest seems to be the decree reused at *Bona mansio*, known until the early 4th century A.D. as *Lissae*, a Roman road station along the main route from Byzantium to Singidunum, located approximately 2 km from the settlement site at Adjiyska Vodenitsa near Vetren, north-west of Pazardjik in the Thracian Plain.²⁴ The 45-line decree, pro-

²³ No single study covers all these sources; Perdrizet 1910, Pettazzoni 1950 (translated in *idem*, 1954) and Jeanmaire 1951, 99–100, 430–3 discuss a wide range of literary passages; see Archibald, *Odrysian Kingdom*, ch. 4 for dramatic texts; the epigraphic evidence is discussed below.

²⁴ *Bona mansio/Lissae: IGBR III/I*, 102–4, Nos. 1067–1072; Mihailov cites Oreshova Mogila (Vetren) containing an ashlar built tomb, documented by Venedikov (*IBAI* 15 [1946], 194–6, the first evidence to confirm 19th century reports of significant

mulgated on behalf of an unknown native prince, guarantees rights to Greek colonists from Thasos, Maronia and Apollonia at an *emporion* named Pistiros and others, citing an earlier ruling by Kotys (presumably Kotys I, who was assassinated in 359 B.C.). It has been dated by Velizar Velkov and David Lewis *ca.* 359–350 B.C., that is at least a decade, perhaps almost two, before the Macedonian conquest of Thrace. The preamble of this decree was damaged by its subsequent reuse and the initial invocation is incomplete. But line 3 clearly includes Dionysus as one of the deities invoked. The document was composed in the chancery of the local ruler, the likeliest candidate being Amadocus (II), who is associated with central Thrace in the period following Kotys' death, and whose coins are prominent among the local issues found at Vetren.²⁵

Another decree from the same vicinity, this time discovered at a native sanctuary near Batkun, close to Pazardjik, is again only partly preserved, but refers to a shrine of Apollo. The beginning of the text was lost and only lines 11–20 survived. These were transcribed in the 19th century and the stone has since disappeared. The text records a decision made by the citizens of an unknown community (*politai*) to erect a statue to an unknown honorand and his brothers in the said shrine, and to crown it at every *panegyris* in honour of Apollo.²⁶ Virtually nothing is known about the site at Batkun at the time when the inscription was carved.²⁷ The exact provenance of

building work in the area of Vetren; S. Zahariev gave the name of the nearest village as Vetren (Bulgarian), Hisardjik (Turkish); for the first full publication of the Pistiros inscription: Velkov and Domaradzka 1994; Vetren (archaeological site at Adjyska Vodenitsa): Bouzek, Domaradzki and Archibald, 1996, esp. the article by M. Domaradzki, 13–34; Domaradzki 1995, 205–12 and *passim*; Domaradzki 1993.

²⁵ See further, Archibald, *Odrysian Kingdom*, ch. 9. For the coins see: Yourukova, Y., and Domaradzki, M., 'Nouvel centre de la culture thrace—Vetren, la région de Pazardjik (notes préliminaires)', *Numizmatika* (Sofia), 1990, 3, 3–18 and figs. 8–9 (in Bulgarian).

²⁶ *IGBR* III/I, No. 1114, dated by G. Mihailov to the late 4th or beginning of 3rd century B.C.: "E vico Batkun translata in coemeterium Turcicum in urbe Pazardjik (S. Zahariev) . . . postea periit. Non vidi . . . Litterae nullo modo posteriores tempore Alexandri Magni Dum.(Dumont), approbat Kac.(Katsarov). Decretum rei publicae Graecae ignotae prope Pazardjik sitae esse censit Dum.(Dumont) quem sequitur Kac.(Katsarov), putans urbem fortasse iam a Philippo (II) conditam esse. Decretum Philippopolitanum esse mihi videtur, quo filii Seuthis saec. IVa ex-
"unte—IIIa ineunte honorantur" (118–9). Domaradzki 1993, 42 and *Appendix* No. 1 (L. Domaradzka). The dedication has usually been attributed to Seuthes III and his sons (Mihailov, *op. cit.*; Tacheva-Hitova 1974, 240).

²⁷ D. Tsonchev, *Le sanctuaire thrace près du village de Batkun* (Sofia 1941); *IGBR* III/I, 117–67, Nos. 1114–1296.

the stone is uncertain, because it was removed to Pazardjik in the Ottoman period. Domaradzki believes that there may be a functional relationship between this document and others found in the vicinity of Vetren, which is the largest known contemporary archaeological site within the lowland region west of Plovdiv.²⁸ We can only guess at the identity of the citizens who wanted to honour a local benefactor in this way. Having no evidence of other self-constituted communities in the *polis* mould, Mihailov believed that the citizens were Philippopolitans (following Philip II's foundation *ca.* 340 B.C.), and the honorands Seuthes III and his sons. But we are not obliged to believe either that Philippopolis was the only candidate of this status in the western part of the Thracian Plain, or that self-constituted communities (whatever they might have been called, by natives or Greeks) appeared suddenly and without precedent after the Macedonian conquest of Thrace.²⁹

The decree from *Bona Mansio* refers to an *emporion* at Pistiros, evidently one of several in the vicinity (ll. 13–4, 22–24). An *emporion* was normally an area designated for commercial exchanges, often within or adjacent to a self-governing community. Graffiti on pottery show that the site at Adjijyska Vodenitsa near Vetren undoubtedly had a mixed population.³⁰ So we are not dealing with separate entities or groups physically isolated in some way (though perhaps a recognisably non-native sector has yet to be found). The settlement was undoubtedly urban in character; whether it was self-constituted is unknown. It had a street layout and paved roads, a network of stone-covered drains, houses and public buildings with stone foot-

²⁸ Domaradzki 1993, 42, 42–3, 52 and *App.* by L. Domaradzka, pp. 55–7 (Nos. 2–3 = *IGBR* III/1, Nos. 1067, 1068, funerary stelae found at Adjijyska Vodenitsa and published by V. Dobrusky in 1895); No. 4, discovered following reuse during current excavations). Mihailov (*op. cit.* p. 102, *ad* No. 1067: “Reperta una cum no. 1068 in fundamentis aedificii antiqui prope vicum Vetren, translata in museum Serdicense [inv. 808]. Perit. Non vidi.”) dates both the slabs to the end of the 4th or beginning of 3rd century B.C.

²⁹ G. Mihailov, ‘Le Processus d’urbanisation dans l’espace balkanique jusqu’à la fin de l’Antiquité’, *Pulpudeva* 5 (1986), 5–30, esp. 12–16; I have used different arguments to similar effect in a forthcoming paper, ‘Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace,’ in *Alternatives to the Democratic Polis*, R. Brock and S. Hodkinson eds. (Oxford).

³⁰ A. Bresson and P. Rouillard eds., *L’emporion* (Publications du Centre Pierre Paris, no. 26, Paris 1993), esp. A. Bresson, ‘Les cites grecques et leurs *emporia*’, 163–226, but contributions on other parts of the Mediterranean and Europe are also highly relevant. L. Domaradzka, ‘Graffiti’, in Bouzek, Domaradzki and Archibald 1996, 89–94.

ings and tiled roofs. Its overall size is likewise unknown, but the ambitious scale of the excavated sector near the city's eastern gateway makes it clear that it must have been a moderately sized town by Mediterranean standards. Recent investigations of the northern and southern sections of the circuit wall suggest that the 1.5 ha excavated terrace represents no more than 2–3% of the enclosed area. The initial plan, including the fortification wall, belongs to the second half of the 5th and first quarter of the 4th century B.C.³¹

The argument for connecting the *Bona Mansio* inscription with this site may not be certain but it is very strong. The site would therefore either be a commercial foundation *per se* (in which case it would be a huge market indeed); this is the view favoured by the excavations director, Mieczysław Domaradzki. Alternatively, Pistiros could be the name of the town and of the *emporion* associated with it. How commercial, residential and other functions were distributed in spatial terms is a problem which can only be resolved by future fieldwork and excavation.

We still know very little about the social organisation of Thrace in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. but the decree shows that regulations pertaining to towns and their commercial quarters were quite detailed and specific. Municipal life requires considerable sophistication in terms of social organisation; otherwise public works and services break down. It encourages and cements various forms of behaviour as a means of enhancing a sense of collective responsibility for such services. We do not yet know how overall responsibility for such duties was delegated. Even if the king or local prince appointed or confirmed local leaders or officials, the organisation of the various tasks required would be unthinkable without an extensive network of mutual obligations. That some people were excluded from living in Pistiros is clear enough from the prominence given to the colonists' land and pasture rights, to penalties against alienation or confiscation of such property (ll. 10, 16–7, 29, 35), and the prohibition placed on the obscure *epaulistai* (l. 12) from going anywhere near the inhabitants of the *emporion*. We might conclude the same from the plan of Seuthopolis (approximately 5 ha), the streets of which are separated by a small number of rather large properties, although thorough excavation may have revealed a greater variety

³¹ Domaradzki 1993, 38–40; 1995, 8–25; 1996, 17, 22, 30, 32–3.

of size and style than the structures investigated by D.P. Dimitrov and his team. All Greek cities exercised some restrictions on residence by regulating property ownership; what we seem to see emerging in Odrysian Thrace are urban centres reserved mainly for rather special people, their dependents, servants, specialist craftsmen. In an *emporion* this would enhance the leverage of powerful local families or individuals. We might expect the agricultural population to have lived in scattered hamlets, perhaps forming a penumbra around the principal urban site.³²

This particular decree was published for the benefit of the incoming Greek *emporitai*, but it is difficult to believe that legal documents of this type were framed exclusively for commercial purposes and not for other matters. Only special decisions need be committed to stone. The honorary inscription from Batkun very likely post-dates the Macedonian take-over but the fact that we have evidence of *politai* very early on in the Hellenistic period so close to Pistiros does at least open up the possibility that citizenship as conceived by Greek legal terminology was not necessarily a new idea (particularly if it was a prerogative of the non-agricultural classes).

The other significant Thracian document to be considered is the Seuthopolis inscription, found during excavation of the 'palace' area in the citadel.³³ The oath made by Berenike and her sons, engraved on stone, was to be set up at Kabyle, in the *Phosphorion*³⁴ and in the

³² See the map and preliminary site index in Domaradzki's report, 1996, 31–34, fig. 1.18.

³³ *IGBR* III/2, No. 1731; Velkov, in *Kabyle I* (Sofia 1991), 7 No. 1 with full earlier bibl.; K.-L. Elvers, 'Der "Eid der Berenike und ihrer Sohne": eine Edition von *IGBulg.* III.2, 1731', *Chiron* 24 (1994), 241–66, discusses the text and terminology in advance of full publication; W.M. Calder III, 'The Seuthopolis Inscription, *IGBR* 1731, a New Edition', in *Transitions to Empire, Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C.*, in *Honor of E. Badian*, Wallace, R.W., and Harris, E.M., eds., (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London 1996), 167–78 (without reference to Velkov or any recent Bulgarian studies from the Seuthopolis area). Calder's text differs from Velkov's in ll. 15–6, where the former's reconstruction makes better sense grammatically and syntactically; otherwise they are very similar. Calder gives Σαπόκοι for the previous reading, Σατόκοι (l.9) as the name of one of Berenike's sons. Satokos/Sadokos are forms better attested; if Sapokos is on the stone, as Calder claims unequivocally (Velkov does not provide any commentary on the lettering), then it is either a mason's error or an intentionally different spelling.

³⁴ For civic coins see: Draganov, D., *The Coinage of Kabyle* (Sofia 1993), 43–74; for another, slightly later inscription to (the goddess) Phosphoros, dedicated by a Menecharmos, son of Poseidonios (provisionally dated to the mid 3rd century B.C.), from the enclosure at the Hydro-electric plant, Sboryanovo see: Chichikova, M., 'Newly discovered epigraphic monument about the Phosphorus Cult in North-Eastern Bulgaria', *TAB* 4 (1990), 82–92 (in Bulgarian); cf. Gergova 1990, 67.

agora, by the altar of Apollo; at Seuthopolis, in the temple of the Great Gods and in the agora, in the sanctuary of Dionysos by the altar (ll. 29–34). The Hellenistic agora at Kabyle has not yet been located, although the cult of the goddess Phosphoros is well attested. This seems to have been the city's principal cult; the goddess was consistently shown on civic coins in a long belted gown holding a long torch in each hand. A crude rock carving of the same image has been identified on the peak of Zaichi Vruh, the acropolis of Kabyle, where water channels and niches associated with some cultic activity were cut at some time prior to the construction of a military tower contemporary with the Macedonian fort of Philip II. Subsequently offerings attest the renewal and reorganisation of cult activity later in the 3rd century B.C.³⁵ Only the easternmost of the three rocky pinnacles of Zaichi Vruh has been investigated at all systematically, that where the Macedonian tower was erected. The tallest, central peak, crowned with a rough rectangular stone construction, has yet to be investigated, as have two earthen mounds built around this time below the two peaks.³⁶

The *Phosphorion* was evidently not immediately on the agora, where the altar of Apollo (but no shrine?) was to be found. Although the rock sanctuary on Zaichi Vruh was doubtless connected with it, we would expect the prime location of an important inscription and the sanctuary of the city's patron deity to be close to the city's centre. The agora at Seuthopolis gives some idea of what we might expect to see. The main arterial road leading into the city from the north-west gateway forms the eastern side of this near-rectangular open space. The main east-west road (technically orientated south-west to north-east), forms the limit of its southern boundary. Traces of stone structures were found within this open space, some of which might have corresponded with an altar and temple of Dionysus.³⁷ Some

³⁵ Velkov, V., 'The Thracian city of Kabyle', *Vekove* 11 (1982), 1–2, 13–16 (in Bulgarian); *idem*, 'The Thracian City of Cabyle', in *Ancient Bulgaria*, I, 233–8, esp. 237–8; *idem*, 'Excavations and Investigations of the Thracian City of Kabyle', in *Sbornik Kazanluk* 1991, 144–51 (Bulgarian with English summary); Domaradzki 1991, 54–82.

³⁶ Velkov, V., 'Excavations at Kabyle and its environs', *AOR* 1987 (Blagoevgrad 1988), 48–9 (in Bulgarian); Domaradzki 1994, 75.

³⁷ Dimitrov 1957a, esp. 70–75; 1957b; Chichikova, M., 'The Thracian City of Seuthopolis', in *Ancient Bulgaria*, I, 289–303, esp. 295; *eadem*, 'New observations on the town planning and architecture of Seuthopolis', in *Sbornik Kazanluk* 1991, 60–8 (Bulgarian with English summary). Chichikova compares the sanctuary of the Great Gods with the later (Classical) plan of the *Herakleion* on Thasos (see further below); she envisages the cults of Dionysus and of the Great Gods as introduced in the early Hellenistic era.

large ashlar blocks found more or less in the centre of the agora have been interpreted as belonging to the altar, evidently resembling a Classical Greek altar, but no further details have yet been published. Unfortunately, the putative temple foundations were too badly damaged to enable any plausible reconstruction. We are on slightly better ground with the sanctuary of the Great Gods (*Kabeiroi*) in the fortified acropolis (Fig. 2). The Seuthopolis inscription was found in a spacious chamber, the largest of a complex of rooms all of which open axially onto a portico fronting the long side of the building. This building was interpreted by the excavator as the royal residence of Seuthes III. It is situated in a large yard entirely surrounded by a turreted circuit of walls. A propylon links this inner, fortified area with the city street plan. It is not clear from the published accounts whether there were any other structures within the yard. The 'residential' part of the block is no larger than any one of the excavated private houses and the whole block equivalent to one and a half or at most two domestic units. It was built of unbaked bricks on a stone footing, the roof decorated with marble acroteria and clay antefixes. The principal chamber walls were covered with red painted plaster. But there is nothing very palatial about the building as a whole.

Dimitrov's comparison of the sanctuary's layout to that of Hercules on Thasos is instructive both for defining what the Seuthopolis complex was and what it was not. It was not built like a Greek sanctuary to the Olympian gods, centred on an altar open to the air, surrounded by a temple, porticoes and other structures connected with cult activity, as we find in the Classical phase (and probably also in the archaic predecessor) of the Thasian *Herakleion*. Underlying the Classical plan of the *Herakleion* was an earlier complex, which nevertheless included both an earlier temple and a long building, resembling a conventional temple plan with a short porch and long cella, but with a marked emphasis on activities going on inside it (Fig. 3). The inner room was supported on two axial pillars either side of a square hearth, outlined with stone blocks.³⁸ At the time

³⁸ Launey, M., *Le sanctuaire et le culte d'Héraclès à Thasos, Études Thasiennes, I* (Paris 1944), 172ff (identifying plan as 'megaron' with *comparanda* from Archaic Antissa, Lesbos; Dreros and Prinias, Crete; temple of Apollo, Cyrene; 'bothroi' in Eleusis, Selinus temple 'C', Locri, Gortyn, Kos, Samothrace and Thebes); Pouilloux 1954, 29, 35, 45, 50, 94; 352-7 for history of the cult; *Guide de Thasos* École française d'Athènes (Paris 1968), 71-2 and fig. 28 ('edifice polygonal'); Bergqvist, B., *Herakles on Thasos*, Boreas 5 (Uppsala 1974) (arguing that this building is a dining hall);

when the Seuthopolis sanctuary was being built, the later of the two plans was in existence, although it is the 'edifice polygonal' (strictly speaking, the building made in polygonal masonry), which most closely corresponds to the plan and conception of the former. The Thasian cult of Hercules had two aspects—an 'Olympian' one (as son of Zeus) and a 'chthonic' one (as hero) and these two different functions seem to be reflected in the dual character of the temenos as a whole (as Herodotus describes: 2. 44. 5). Rather than interpreting the hearth—sanctuary plan as an older, perhaps Balkan tradition, it is more appropriate (in view of the complex history of the cult of Hercules on the island) to interpret both buildings as connected with rites of a non-Olympian nature. It is also appropriate to think of the unconventional building plans on Samothrace, especially the *Hieron*, which is likewise designed to focus on activities within rather than outside the building, had a hearth altar in the centre and internal walls decorated mainly in red; and the predecessors of the (early Imperial) 'Anaktoron', the surviving version of which was divided into a main chamber with a wooden platform(?) and an inner, restricted chamber, plus a hearth altar inside a walled precinct.³⁹ This has some analogies with the layout of the Thasian *Herakleion*.

Until the architectural remains of the 'palace' at Seuthopolis are fully published, with more details of what was found in the other rooms, the function of the complex as a whole should remain open. The supposed dual capacity as sanctuary and residence is not demonstrable from the evidence made available so far. Even if the principal chamber, containing the inscription and the largest decorated clay hearth yet found anywhere in Thrace,⁴⁰ served as some sort of audience chamber, it leaves very little room for residential quarters.

Roux, G., 'L'Heracleion thasien: problèmes de chronologie et d'architecture', *Thasiaca, BCH Suppl. 5* (Paris 1979), 191–211; Courtils, J. de and Pariente, A., 'Excavations at the Heracles sanctuary at Thasos' in Hägg, Marinatos and Nordquist 1988, 121–3 (Archaic temple, probably from 7th century B.C.).

³⁹ Lehmann, P.W., *Samothrace 3, The Hieron* vols. 1–3 (London 1969); Hemberg 1950, 49–131, esp. 112–5; Cole 1984, 12f; Burkert 1985, 182–3; Dimitrov developed his thesis of a dual residence-sanctuary in a number of publications: Dimitrov 1957a; 1957b; cf. also in particular the important study, 'Fortified villas and residences among the Thracians in the pre-Roman period', *Izsledvaniya v chest na akad. D. Dechev* (Studies in honour of acad. D. Dechev) (Sofia 1958), 683–701 (in Bulgarian); the final publication of the architectural remains has been announced as volume III in the site series published under the auspices of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, *Sevtopolis*.

⁴⁰ Dimitrov and Chichikova 1978, 48ff, figs. 28, 74–78.

These rooms would be surprisingly modest for a ruler compared with other houses in town. More importantly, the overall plan of the complex is quite unlike that of any other domestic or residential building. This is what makes Dimitrov's comparison with the Thasian *Herakleion* so telling. All the rooms in the block open onto the portico and thence onto the courtyard. There are three sets of rooms beside the main chamber, each composed of two axially interconnected compartments. In other words, the sets of rooms are not intended to interconnect with each other. They thus resemble the service rooms in a sanctuary such as the *Herakleion*, but not a residence. If the complex were a residence, particularly one modelled on contemporary Greek houses, as the town houses of Seuthopolis clearly are, the focus would be on an internal court; it is most unlikely that private rooms, or even official chambers, would open straight onto a very public courtyard.

The Seuthopolis complex would make better sense as a self-standing religious building, with the principal chamber and its hearth as the focus of activities. The adjacent room also contained a similar hearth. Square hearths made of very hard clay, often fired to a greyish-white colour, decorated with inscribed geometric patterns and impressed or stamped, sometimes even painted ornament, have been found in a variety of sites both in ancient Thrace and beyond into Continental Europe.⁴¹ These are technically low platforms, raised a few centimetres above the surrounding floor, thus resembling the kind of altars dedicated to Greek chthonic deities.⁴² The overall dis-

⁴¹ Feher, G., *IBAI* 8 (1934), 110ff (form. Mumdjilar, mod. Sveshtari); Chichikova, M., 'Altars of the Hellenistic Age in Thrace', *Studia Thracica I. Thracian and Scythian Cultural Relations* (Sofia 1975), 180–94 (in Russian); Balkanska 1988, 175–8 (Sboryanovo, 'Monastery' site); Dimitrova-Milcheva, A., 'Sacrificial altars of the Hellenistic Age in Kabyle', *TAB* 5 (Sofia 1990), 119–25; Peykov, A., 'Excavations in the ancient Thracian city of Eumolpia (1974–78)', *Pulpudeva* 3 (1980), 242–44, fig. 5 (in Russian); Kisyov, K., 'A Contribution to the Exploration and Dating of the Clay Ritual Construction from Plovdiv (Nebettepe) and its Role for Clarifying the Localization of the Thracian town of Odrosa', in *Annuary (sic) of the Department of Archaeology, New Bulgarian University, Sofia*, II–III (Sofia 1996), Stoytchev T., ed., 225–31 (in Bulgarian, with details of coin impressions in four corners, t.p. 300 B.C.); Lazov (*op. cit.* note below) 63 nn. 3–4: unpublished altars of similar form from Plovdiv; Borovo, Rousse region; Thracian fort near Gradnitsa, Gabrovo region; Pokrovskaya, E.F., *KS* 12 (1962), 73ff (Zhabotin and Cherkassy, Ukraine forest steppe); Stipčević, A., *The Illyrians* (1977), 235 for Illyrian parallels; Hoddinott, R., *The Thracians* (London 1981) 122, 133 fig. 129 (Popești, Romania); Makiewicz, T., *Forms of cult of domestic deities in Prehistoric Europe* (Poznań 1987), esp. 45–54 (in Polish).

⁴² *RE* VI.1 (1907), s.v. *eschara* cols. 614–7; Yavis, C.G., *Greek Altars* (St. Louis,

tribution of such hearths in Thrace suggests that this was a very widespread phenomenon. At Seuthopolis they were located in private houses as well as in the said sanctuary. Patterns include florals, vegetal bands containing ivy leaves as well as snakes. At Kabyle examples were found on Hissarlik, the low hill opposite Zaichi Vruh, which became the focus of the later urban centre, where traces of activity have been found in deep trenches both preceding and succeeding the time of Philip II.⁴³ The contexts of all these finds have not been published in detail, so the circumstances of their creation are not entirely clear. At Plovdiv a complete altar was found in an open area within the fortified eastern gateway of the acropolis on Nebettepe; a second, unpublished example has been noted from the city area immediately below Nebettepe, during rescue excavations in 1993 on 4th January Street.

At Sboryanovo, near Ispirih, a variety of clay altars, including oval ones and those with a convex boss rather than flat surface, have been excavated below the 'Monastery' of the Alian sect, known locally as Demir Baba teke.⁴⁴ Within the 'Monastery' yard three successive stratigraphic levels were identified spanning a depth of up to 2.8 m and about three hundred years of activity. The earliest level was a burned deposit broadly datable to the 4th century B.C. on the basis of imported amphora stamps. The final phase of ancient occupation below the Medieval construction of the 'Monastery' itself lasted from the second half of 3rd to the early 1st century B.C. The hearths belong to the second phase, which has been bracketed between the second half of the 4th and early 3rd century B.C. and seems to represent the liveliest construction period. A quadrangular building, some 12 m long and 5–6 m wide, had been destroyed by fire. It was made of clay with a beaten earth floor, wooden roof and a terracotta-

Missouri 1949), 91–5, 141; Burkert 1985, 199 n. 4: (of chthonic altars): 'The actual findings are rarely unambiguous'; Rudhardt 1992, 113ff esp. 129, 149–50, 238–9, 250–1.

⁴³ Velkov, V., *et al.*, 'Excavations at Kabyle', *AOR* 1979 (1980), 69–72 (two cult hearths and 50 imported amphora stamps from the same level, including examples from Thasos, Rhodes, Sinope, Kos); Velkov, V., *et al.*, 'Excavations at Kabyle and its environs', *AOR* 1986 (Razgrad 1987), 75–8 (77: nine pits containing ritual? deposits) (both in Bulgarian); Dimitrova-Milcheva *op. cit.* above, n. 41.

⁴⁴ Balkanska 1988, esp. 176; 1990, esp. 75–8; 1992, esp. 61. The clay built sanctuary contained two stratigraphic levels within the period between 4th and early 3rd century B.C. After its destruction by fire the building was reconstructed with stone walls, some time after the middle of 3rd century B.C.

ornamented cornice (?), fragments of which bore rope-impressed patterns, formally and stylistically distinct from similar patterns used on clay altars, parts of which were also identified within the structure. It contained two quadrangular platforms, either side of two (successive) circular raised altars, the latter having a convex surface. All the altars were partially destroyed but their construction was clear. The rectilinear altars were surrounded by a sill of unworked stones and had rounded corners. A layer of small stones mixed with earth formed the foundation, 20 cm above the surrounding clay floor. This was covered with clay and painted with a whitish slip. The circular altars had a similar surface but their profile has been compared with Ukrainian conical clay constructions dating between 6th and 4th centuries B.C.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, circular altars were by no means restricted to the north and north-east. At Tsrancha on the middle Rhodopes mountains, above a tributary (Dospat) of the Nestos not far from the modern Bulgarian border with Greece, a circular clay surface has been found with a distinct border and central protrusion rather like an *umbo*. The same site has yielded a relief-decorated clay plaque which served some analogous purpose.⁴⁶ This rock sanctuary, which seems to have been the location of symbolic rituals from the Late Bronze Age onwards, if intermittently during the Iron Age, has provided some of the earliest evidence of activities which can be related to those conducted at altars of the type just described. According to Anna Balkanska, who excavated the 'Monastery' site, the closest parallels for the circular altars are Early Iron Age examples from Tsrancha and Mount Babyak in the Central Rhodopes, as well as one from a somewhat later ('Hellenistic') site, 'Monastir tepe' near the Mineral Baths outside Burgas. Late Bronze Age examples have also been discovered on the *tells* near Dyadovo, Nova Zagora region, and Yunatsite, near Pazardjik.⁴⁷ The square decorated forms appear to be an elaborated form of the earlier, undecorated varieties. We are not therefore

⁴⁵ Shramko, B.A., *The Scythian Age Settlement of Belsk (the city of Gelonos)* (Kiev 1987) 127–8 (in Russian).

⁴⁶ Domaradzki 1986, 92–5; 1994, 79 and figs. 8, 10 (76: dated to the first phase of the Early Iron Age, see *idem*, *Arkheologiya* 28 (1986) 2, 10–24 for analysis of the ceramic material).

⁴⁷ Balkanska 1990, 78; Kyashkina, P., Domaradzki, M., 'Archaeological excavations at 'Manastir tepe', near the Mineral Baths, Burgas', *AOR* 1988 (Kurdjali 1989) 43–4 (in Bulgarian).

dealing with a recent development, despite the fact that so many of the examples collected so far seem to belong to a restricted period between the second half of the 4th and first half of the 3rd century B.C.

The most detailed information published so far comes from Vetren, where a complete altar and partial remains of at least two others have been found in an area at the western end of the excavated terrace, behind the large courtyard complex known as Building No. 1 (Fig. 4).⁴⁸ The relationship between the main road through the eastern gateway, which seems to turn at right angles behind Building No. 1, and the area around these altars is still in process of investigation. It is nevertheless clear that activities associated with such altars were concentrated in two principal areas of the excavations: in squares B17 and B22, south of the bastion, where a series of superimposed altars and hearths has been identified; and squares A5A and A6, in the immediate vicinity of the altar found *in situ*. Finds of altar fragments elsewhere in the excavations make it clear that such surfaces must have been created quite regularly in different locations. But there were two quite distinct concentrations, presumably connected with a more permanent installation. This has been confirmed by Lazov's more recent work in the same squares. In his publication of the altars in A5A and A6, Lazov suggested that the rectangular trench identified as surrounding the fixed altar on three sides may have been connected with a fence or other enclosure.⁴⁹ The fragments of other altars identified by him in close proximity to the two, near contemporary, examples published so far, seem to represent earlier constructions which were used to make a base for subsequent ones. In other words, these prepared surfaces, designed to serve as temporary places for cult activity, acquired a permanent value when recreated time and again on the same spot. Pottery associated with the two altars, dating to the 4th and late 4th–early 3rd centuries B.C., together with a coin of Ainos, buried in the southern corner of the altar *in situ*, provide clear chronological evidence for this *stratum*. A third altar in square A6, about 4.0 m north-west of the preserved altar, is still in process of investigation, but clearly belongs to a later phase. Fragments of altars have been found with material from 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. in the complex of superimposed

⁴⁸ Lazov 1996.

⁴⁹ Lazov 1996, 66 fig. 4.4.

ritual surfaces from B22 and B17 south of the bastion, in an area apparently free of major constructions (predominantly pits, pithoi, and a long trench.⁵⁰ A disturbed surface has also been discovered belonging to the same phase in B21, together with a 'fire dog' of curvilinear, abstract form.⁵¹ Clay sculptures with varying degrees of abstraction, some resembling true animal forms, others little more than abstract shapes, have frequently been found in association with hearths or altars.⁵² Further investigation of squares A5A and A5 has shown that the 4th century B.C. altars had similar predecessors. It would appear, therefore, that the succession of concentrated deposits in this particular part of the site had a much earlier history and that it is legitimate to treat it as a sanctuary area.

One of the greatest surprises of the Vetren excavations has been the quantity and scope of ritual or symbolic data. The 1.5 ha terrace on which the area around the eastern gateway has been preserved consists of the fortification wall with its projecting tower to the north and bastion to the south, a principal paved road leading into the settlement with streets opening off it on either side, a large, multi-roomed building (No. 1), predominantly used for commercial purposes in its heyday of 4th–3rd centuries B.C., sizeable traces of metallurgical activity in and around this building during 3rd century B.C., as well as south of the main road, in and around the main drain;⁵³ and a field of pits extending some 40 m west and 20 m north of the open trenches illustrated in Fig. 4. Deposits belonging to domestic units have been identified in trenches on the south-west side of the terrace and in the Czech sector near the settlement's northern fortification wall.⁵⁴ Traces of 'symbolic' or ritual activity have been found in every excavation trench within the fortifications (pits, altar fragments, movable clay braziers, figurines). Fragments of altars, including some *in situ*, have been documented in at least one room belonging to Building No. 1.⁵⁵ Actual altars seem to have been

⁵⁰ Excavations still in progress; Domaradzki 1996, 26 and n. 20, comparing the ditch with closely associated pits, to a similar formation at Tsrancha, Central Rhodopes (see Domaradzki 1986, 93–5, fig. 4); Lazov 1996, 67, 69.

⁵¹ Unpublished excavations of the British team, 1995 (M. Adams and Z. Archibald).

⁵² Lazov 1996, 65 and fig. 4.3; Domaradzki 1994, 76 with further references.

⁵³ Domaradzki 1996, 23–6; Katinčarova-Bogdanova 1996.

⁵⁴ Trial trench by Z. Archibald (1990); Czech excavations: unpublished report on 1995–96 seasons.

⁵⁵ Lazov 1996, 68–9 fig. 4.7.

built in a variety of different structures, some perhaps open to the air. Although the associated evidence is still under investigation, the presence of cereal grains, loom weights and spindle whorls as well as various types of figurine, points to a broad connection with fertility symbolism and procreation, but this goes little beyond stating the obvious.⁵⁶

How then, might we envisage ritual activity fitting into the life of the settlement? The widespread evidence of cult-related activity suggests that although certain areas were probably designated as reserved for cult purposes, rites were celebrated in many locations. There is still a great deal to be learned about the use and purpose of decorated altars. Their smooth, carefully finished and decorated surfaces show that they were not intended to be used as real hearths and although fired hard, burning was either deliberate, in order to create a hard, durable surface, or accidental. The appearance of these altars in domestic and non-domestic circumstances, within and without buildings, suggests that they may have been multi-purpose—to celebrate different rites for different occasions or different deities. There is no compelling reason why so many should be found in close proximity to each other in different locations, within a relatively restricted time-scale, unless they had somewhat different functions. Much depends on what the notional distinction was between low altars and the raised kind, familiar from Greek Olympian cults. Although the term 'chthonic' is frequently applied to altars of the *eschara* type in Thrace, the relationship between altars and deposits in pits or trenches has not been examined systematically.

The field of pits referred to at Vetren provides an opportunity for examining the relationship between daily life and ritual practice in more detail. At least sixteen pits have been documented in a single area of *ca.* 20 m² outside the main excavation trenches, west of the eastern fortification wall. They appear on the surface as more or less regular oval grey patches against the bright rich brown sterile soil into which most of them were dug. Some are less than a metre apart. A group of smaller pits, regular circles of yellower tone arranged in pairs close to the terrace bank, are clearly different in kind. Their relationship to known structures is complicated by modern disturbance of the site and is still in process of investigation. But the western

⁵⁶ Balkanska notes a clay anthropomorphic female figurine buried inside a square platform (1990, 79).

margin of this group of pits extends to within 20 m of the area investigated by Lazov containing the concentration of clay altars. Similar pits have been observed in trench profiles. A small number has now been investigated in detail, one of which has been published by Domaradzki in his Interim Report.⁵⁷ The pits investigated so far have a similar form—vascular, narrowing towards the top (usually over 1 m in diameter), and broadening out within the first metre, extending down to between two and three metres depth, with a rounded base of slightly more than half a metre. They are lined with a thick (0.05–0.10 m) layer of clay and filled with alternating layers of ashy grey soil and sand, containing different objects: stones, charcoal, tile, brick, daub, pottery, loom weights, spindle whorls, bones and occasionally metal. The fill of each pit investigated is by no means identical. These differences are likely to acquire increased significance as statistical information on such pits becomes more generally available. In some cases whole or near complete vessels have been found; elsewhere the pottery is highly fragmented. In some cases objects may have been deliberately broken or deformed. This is a practice which has also been noted in sanctuary deposits as well as some funerary rituals.⁵⁸

Pits and other below-ground deposits have begun to attract increasing attention from Bulgarian archaeologists within the last ten years. A survey by R. Georgieva demonstrated that this is a highly complex phenomenon. Details about such deposits have often failed to attract the attention of archaeologists or, if noticed, have rarely been included in reports. As a result the processes leading to the formation of above ground mounds and below ground pits have been over-simplified. In the case of mounds, there are now many documented cases to show that these were rarely one-off creations. More often than not, mounds were created as a result of long-term, periodic activity, sometimes associated with offering pits or other deposits, which may or may not include burials.⁵⁹ Groups of pits, however,

⁵⁷ Domaradzki 1996, 29 figs. 1.16–1.17. Pit No. 9 in the field of pits excavated by the author in 1992–94 will be published in *Pistiros* vol. 2. Further pits containing metaalurgical debris are briefly referred to in Katinčarova-Bogdanova's report (1996, 106–7).

⁵⁸ Georgieva 1991, 8; Domaradzki 1994, 81–7 fig. 13.

⁵⁹ Georgieva 1991, 1–4 with important details clarifying published data drawn from excavators themselves; Ginev, G. 'Stratigraphic observations on the embankments of Thracian tumuli near the village of Kralevo, Turgovishte district', *Chelis*

are often associated with sanctuaries or settlements, though the location of such pit groups in close proximity to mounds has sometimes been confused with subsequent mound-building.⁶⁰

Georgieva describes the shapes of such pits and their contents. They may be found in different geological formations, sometimes singly or in small groups, occasionally in dozens. They differ in size and shape (vascular, beehive, conical, cylindrical, oval). The act of cutting the pit should be distinguished from that of filling it (the surviving fill does not necessarily coincide with the original function of the pit). The relationship between fire and ash deposits again requires scrutiny. Ash layers are extremely common but traces of burning, particularly the secondary burning of objects from the fill, comparatively rare. Animal bones are also common but these have rarely been studied in detail. The animals most frequently found are cattle, pigs, sheep or goats, horses and dogs. Of the 137 pits below mound III at Kralevo, near Turgovishte, only 87 contained animal bones.⁶¹ On average these latter had no more than two to four different animals (or species) represented per pit (leaving aside the unique combination in one case of two cattle, four sheep or goats, three dogs and three horses). Of the 328 individual animals identified, 300 are said to be of domesticated species, only 28 wild. The wild species included deer, wild boar, hare, marten, fox and badger, the latter three, it is assumed, being hunted for their fur rather than meat. This suggests that not all the animal bones can have been the result of food offerings *stricto sensu*. Domesticated species probably reflect the general pattern of consumption, though not farming practice. Cattle (33.71%) and pig bones (28.03%) represent the largest

3/1, 123–32; Teodosiev, N. 'Thracian tumulus near the village of Kavarna', *ibid.*, 109–122; Petrov, I. 'Nécropole thrace près du village Gorski Izvor, département de Haskovo', *IMYB* 16, 7–36 (in Bulgarian); Gergova, G. *Immortalization Ritual in Ancient Thrace* (Sofia 1996), chs. 1–2 (in Bulgarian with English summary).

⁶⁰ Georgieva 1991, 3 (see esp. for the Kralevo mound with 137 pits below—Vasilev, V.K. and Georgiev, G.D. 'Les animaux domestiques et les animaux sauvages du tumulus thrace no. III près du village Kralevo, département de Targovishte', *Arkheologiya* 27 (1985), 1, 1–12 (Bulgarian with French summary); 4–10 on other types of pit groups).

⁶¹ Vasilev and Georgiev *op. cit.* above note; the chronology of these pits is problematic. The mound overlying the pits contains a tomb datable to the mid 3rd century B.C. Some time elapsed before the pits, together with 19 ritual hearths, overlaid with daub in a series of layers, were succeeded by construction of the burial and mound. Some erosion of the pit sealing took place. The pottery from the pits has not yet been published (Georgieva 1991, 2–3).

proportion, with sheep (33.33%) and horses (4.93%) forming the next most significant species. Goats, it is worth noting, were virtually insignificant—only one to 28 sheep.

Georgieva has rightly pointed out the need to examine in more detail the butchering practices (and whether certain parts were used or whole animals), as well as the identification and quantification of species. The analysis of bones from a series of 54 pits at Bagachina, near Staliyska Mahala, Mihailovgrad region, in far north-western Bulgaria, goes some way towards this.⁶² In this case the bones have been analysed not just in terms of raw percentages of species but also according to the minimum number of individual animals, as well as specific parts of animals in each pit. This makes it the most detailed and precise study yet available. The relevant dating material, mainly pottery, has not been published alongside the bones, but the sample used by Ninov was preselected from pits dated on comparative evidence between 5th and 2nd centuries B.C. The proportions per minimum individual were as follows: cattle 28.91%, sheep/goat 14.06%, pig 29.18%, horse 4.15%, dog 1.86%, deer 11.67%, wild boar 5.83%, bear 1.33%. The overall quantity of bones was hugely dominated by cattle: 56.62%, with pigs at 16.82% and ovicaprids and minor domesticated species at 16.82%. Dogs and horses were rare by comparison, dogs being buried as whole, decapitated carcasses. Neither dogs nor horses were butchered for meat. Between two and eight different animals were deposited per pit.

Most of the cattle were mature specimens; among the immature, calves predominated. Piglets were preferred to mature pigs; both mature and immature sheep and goats were found. The fact that there is no trace of burning, that meat was removed with great care from the bones and that leg joints, crania and horn cores predominate (except in the case of cattle ribs and vertebrae), indicate a similar jointing procedure to that adopted by the Greeks—with the best cuts reserved for human consumption. What we appear to have here, therefore, are the 'divine portions'.⁶³

The most comprehensive study of pits yet carried out for an Iron

⁶² Bonev and Alexandrov 1986; Ninov, L.K. in Bonev and Alexandrov 1996, 76–96. The main discussion of the finds provides only a general discussion of pottery types.

⁶³ Ninov, *op. cit.* 86–96; Jameson, M.H. 'Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Classical Greece', in Whittaker, C.R. ed., *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1988), 87–119.

Age site, at Danebury, Hampshire, provides a useful comparison. Cunliffe argues that some of these, probably the beehive-shaped pits and perhaps others, were originally used for grain storage. This would have included seed corn. Once the seed was sown, in early spring, an offering, in the form of a complete or partial animal (or occasionally human being), was placed inside the empty pit. Some time elapsed. A later deposit is usually found—perhaps a second offering, after a successful harvest it is suggested. A final layer would then be used to seal the pit.⁶⁴ Cunliffe suggests that these offerings might have been made to propitiate chthonic deities who protected the seed corn during its concealment underground and ensured its growth. The different time scales implicit in the number of layers and degree of erosion within the pits might be connected with different types of ritual enacted. No real statistical comparison can be made but some clear differences can be observed between the kind of deposit noted at Danebury and those familiar from Thrace. The pits are broadly comparable in shape and dimensions. Although traces of fire are sometimes noted in Thrace, these are on the whole rare, in contrast to Danebury. Human bones are virtually non-existent: rare enough 'to fit a match box'.⁶⁵ The appearance of a few very young animals at Kravevo points to a date between May and July for some deposits. This strengthens the possibility that more of these pits have been associated with a specific phase in the agricultural year. The primary use of some at least for seed corn needs to be re-examined. The range of items found at Danebury compares quite closely to the overall range in Thrace, except that animal and human remains were treated very differently.

The finds from Bagachina confirm the special character of pit deposits in Thrace. But it is surely more helpful to see them as representing one type of location where rites took place rather than designating them 'ritual pits' or even 'sanctuary sites', although pits were undoubtedly built at sanctuaries too, whether for depositing offerings or concealing redundant sacred material.⁶⁶ The widespread use of

⁶⁴ Cunliffe 1995, 72–88.

⁶⁵ Georgieva 1991, 5, citing Protase, D. *Funerary Ritual of the Dacians and Daco-Romans* (Bucharest 1971), 183–209.

⁶⁶ Georgieva 1991, 8–9 for pit groups as evidence of sanctuary sites; on sanctuaries in general: Domaradzki 1986; 1994, 81–8; *idem*, *Sanctuaries. Monuments of Thracian culture in the upper Nestos valley* (Sofia, announced to appear in the series, *Razkopki i Prouzvaniya = Excavations and Studies*).

below-ground deposits, which is also characteristic of Continental Europe, poses a particular problem for an analysis of cult practice in terms of the distinctions between 'Olympian' and 'chthonic' familiar from the Aegean. We cannot assume that the Greek distinction between Olympian cults on the one hand, with raised altars and burned offerings in the open air, and 'chthonic' cults, with pit offerings, was necessarily applied in quite the same way. In Greece dogs and horses were sometimes sacrificed as part of chthonic rituals (*enagismata*).⁶⁷ Horses and dogs are also very clearly associated with funerary rites involving members of the Thracian social and political élite.⁶⁸ At Bagachina horse bones (in a maximum 15 pits) and dog bones (maximum 7 pits), though not partial or complete skeletons, appear in the same pits as cattle, sheep, pigs and wild species. The fill of each pit has not been described, so it is not possible to tell whether these were part of the same deposit. The appropriateness of this pattern of disposal would depend on socially-conceived taboos with respect not only to particular species but to their state of health.

We also need to understand the degree of abstraction which visible cult furniture, such as the clay altars, retained. In Classical Athens, the 'common hearth' in the *Prytaneum* acted as a symbolic centre of public life. It was primarily a focus for office holders (*prytaneis*) and distinguished visitors to dine together. Many religious processions started from there; among them was one which has some relevance here—that which took the Athenian and Thracian followers of Bendis to the Piraeus. Whatever the precise appearance of the 'hearth' itself in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the abstract notion was evidently more important than the physical fireplace. The hearth goddess, Hestia, was a rather insubstantial figure (Pind. *Nem.* 11. 1).⁶⁹ The relative unimportance of rituals connected with the hearth reflects the general tendency, best expressed in Athenian sources, to emphasise public as distinct from private, domestic rites, a trend clearly connected with contemporary political and social attitudes.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See Jameson *op. cit.* above n. 63, 88 and n. 5; Day, L.P. 'Dog burials in the Greek world', *AJA* 88 (1984), 21–32.

⁶⁸ Archibald 1997, chs. 10 and 12; Vasilev and Georgiev *op. cit.* above n. 60; Ninov, L. 'Animal Remains from the Tomb in Tumulus No. 13 in Sboryanovo', *Chelis* II (1992), 127–32.

⁶⁹ *The Athenian Agora, Guide*, American School of Classical Studies (Athens 1976³), 54–7 (Tholos; dedication to *Phosphoroi*, 2nd century A.D.); Parker 1996, 26–7, 170.

⁷⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood, C., 'What is *polis* religion?', in *The Greek City from Homer to*

The prominence of *escharae* in excavations should not lead us to assume that domestic cult was much more prominent in Thrace than it was in contemporary Greek communities. It may have been, but we first need to understand what the significant operating factors were in the general organisation of cult. The Greeks were well aware of the fact that cult expressed social values; we should expect the same to have been true in Thrace. If we look at the largest sanctuary of the pre-Roman period investigated in Thrace, Sbornyanovo, near Ispirih, we can observe some of these values in operation. An area of approximately 16,000 square metres has been investigated either side of a narrow gorge cut by the River Krapinets. The focus of activity throughout was the area immediately to the west of the winding river, which here forms a reverse S-shaped series of sharp convolutions. Beside a river source above the gorge (Pette Prasta) is the 'Monastery' Demir Baba teke, with its 4th–3rd century B.C. shrine, later enclosed by a stone wall, linked to a triple rock formation where there is evidence of earlier activity from the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. West of it, high on the plateau, is 'Kamen Rid', where the first signs of ritual activity involving plastered hearths, clay idols and other symbolic objects have been documented, dating from the first three hundred years of the 1st millennium B.C. In the 4th to 3rd century B.C. it was enclosed with a stone wall, as was a large area below the 'Monastery', near the Hydro-electric plant. Each of these enclosed areas contained structures with some symbolic significance. Odd shallow stone circles were built on the 'Kamen Rid' plateau in Hellenistic times. The dedication to 'Phosphoros' at the Hydro-electric plant site indicates a sacred area here too. The relationship between these different areas will remain hard to understand until a full report is published. Apart from the fortifications, no significant stone architecture has been found at any of these three sites during the period of greatest activity. By contrast, a series of magnificent stone-built tombs has been discovered in the eastern of two huge mound cemeteries, which extend in broadly parallel lines either side of the gorge.⁷¹ The private resources of leading wealthy

Alexander, Murray, O. and Price, S. eds. (Oxford 1990), 295–322; Burkert 1985, 332–7, 'Philosophical religion and *polis* religion: Plato's Laws'; cf. Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (*op. cit.*, above n. 11), 63–4, 80–1 (domestic cults).

⁷¹ Gergova 1988; 1990; Gergova, D. 'Ten years of research in Sbornyanovo', *Chelis I* (Sofia 1992), 9–26; Balkanska 1988; 1990; 1992; tombs: Gergova *op. cit.*, n. 59 above.

families were used to enhance their personal status through the creation of spectacular monuments. The same seems to be true of wealthy individuals in the Seuthopolis region.⁷² Evidence of repeated use of such tombs for cult purposes unfortunately gives us no further information on public cult. Tomb chambers, even in multi-chamber complexes such as that in the Ostrusha Mound near Kazanluk, can only have been used by small groups of individuals at any one time. They are conceivable as places of private, family cult but not public rites.⁷³ The commonest means of creating private associations of this kind is by restricting access to certain groups which retain cult privileges.⁷⁴

The inscriptions from Vetren and its region discussed above reflect how closely religious practice was linked to cultural and social developments. At present we understand very little about the social organisation of cult and how the traditional power of wealthy families may have been modified by democratic attitudes to religious organisation. The cult of Bendis at Athens provides some indications.⁷⁵ It seems agreed that the cult was instituted to enable Thracians to celebrate one of their major festivals whilst staying or living in Athens. What is extraordinary about this cult is its official recognition by the Athenian state. All attempts to explain the official adoption (which was not strictly necessary for its existence), as a political gesture towards the Odrysian kings have failed. The relevance of this official cult for effecting political strategy at a considerable distance is hard to envisage.⁷⁶ But this does not mean that there was no connection. Precisely how the cult came into existence is also hard to unravel.

⁷² See esp. the new tomb complex investigated by G. Kitov with its central chamber built from a monolith and roof carved with painted coffering: Kitov, G. and Krasteva, M. 'The Thracian Grave and Cult Complex in the Ostrusha Tumulus near Shipka', *Talanta* 26/27 (1994–95) 7–28; Kitov, G. 'The Thracian Valley of the Kings in the Region of Kazanluk', *Balkan Studies* 37/1 (Thessaloniki 1996) 5–34.

⁷³ See above note and Archibald *Odrysian Kingdom*, chs. 6 and 10–12.

⁷⁴ These ideas have been explored in my paper entitled: 'Orpheus in Thrace?' read at the Conference on Art and Myth in the Greek Colonial World held at Royal Holloway, University of London in April 1997 (Tsatskheladze, G. and Morgan, C., eds., Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph Series, forthcoming).

⁷⁵ Ferguson, W.S., 'The Attic Orgeones', *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944) 96–104; Nilsson, M.P. 'Bendis in Athen', *Opuscula Selecta* (Lund 1960) 55–80; Parke, H.W. *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 149–52; Popov 1982, 39–55; Parker 1996, 170–75; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 11 (temple); Pl. *Resp.* I, 327a–328a; *IG I³* 136 (with M. Jameson's comm): 310, 1.208 and 383, 1.142–3 (Bendis and Adrasteia listed in accounts of Treasurers of the Other Gods, 429/8 B.C.; No. 136, probably dated ca. 413 B.C., should therefore refer to an expansion of the cult).

⁷⁶ Parker 1996, 173–5, reviews the arguments.

Who was the cult instituted for? Its apparent popularity in Laurion has been taken to indicate that among the prime beneficiaries were mining slaves. Certainly, the appearance of theophoric names and the wide popularity of the cult, not only in Athens and Corinth but beyond,⁷⁷ is some indication that this was a cult with a significant following among people of different classes and backgrounds. Many Athenians would have known about or had perhaps themselves participated in festivals of Bendis in Thrace. (Notwithstanding the justifiable doubts of some scholars about the adoption of native cults in the north Aegean colonies, it is quite possible that certain features of native cult, particularly if they involved extra feasts and special events, races and the like, were adopted precisely because they were popular.)⁷⁸ But in order for it to receive official distinction there had to be a powerful *community* motive among Athenian citizens. This was not a second-order decision. The festival of the *Bendidia* was a major public event. Not only did an annual (?) procession take place, incorporating both Athenian citizen and Thracian votaries, organised in separate associations, from the very heart of Athens to the Piraeus, but revenues to the state from hides of sacrificial victims were exceeded only by those from the city Dionysia and Olympia.⁷⁹ The quantity of hides would indicate a hecatomb. The organisation of the shrine, built on land bought from the Athenians on Munichia Hill, close to the sanctuary of Artemis (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 11), the cost of the procession, of the sacrifices and the subsequent feast for all those attending, plus the highlight of the event—torch races on horseback at dusk—to say nothing of the all-night celebrations to follow, were a heavy burden. The levy granted by the state (*IG* I³ 136, fragment B, l. 5) was very likely borne by the organisers and principal participants, who were themselves members, *orgeones*, of an official religious organisation, a privilege reserved for Athenian citizens, not least because of the hereditary principles which normally applied.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Parker 1996, 171 and n. 66, 174 and n. 74; Popov 1982, 96–101 on dissemination; *LIMC* s.v. Bendis (Gocheva, Z. and Popov, D.).

⁷⁸ A survey of colonial cult, such as the brief summary drawn up by Isaac (1986, 288–91) confirms the impression that modifications of religious practice involved the adoption of new ritual or symbolism within the framework of Greek cult (notably in the case of Dionysus, Artemis as *Phosphoros*, the nymphs—virtually unexplored—and Hermes (*ibid.*, 235, 247, 257–8, 264–5)).

⁷⁹ For a detailed account of the epigraphic evidence see: Simms 1988; 61 for hides: *IG* I². 1496, l. 86–7 (330's B.C.).

⁸⁰ 'So far as our records go the *orgeones* of Bendis present us with a novelty and

Two separate groups are detectable with responsibility for the cult in Piraeus, a citizen group and a non-citizen group. In the 3rd century B.C. a new group of Thracian *orgeones* was established in the city of Athens, together with a club of *thiasotai* for non-citizens in Salamis, perhaps ex-slaves.⁸¹

The cult of Bendis at Athens was neither short-lived (a brief political expedient) nor marginal, even if its contribution to the city's cult activity was modest. Bendis was evidently referred to by Cratinus in his comedy *The Thracian Women*, certainly before 430 B.C.⁸² It is likely then that the cult was already established in some form before the Peloponnesian War and before any official negotiations between the Athenians and king Sitalces of the Odrysians (Thuc. 2. 29). The likeliest candidates for promoting the cult were members of leading Odrysian families (not merchants, as metics are often assumed to have been). These were the people who were most likely to be cult leaders at home, who bred race-horses and had the kinds of resources to cover the cost of such spectacular public events.⁸³ The grant of citizenship to Sitalces' son, Sadocus,⁸⁴ would have enabled him, or any of his peers granted similar honours, to become *orgeones* quite naturally, just at the time when these official members are first documented at Athens.⁸⁵ Perhaps other Odrysians were allowed to become *orgeones* without citizenship. They would thereby belong to a rather special sort of club. If this interpretation is correct, any citizen who joined the *orgeones* of Bendis would have had direct access, in a suitably informal setting, to some of the most powerful individuals in the Odrysian kingdom. In view of the practical difficulties of conducting negotiations involving considerable distances, whether these were overland across the Rhodopes or riverine, along the Hebros, the creation of a cult organisation at Athens under whose auspices Athenians could talk to their Odrysian counterparts in informal circumstances and in an atmosphere of trust, was an ideal solution.

The *Bendidia* were celebrated on 19th of the Athenian month *Thargelion* (June), so this must have been one of the principal har-

something quite unique, an association of this type constituted wholly of aliens.' (Ferguson, *op. cit.* n. 75 above, 96).

⁸¹ Parker 1996, 171 n. 66.

⁸² *FAC* I, 49, F81 (including a parody of Pericles).

⁸³ Archibald *Odrysian Kingdom*, ch. 4 for the 5th century B.C. background.

⁸⁴ Thuc. 2. 29. 5; Ar. *Acham.* 145; Diod. 12. 50. 2.

⁸⁵ Ferguson *op. cit.* n. 75, 103; Simms 1988, 68.

vest festivals of the Thracians. Herodotus mentions in a different context Thracian and Paionian women bringing offerings to Artemis *Basileia* wrapped in straw (4. 33. 5). Whether analogous offerings played a part in the procession of the *Bendidia*,⁸⁶ or whether this was connected with a separate festival, we cannot tell. The occasional glimpses afforded by historical anecdotes, such as the meeting of Philip II with king Kothelas, which survives in Jordanes' *Getica*, present quite elaborate ritual organisation: a vast procession with different social orders and musicians, including white robed priests strumming *kitharas*.⁸⁷

Greeks and Thracians did not live in hermetically sealed worlds and neither did their ideas about the divine. Xenophanes was by no means the only intellectual whom we know to have opined on foreign cults. Hipponax of Ephesus, a near contemporary poet and satirist, compared Bendis with Kybele (F. 127 West). There is growing archaeological evidence that such remarks were not eccentric. In one of the Early Iron age pits at Bagachina, together with local pottery broadly datable within the first two centuries of the 1st millennium B.C., there were three incomplete vessels made on the fast wheel, covered with a cream slip and painted with geometric motifs in brown. They were brought, most likely *via* the Danube, from the Aegean, perhaps from Chios.⁸⁸ What must at this date have been brief encounters were soon elaborated in fantastic tales of adventure.

The degree of mutual awareness must have been much greater than the scraps, literary or material, which have survived, allow us to own. Ideas travel faster than people. Many of our Greek sources refer to aspects of Thracian cult in order to point out differences with Greek practice. Perceived differences relate primarily to the nature of ritual. Ritual was the principal medium through which religious ideas were expressed, accompanied by verse, song and, more indirectly, art. It is the manner of honouring the deity that makes one group different from another. Festivals therefore play a decisive role in determining how a god is seen by others. The way in which Bendis was

⁸⁶ The priestess of Bendis would have been in charge of women's sacrifices and women took part in the procession; but a more specific role for women in the proceedings is likely (see Simms 1988, 71).

⁸⁷ Jord. *Getica* 10. 65ff.; cf. Theop. *FGrH* 115 F216 (= Athen. 14. 24 p. 627d-e); Tronson, A. *JHS* 104 (1984), 116-26 (Theopompus probably Jordanes' principal source).

⁸⁸ Bonev and Alexandrov 1996, 33-7, Figs. 63-66 (citing Bochlau, J. and Schefold, K., *Larisa am Hermos* III (Berlin 1942), pl. 35, 11, 14-15; Boardman, J. *Excavations in Chios, 1952-1955. Greek Emporio* (London 1967), pl. 46, Nos. 523, 534, 538.

received at Athens suggests that the Thracian manner of her worship was compatible with and attractive to Athenians. Visual spectacle played a part but the principal religious acts, the sacrifice and rituals accompanying it, seem to have fitted comfortably enough into the Athenian mode to become not only an established but a long-lived cult.

Considering the geographical proximity of Thrace and the common Indo—European substrate, we might expect there to have been at least some common religious traits. Arguments about the origins of Dionysus have drawn attention away from the fact that this was a well-grounded cult in northerly regions in its own right. Herodotus twice refers to his cult directly, naming an important oracular sanctuary in the Rhodopes mountains, in the territory of the Bessoï but served by the Satrai (5. 7; 7. 111. 2). Dionysiac themes are among the most prominent motifs on the earliest tribal and regal coins of the region.⁸⁹ There is no perceptible distinction between ‘Greek’ and ‘indigenous’ attitudes as expressed in such objects. The principal cult at Seuthopolis, to the Great Gods, was surely a native choice, as was Phosphoros at Kabyle. There is very little evidence of a significant Greek presence at either site and the nature of cult activity was very clearly dictated by indigenous conceptions. The picture is rather different at Vetren, where there was a sizeable Greek presence, but what has been discovered so far points to ‘non-Olympian’ rituals, which still require further clarification. The huge importance of the after life in the Thracian mind, well exemplified in the physical prominence and elaboration of tombs and mounds, impinged on the present in a way alien to the Greeks. This link between the living and the dead determined the general character of worship, a connection which we are not yet in a position to understand.

A major obstacle is the absence of clear divine names. Herodotus tells us that the Thracians ‘only’ worship Artemis, Ares and Dionysus, while Hermes is the patron of the royal dynasty (5. 7). Our sources also make it clear that the names of Thracian deities were avoided. Plato refers to ‘the goddess’, even though it is clear that Bendis is meant, for her festival is referred to (*Resp.* 354A). Similarly, the

⁸⁹ Price, M.J. *The Coins of the Macedonians* (London 1974), 2–11; Fried, S. ‘The Decadrachm Hoard: an introduction’, in: Carradice, I. ed., *Coinage and administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*. 9th Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, *BAR Int. Series*, 343 (Oxford 1987), 1–20.

Sboryanovo inscription refers to 'the torch-bearing (goddess)', without a specific name being given and the Scuthopolis inscription refers to the '*Phosphorion*', the 'sanctuary of the torch bearing (goddess)'. This reluctance to name what is ineffable is also characteristic of the Samothracian cult of the Great Gods. It would be valuable for future studies to explore the pattern of cult activity in the north Aegean—east Balkan region as a network of interrelated traditions, rather than along ethnic lines.

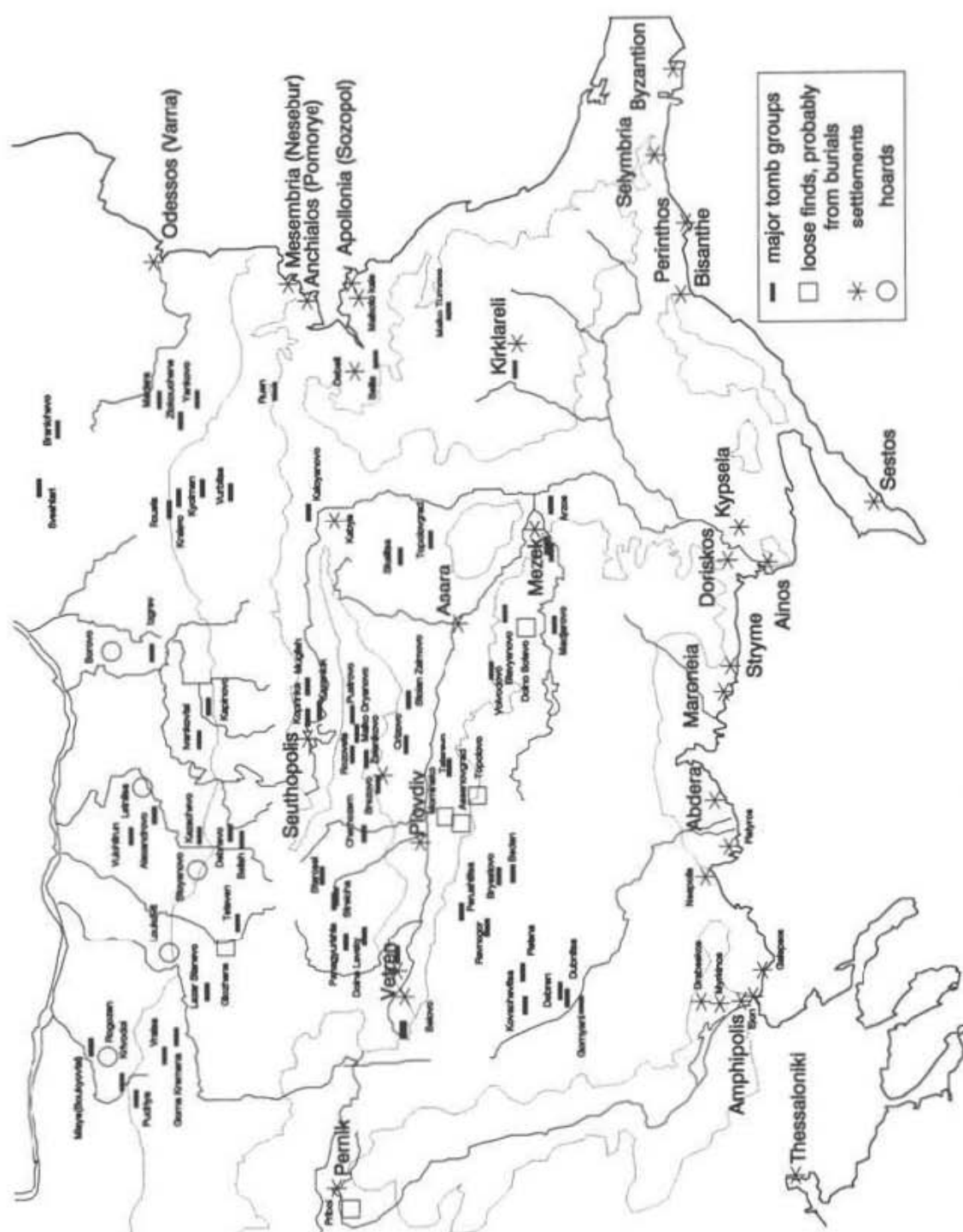


Fig. 1. Territory of the Odrisian kingdom of Thrace, 5th to 3rd centuries BC, showing sites referred to in the text

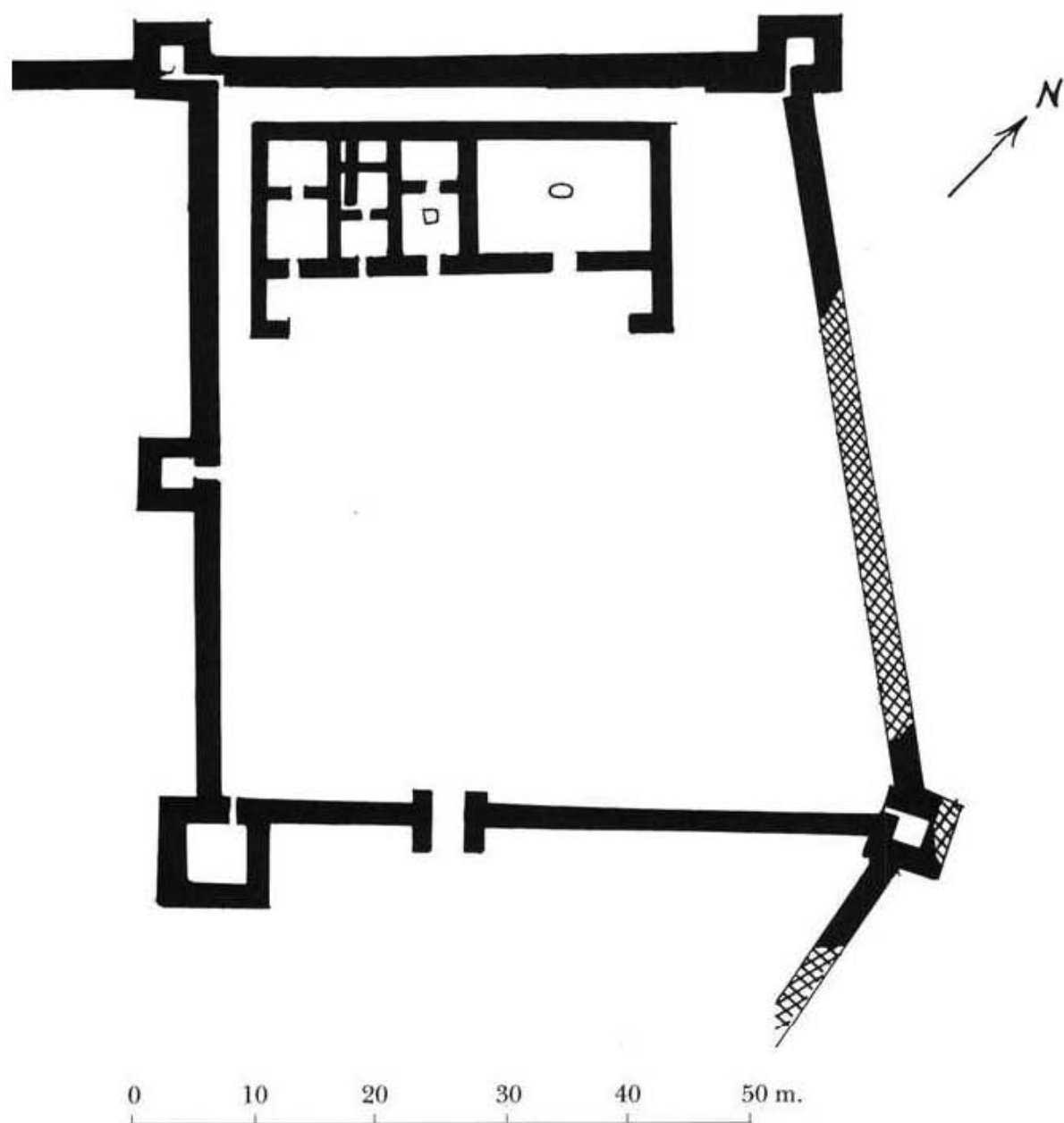


Fig. 2. Seuthopolis: building complex containing the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods (after *Sevtopolis* I [1984] 9 fig. 1).

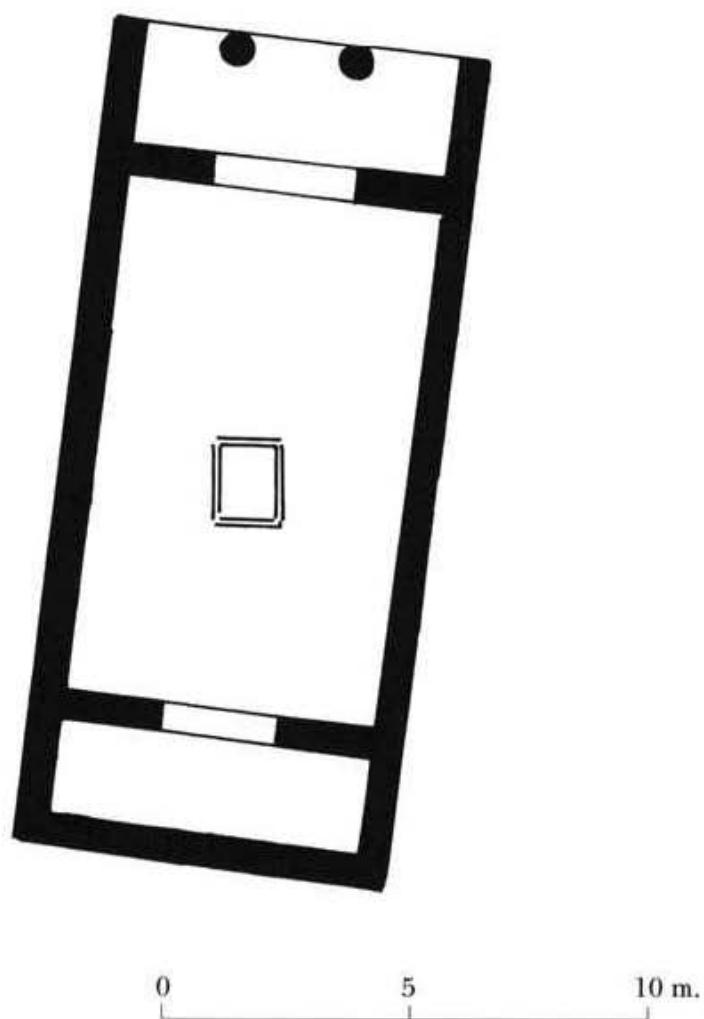


Fig. 3. Thasos, sanctuary of Heracles: the long building ('edifice polygonal') used for a short period in the sanctuary's archaic phase (after Launey 1944, 176 fig. 87).

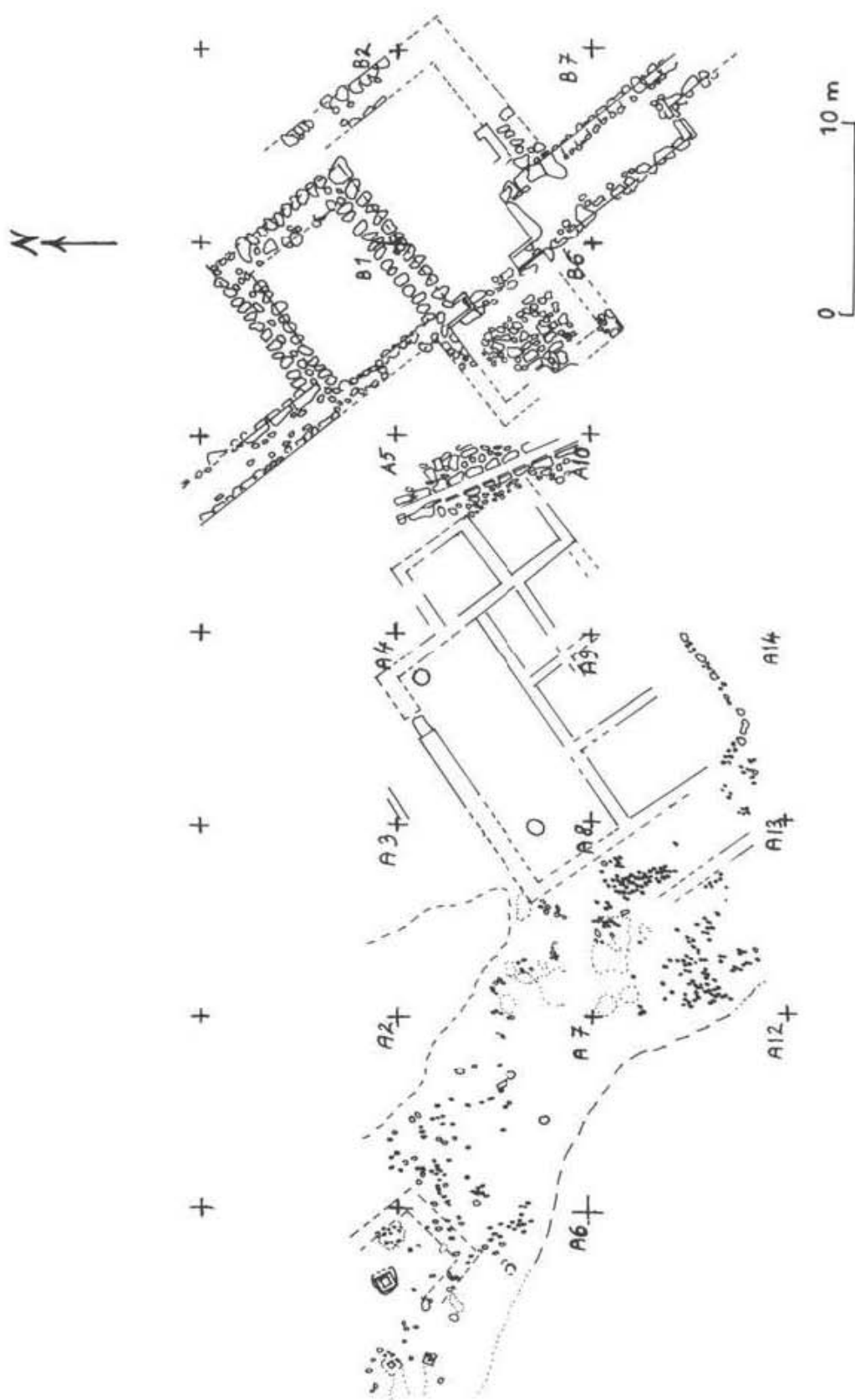


Fig. 4a. Vetren, Adjyvska Vodenitsa: partial plan of the terrace excavation, with the eastern gateway on the right, Building no. 1 in the centre and the shallow altars on the left (after Bouzek, Domaradzki and Archibald 1996, 64 fig. 4.1).

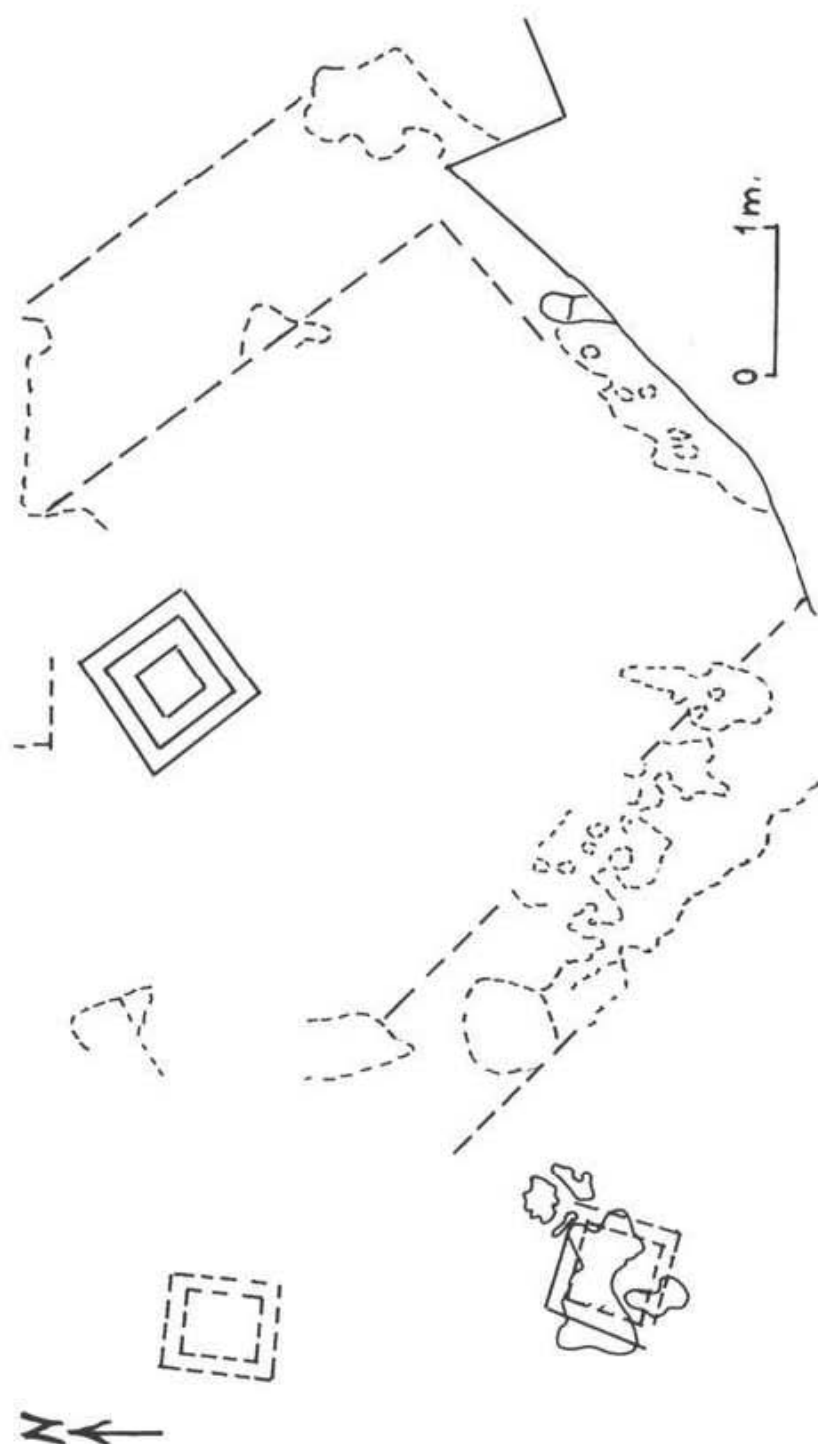


Fig. 4b. Vetren, Adjiyska Vodenisa: the altars (after Bouzek, Domaradzki and Archibald 1996, 66 fig. 4.4).

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18. BETWEEN WEST AND EAST: ANATOLIAN ROOTS OF LOCAL CULTURES OF THE PONTUS

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

Introduction

It may seem a cliché to describe the Pontic Region in antiquity as a bridge between Eastern and Western cultures. The aim of this article is to provide some concrete details of this. It has been emphasised in the literature that, although there were Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea (Isaac 1986, 237–78; Tsetskhladze 1994a; 1998a, 15–43), the cultures of the local peoples exhibited Eastern influences much more obviously than Greek. Hellenic influence is present but seems more of a surface ornament. This is especially so for the Archaic period (*cf.* Alexandrescu 1983; 1984; Hachmann 1995; Boardman 1996; Schneider 1997). In the Classical period Thracian culture provides a clear example: objects, especially metal vessels, are in a Greek style, but one of Persian derivation (Boardman 1994, 183–92; Marazov 1977; 1998, 32–72; Bouzek and Ondrejova 1987; Alexandrescu 1995/96; Deppert-Lippitz 1996; Archibald 1989; 1998, 93–212, 260–82, 318–35; Agre 1997; Kitov 1997; Ebbinghaus in present volume). Thrace had been part of the Achaemenid Empire between *ca.* 513 and 479 B.C. (Balcer 1988; Stronk 1994; 1995, 45–8; Briant 1996, 154–6; Zahrnt 1997; Archibald 1998, 79–92), but that was an insufficiently long period to explain the Thracian élite's having become as thoroughly Persianised as it was, when Greek colonies had existed there for several centuries. The Scythians look more Hellenised (Boardman 1994, 192–217), but their material culture displays quite strong Eastern features. A simple explanation would be that the Scythians were themselves of Iranian origin (Sulimirski 1985, 149). However, the situation is far more complex. Colchians, who lived in a territory adjoining Anatolia, were subject to a degree of political subordination to the Persians (Herodotus 3. 97; 7. 79) (Tsetskhladze 1993/94; 1994b; Shefton 1993; Briant 1996, 80–1; Deppert-Lippitz

1996; cf. Boardman 1994, 217–22; Mitten 1996; Tsetskhladze 1998b, 110–79).¹ At the same time, their eastern neighbours, Iberia² and Armenia (Herodotus 3. 93), formed one of the satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire (Tiratsyan 1988, 21–76; Briant 1996, 130–3; 750; 1997, 24–6). The bridge formed by the Pontic territories, Caucasus and the steppes was one over which many different groups of people passed, bringing different cultures and influencing each other.

Are the strong Eastern influences in the cultures of the local population of the Pontus just a consequence of the political situation, namely the creation of the Achaemenid state and its expansion, or the result of much deeper events which had begun even before the first Greeks arrived in the last third of the 7th century B.C. The relationship between the local élites and East Greek colonists living in Pontic cities is the subject of another investigation (Tsetskhladze 1998c; 1999b). In this present study I shall concentrate on Eastern (Anatolian)³ features in local cultures in the period before the appearance of the Achaemenid Empire and the creation of local Thracian, Scythian and Colchian kingdoms.

Thracians

The end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age were marked in Thrace by a process of migration from the North-West to the South and the East. This migration is reflected differently in the material culture of various parts of ancient Thrace (Shalганова and Gotzev 1995; Gotzev 1997).⁴ In the Early Iron Age, Aegean Thrace was influenced by Greece. Eastern Bulgaria shows links with the

¹ Recently a coin hoard was discovered in Colchis including local Colchian and Persian coins (Lordkipanidze O.D., 'Greek Colonies in Colchis in the Archaic and Classical Periods'. Paper delivered in the colloquium "*Astu* and *Chora* in the Classical Pontus", 100th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Dec. 27–30, 1998, Washington DC. Papers from this colloquium will be published in the AIA Monographs series).

² Although it is not clear from the written sources whether Iberia was part of one of the satrapies of the Achaemenid Empire (Cook 1983, 78–9), archaeological material and the very strong Persian influence on Iberian culture enable us to suppose that it was (Tsetskhladze 1999a with literature).

³ I am using Anatolia in a broad sense to include its easternmost extension and surrounding territories.

⁴ On the relations between the Balkans, Thrace, Troad and Anatolia in the 2nd millennium B.C. see: Mellaart 1971; Dimitrov 1971; Hodkinson 1982; Bouzek 1985,

Babadag culture (Bouzek 1984). North-western Bulgaria was Hallstattised (Shalganova and Gotzev 1995, 339; Cicikova 1971). Objects of Anatolian/Eastern origin, or that were inspired by artists from Anatolia, have long been known in Thrace. First of all, there are bronze objects dated overall to the 10th/9th–6th centuries B.C.: ritual bronze axes with animal decoration (Venedikov 1969, 7–13; Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, figs. 4, 6–7; *cf.* Muscarella 1988a, Nos. 304–306, and 1988b, pl. 10; Curtis 1989, fig. 35); a bronze figurine of a stag and headstall (Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, figs. 9, 15–16); bracelets (Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, figs. 21–22; *cf.* Moorey 1971, Nos. 397, 399, 401–406; Muscarella 1988a, Nos. 274–275); Phrygian fibulae (Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, figs. 24–25; Stoyanov 1997, tabs. XVIII, XXIV, and map on p. 78; *cf.* Muscarella 1988c, 183–4; Braun-Holzinger 1988, pls. 90–91). The same influence is also noticeable on horse cheekpieces (Venedikov 1957, 153–5; *cf.* Moorey 1971, Nos. 112–114). There is a considerable quantity of bronze objects called in the literature ‘Caucasian’ or ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’. This terminology rather than reflecting the true origin of the objects only confuses matters (see below).

Thracian pottery, although of local origin (Cicikova 1968; 1977), shows some Anatolian influence. A clay basin with a deep conical bowl on three legs is reminiscent of pottery fruit stands from Beycesultan. However, the Thracian example dates from the Early Iron Age (Venedikov and Gerasimov 1975, fig. 28) and the Anatolian one from Early Bronze II (Mellaart 1998, 63–5, fig. 8.3). Zoomorphic clay vessels, as well as clay and stone firedogs with the representation of horse and ram, are stylistically close to the Anatolian animal styles (Hoddinott 1981, 71–2, figs. 63–64; 84, figs. 80–81).

The funerary monuments of Thrace are very important for the present discussion. The objects mentioned above, with their Anatolian/Eastern features, can be interpreted in many ways: they could be used as secondary supporting evidence for the migration of peoples; they might have resulted from trade, sporadic links, exchange of artistic ideas, etc. (*cf.* Powell 1971). A south-east Thracian Late Bronze—Early Iron Age culture is evident, with its megalithic chamber tombs—dolmens. The vast majority of dolmens—about 83% of the 750 recorded in Bulgaria—were found in the Sakar Planina.

213–4; Katintcharov 1989. On the problems and difficulties of Iron Age chronology in the territory of Bulgaria see: Archibald 1998, 26–48.

They are also known between Stranja and the Black Sea coast;⁵ and examples have come to light in Turkish Thrace. Thus dolmens appear as a compact group within an area of Bulgaria contiguous to Turkish Thrace. What is also apparent is that the great bulk of Anatolian or Anatolian-type objects were found in the same areas of Bulgaria as the dolmens. This gives grounds for linking the two. Chronologically, they are also linked to the same period. Although the dolmens have long been pillaged, some material associated with them has been found (fragments of pottery and fibulae), and this dates overall to between the 11th/10th and 6th centuries B.C. (Delev 1980a, 191). There is no doubt among scholars that the appearance of dolmens (and rock-cut tombs—see below) reflects the migration of new ethnic groups sometime at the end of the Bronze Age. Similar dolmens are known from the Kuban Region (not far from the Taman Peninsula) and the western Caucasus (Markovin 1978; 1997). The earliest monuments in these two regions date from about 2400–2200 B.C., but migration across the Black Sea seems an unlikely explanation when close analogies can be found in north-east Anatolia (north of Kirklareli, around Edirne and Lalapasa), where they appear at the same time as in Bulgaria, if not earlier. Migration from Anatolia to Thrace, rather than across the Black Sea, is also supported by rock-cut tombs.

Another characteristic feature of the Early Iron Age in Thrace is the practice of rock-cut tombs, shrines and niches. They are found mainly in south-eastern Thrace, largely in the same territory as dolmens (Triandaphyllos 1983). Dating them presents problems which are also much the same: they were used for a long time and they have been looted. In the Arda area have been discovered fragments of pottery and a single-coil arc fibula dating from *ca.* 8th century B.C. associated with these monuments (Hoddinott 1981, 81). Recently, three rock-cut tombs were excavated in the Arda Valley in the Rhodope Mountains. One contained a skeleton, iron fibula, iron blade, bronze wire and pottery, which date from the 9th–8th centuries B.C. (Nehryzov 1994).

Rock-cut tombs and dolmens appear at nearly the same time in the same part of modern Bulgaria. Both were new types of burial monument (*cf.* Gergova 1989). Thracian rock-cut tombs have many

⁵ Dolmens found in modern-day Bulgaria and Turkey are summarised, with literature, in Archibald 1998, 64–6.

similarities with those of Phrygia and elsewhere in Anatolia (Fedak 1990, 46–56). This is not the only close parallel between Thrace and Phrygia. In each the Great Mother Goddess was worshipped (*cf.* Roller 1991); their cult places might be marked by no more than a few steps, a platform or a niche, and did not require a temple building. At a later period the Thracians had a practice of inscribing vessels made of precious metal. In this they were probably following an Anatolian tradition whose origins lay in the royal and political practices of Urartu, Phrygia and Persia (Vassileva 1992/93; 1994b; 1997b). Further examples could be given, and they are described and analysed in the writings of M. Vassileva (1994a; 1994c; 1995a–b; 1997a).

The existence of Megalithic monuments in Balkan Thrace as well as Anatolian Thrace, with purely Anatolian or Anatolian-derived objects, gives good grounds to assume that ethnic groups migrated from Anatolia to the Balkans.⁶ There are a few pertinent references in ancient authors.

The Phrygians were equipped closest to the Paphlagonians in style—indeed, the differences are slight. The Phrygians, as the Macedonians say, were called Briges as long as they were Europeans and lived as neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they moved over into Asia, they changed their name to Phrygians at the same time as they changed their place of residence. The Armenians were equipped like the Phrygians, being indeed colonists of the Phrygians... (Herodotus 7. 73)

If we turn to Strabo:

Now as for the Bithynians, it is agreed by most writers that, though formerly Mysians, they received this new name from the Thracians—the Thracian Bithynians and Thynians—who settled the country in question, and they put down as evidences of the tribe of the Bithynians that in Thrace certain people are to this day called Bithynians, and of that of the Thynians, that the coast near Apollonia and Salmydesus is called Thynias. And the Bebryces, who took up their abode in Mysia before these people, were also Thracians, as I suppose. It is stated that

⁶ Some scholars connect the formation and spread of the Megalithic tradition in Thrace with maritime contacts, in view of the discovery of stone anchors dating from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. along the Thracian Pontic coast (Delev 1980b, 200–01). I would not draw any historical conclusions from such anchors (*cf.* *Table Ronde*). They are chance finds, devoid of the archaeological context which would help to date them. Typological dating of these primitive anchors is very inexact. They could quite easily be of a much later date and used by local fishermen.

even the Mysians themselves are colonists of those Thracians who are now called Moesians. Such is the account given of these people. (12. 3. 3)

It is difficult to mark the boundaries between the Bithynians and the Phrygians and the Mysians, or even those between the Doliones round Cyzicus and the Mygdonians and the Trojans. And it is agreed that each tribe is "apart" from the others (in the case of the Phrygians and Mysians, at least, there is a proverb, "Apart are the boundaries of the Mysians and Phrygians"), but that it is difficult to mark the boundaries between them. The cause of this is that the foreigners who went there, being barbarians and soldiers, did not hold the conquered country firmly, but for the most part were wanderers, driving people out and being driven out. One might conjecture that all these tribes were Thracian because the Thracians occupy the other side and because the people on either side do not differ much from one another. (12. 4. 4)

As these quotations indicate, it is far from clear who went where. In the case of Herodotus the sum of his historical passages on Thrace still leaves a very incomplete picture. He himself never aimed to provide a chronological narrative:

We do not get from it a full picture of Thracian society. Herodotus, as usual, chose . . . what he deemed interesting to himself and his audience. . . . As a Greek-centred historian, Herodotus was interested in Thrace mainly as an area of conflict between Asia and Europe; what he had in mind in his ethnographical sections was primarily to sketch some unusual scenes of human life and beliefs among some of the northern tribes living between Greece and the Scythians, namely, between the domestic and outright exotic. The result is a lively picture of a world of temperate strangeness, in a quite essentially Herodotean mixture of realistic crudity and imagination. (Asheri 1990, 162–3)

In Strabo, the difficulties with geographical definition are clear. Archaeological and, later, epigraphical evidence suggest the migration of Thracian tribes to north-western and central Anatolia (French 1994).⁷ However confusing the literary sources may be, they should reflect the reality of the migration of different tribes and peoples. Whether Phrygians went from the Balkans to settle in Anatolia or *vice versa*, or Thracians migrated to Anatolia, is not the main question here. What is clear is that migration of some sort indeed took place at

⁷ It is a great pity that D. French published only a one-page summary and not the entire text of his paper.

the end of the Bronze Age—beginning of the Iron Age (*cf.* Mihailov 1991, 597). Even if it had not, some Thracian tribes used to live in Anatolia (Mihailov 1991, 597–607; Porozanov 1996), and through them Anatolian features could quite easily penetrate to Balkan Thrace. There are Anatolian(-type) objects found in Thrace, roughly contemporaneous with the Megalithic monuments (*cf.* Mikov 1955), whereas no Thracian objects have been found in Anatolia. This surely indicates that the direction of migration was from Anatolia.

Furthermore, from the linguistic point of view, there are close similarities between ethnic groups in the Balkan Peninsula and north-western Asia Minor (Duridanov 1991; Crossland 1994; etc.). Most if not all pointers suggest that some ethnic groups penetrated the Balkans from Anatolia in the Early Iron Age.

Scythians

In the last two decades the study of the Scythians and their culture has made enormous progress. The reason is not just the thorough reinvestigation of long-known archaeological material and ancient Greek and Near Eastern written sources, but the discovery since the 1970s of new tombs in the steppes of the northern Caucasus (Kuklina 1981; Medvedskaya 1992; Pogrebova 1993; Pogrebova and Raevskii 1993; Makhortykh 1991; Polin 1998; Murzin 1984; 1990; Murzin and Skory 1994; Ilinskaya and Terenozhkin 1983, 17–118; Melyukova 1989, 33–124).⁸ The origins of the Scythians and where they were living before they moved to the Caucasian and Ukrainian steppes continue to be hotly disputed in the current literature (Chlenova 1994; 1997; Erlikh 1994). After this initial phase (8th–beginning of

⁸ Currently, about 106 Scythian sites are known in northern Caucasus, including chance finds. They date overall from the 7th to the first half of the 5th century B.C., with 65% from the 7th–6th centuries. The majority of sites are situated in the Kuban Region—about 30 barrows at nine locations—and the Stavropol Region—about 20 barrows at ten locations. At 57 locations there are 70 sites of the pre-existing local population which demonstrate the strong Scythian influence on local culture (Makhortykh 1991, 8, 74–81). From the northern Black Sea littoral there are only 27 Scythian graves, dating from the middle 7th to the 6th century B.C. For the 5th century there are only a few hundred, but for the 4th century over 3000 (Murzin 1990, 51; Olkhovskii 1991, 56; Melyukova 1989, 54. See maps in Tsetschlade 1998c, 58–60).

the 7th century B.C.), a much clearer and more convincing picture of Scythian history emerges (from the first half of the 7th century) (Alekseev 1992, 1–91).

Cemeteries at the Krasnoe Znamya farmstead, the Novazavedennoe and Nartan settlements, as well as in the tumulus at the Stenoi farmstead and in the vicinity of the city of Stavropol (all in the northern Caucasus), demonstrate the strong presence of Scythians from the first half of the 7th century B.C. (Petrenko 1990; 1994; 1995; Galanina and Alekseev 1990). The Scythians were then living in the same territory as the local agricultural population. The crucial point in the creation of Scythian culture was the middle 7th century when a part of their population migrated to the Near East, remaining there for half a century or more (Sulimirski and Taylor 1991, 564–8; Kurochkin 1994; Dyakonov 1994). A. Ivantchik's paper in this volume examines how the Scythian presence in Asia is reflected in written sources. Maybe 'Scythian domination' in Asia was not real from the political point of view—just military might crushing Near Eastern civilisation—but for the Scythians themselves this period was important in the formation of their culture. Scythian objects have been known from Anatolia for a long time, and excavation continues to yield new material (Sulimirski 1954; 1985, 171–2; Phillips 1972; Ivantchik 1994; 1995; Tokhtasev 1993; Müller-Wiener 1986, 50; Mitten 1996, 135–9; Bouzek 1997, 245–6). The question of whether the objects were produced by the Scythians themselves, or executed by Anatolian craftsmen on their behalf, is one that remains unanswered (*cf.* Mitten 1996, 138–9). The main point is that Near Eastern civilisation had an extremely strong influence on the Scythians. Objects from Ziwiye, in modern Kurdistan, and early Scythian art have close connections, demonstrating the huge impact of this region (as well as Urartu) on Scythian culture (Ghirshman 1979; Kurochkin 1992; Korenyako 1998; Ilinskaya 1976; Blek 1976; Boardman 1994, 195).

The Scythians returned to the Caucasian steppes with a culture strongly formed in which Anatolian/Near Eastern Animal Style had taken root (Pogrebova and Raevskii 1992, 74–163). Scythian tombs discovered in the North Caucasus, post-dating the return of the Scythians, show how strongly Near Eastern influence had permeated the Scythians during their sojourn there. Scythian rulers now imitated those of Assyria, Media and Urartu, and employed Near Eastern craftsmen to this end. (Their presence is indicated by finds such as chariot parts, depicting the goddess Astarte in a style similar to

Assyrian reliefs, horse furnishings, bowls, stools, diadems and earrings, and some elements of clothing.) The practices of Iranian temple architecture were borrowed for the fire temple at Krasnoe Znamya Tumulus 1, for which no local models or precedents existed; aspects of the Median fire temples were also echoed (Petrenko 1995, 18).

The Kelermes tumulus and the extremely rich objects found there form a distinctive aspect to investigating the roots of Scythian élite culture. According to the latest investigation, the tumulus dates to the third quarter of the 7th–very beginning of the 6th century B.C. (Galanina 1994). It is considered to belong to one of the leaders of the Scythians who had returned from the Near East and contained not only objects clearly exhibiting Scythian Animal Style (deriving from the Anatolia/Near East) but also many Near Eastern objects themselves. The finds fall into several categories: furniture, ritual vessels and cult objects, armour, ceremonial arms and symbols of power, and horse furnishings. Many of them throw light on the development of Scythian Animal Style, especially the armour, horse furnishings and cult objects (which were borrowed from Anatolian/Near Eastern cultures and re-interpreted within Scythian religious traditions and practice) (Galanina 1991; 1997; *cf.* Boardman 1994, 197–200).

During the 6th century B.C.,⁹ thanks to close interaction between the Scythians and the local population of the Kuban region (Maeotians etc.), Scythian culture became more 'Pontic', showing increasing signs of Greek influence, but it continued to contain Near Eastern features.¹⁰ At the end of the 6th–beginning of the 5th century B.C. the Scythians formed their own political entities: one based in the Crimean steppes not far from the future Bosporean Kingdom; the other on the Lower Dnieper, not far from Olbia (Murzin 1984, 92–104; 1990, 66–78). Classical Scythian culture as we know it today, dating from the 5th–4th centuries B.C., is indeed the result of close artistic links between the Scythian and Greek worlds (Boardman 1994, 200–17;

⁹ For the first half of the 6th century B.C. there is not very much evidence. This period is a lacuna in Scythian archaeology. For this reason, the literature calls this period the "dark time of Scythian history" (Alekseev 1992, 92–103).

¹⁰ The 7th–6th centuries B.C. were the period of formation of the Scythian ethnos, in which foreign elements, especially Near Eastern, played a very important part. In the 5th century B.C., when the Scythians lived in the steppes of the northern Black Sea, there was a revival of features of their traditional culture. By the 4th century B.C. this revival came to a conclusion. Burial rites provide the best evidence of these processes (Klochko and Murzin 1987).

Tsetskhladze 1999b with literature). Nevertheless, it is not particularly difficult to identify Near Eastern traditions within it.¹¹

Thus, the Scythians, an Iranian language nomadic tribes who formed their own distinctive Animal Style, were from the outset very strongly influenced by the cultural traditions of Anatolia and the whole Near East.

Colchis and Caucasus

Geographically, Colchis and Caucasus adjoined Urartu and the eastern marches of Anatolia. Colchian culture existed mainly in western Transcaucasia (Lordkipanidze 1979, 36–47). In inland areas (Central Caucasus) the Koban culture straddled the Caucasus Mountains (Kozenkova 1982; 1995; 1996; Bouzek 1997, 190–1). Both of these cultures emerged in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. and flourished during the Early Iron Age. Their shared distinctive feature is an abundance of objects made in bronze.

For the study of Anatolian/Near Eastern traditions in Colchian and other Transcaucasian cultures (including Koban), the investigations of M.H. Pogrebova are ground-breaking. In her books (Pogrebova 1977; 1984) she has demonstrated that the types of daggers, axes, adzes and pick-axes found were the same as those widespread in western Persia. Not many bidents are known in the Caucasian region but those that exist are almost exactly the same as Iranian examples. There are close parallels in horse furnishings, especially cheekpieces, between Iran and Transcaucasia. During the Scythian period (7th–6th centuries B.C.) contacts became more intense. Amongst weapons, daggers and swords of Urartian type can be found. Most striking

¹¹ In the 7th century B.C. a distinctive type of helmet is found in the northern Caucasus, the so-called “Kuban-type”, its appearance connected with the Scythians. Its shape is roundish, often with arc-like cuts above the eyebrows, a low crest running from the brow towards the back of the head. Often there are projections or semi-circular loops at the top. The “Kuban-type” helmet had prototypes in northern Iran, where such helmets appeared at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. These helmets continued to exist as part of Scythian armour down to the 5th century B.C., after which all aspects of Scythian armour became Achaemenid (Galanina 1985; Chlenova 1994, 504–5; Melyukova 1964). If we turn to Thrace, there was production of local so-called Thracian helmets, whose prototypes were Phrygian helmets. Here too, in the Classical period armour was mainly of Achaemenid type (Snodgrass 1967, 95; Stoyanova-Serafimova 1975; Vassilev 1980). The same is the case with Colchian armour (Tsetskhladze 1993/94, 22–3).

from the point of view of this paper are small bronze objects and decorations. Pendants are in the shape of animals, single- or double-headed, mostly stags (Pogrebova 1984, 133, tabl. XV; Domanskii 1984, figs. 99–111, 126–146, 171–175, etc.; Tekhov 1980a, tabs. 102, 104–105, 109; 1981, tabs. 83, 106; Kozenkova 1982, tabl. XXV; 1996, figs. 5, 25, 27–29; Mikeladze 1990, tabl. XXVII; 1995, 3, Abb. 1, 63–71; 5, Abb. 3, 66–68; Chartolani 1989, tabl. XXX; 1996, tabl. XXX; Urushadze 1988, figs. 33–36, 38, 44; tabl. XVII). These have very close parallels with the same kinds of object originating in north-western Iran (Moorey 1971, Nos. 420–426; Muscarella 1988a, Nos. 153–156, 361–363). The same can be said about pins with zoomorphic and floral heads (Kozenkova 1996, fig. 20; 1982, tabl. XXXIV; Urushadze 1988, tabl. XXIII; *cf.* Moorey 1971, pls. 50, 57, etc.). Caucasian bracelets, made from rectangular bands of sheet bronze, have not only close similarities in shape with Persian bracelets but often nearly the same decoration (Kozenkova 1982, tabl. XXVII; 1996, figs. 48, 50; Moorey 1971, pl. 59). Fibulae are mainly of so-called Phrygian-type (Licheli 1997).¹² Many more examples could be given (*cf.* Bouzek 1997, figs. 201, 212 222, 231, 235).

The first gold objects from Colchis are dated to the 8th–7th centuries B.C. They were found in hoards. The first, known as the Nosiri Treasure, contains hollow beads with granulation and filigree and a fragment of a gold vessel with lion decoration. Stylistically, the lion has close parallels with the lions on a beaker from Marlik (Gagoshidze 1985, 48–51; *cf.* Porada 1965, 92, pl. 22a). Another hoard from Partskhanakanevi had gold beads with granulation and filigree. Such beads are also known from Tskhinvali. Although overall they are dated 7th–6th centuries B.C. (Gagoshidze 1985), they may be much earlier: in the hoards where they were found there was nothing else which could provide firm dating. (For example, in another publication objects from Partskhanakanevi and Nosiri are dated to *ca.* 1000–500 B.C.—Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, No. 11.)

Bronze shaft-hole axes and belts are distinctive components of Colchian and Koban cultures. Some axes (and daggers) have animals

¹² V. Licheli (1997, 41) mentions the "...recent discovery in Borjomi Ravine—located in the mountainous ridge at the extreme south of Iberia and thus close to Colchis—of a bronze statuette representing a helmeted man and similar to Phrygian sculpture." He gives a reference but in his bibliography omits the cited work. Thus, I am unable to check his interpretation and reference.

modelled in relief standing on the back of them (Urushadze 1988, fig. 29; Kozenkova 1996, fig. 21; Pantskhava 1988, tabl. XII; Lordkipanidze 1995a, 126, fig. 91). Colchian and Koban axes (as well as spears, fibulae, belt-buckles, etc.) are incised with geometric ornaments and animals (dogs, stags, snakes) (Lordkipanidze 1979, figs. 7–10; Pantskhava 1988, tabls. V–XXIII; Kozenkova 1995, tabl. XVIII; Domanskii 1984, figs. 5–23; Miron and Orthmann 1995, 107–08, 126; *cf.* Collon 1995, 175, fig. 140: incised Caucasian and Luristan axes). Bronze belts have incised depictions of animals (stags, bulls, dogs, snakes), human beings and hunting scenes, framed by borders composed of geometric patterns. Such belts are characteristic of Central Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Previously, they were dated to the end of the 2nd millennium—beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.; now to the 9th–7th centuries B.C. (Khidasheli 1980; Urushadze 1988, 121–46; 1994; Pogrebova and Raevskii 1997, 5–9; Miron and Orthmann 1995, 118–9; Bouzek 1997, 187–8, figs. 207–209). One find from Abkhazia of the 8th century B.C. is unique—a bronze rhyton with a ram's head. There are two incised friezes: the upper, between two geometric bands, is of snake-type decoration with small circles between the loops; the lower (principal) frieze shows dogs (Domanskii 1984, No. 1).

Overall, Caucasian belts are close to Urartian ones (Seidl 1988, 172 with literature, figs. 104–111) and were found in Urartu (Bouzek 1997, 187) and eastern Turkey (Pogrebova and Raevskii 1997, 58–71). Two Urartian belts are known from a cemetery in Tli, Central Caucasus (Tekhov 1981, tabls. 94–96, 127–130). Although Caucasian belts were produced by local craftsmen and have their own distinctive style, it is possible to trace whence influences were coming besides Urartu. The style of execution of the figures—mainly schematic—finds striking parallels in the decoration of the ritual clay goblet of the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. from Armenia which carries depictions of a hunting scene: the same animals, the same human figures (Kushnareva 1981, fig. 45). Also from Armenia and executed in the same style there are bronze belts (Martirosyan 1981, fig. 64). Some similarities are noticeable in the belt belonging to the Kuro-Araskaya culture (Dzhaparidze 1981, fig. 18). All these objects pre-date the Urartian period. In the style and schematisation of the figures, the final parallel is with the decoration of belts in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971, 242–3, Nos. 462–463). Even the circles on No. 463 are very well paralleled in Caucasian belts. Some similarities are also

visible in the bowls from Hasanlu (Porada 1965, 96–9) and Luristan quiver plaques (Muscarella 1988a, 192–202, No. 308) with their hunting and animal friezes, and in the bronzework from the Guilan province at the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea (Haerinck 1988, pl. 67).

Thus, the initial inspiration for the producers of Caucasian bronze belts came from that part of ancient Iran which is modern-day Kurdistan and Guilan. It must be stressed that Early Iron Age cultures of Transcaucasia and the Guilan province have extremely close parallels, not only in armour and bronzework but also in ceramics and burial rites (Pogrebova 1977; Haerinck 1988).¹³ These similarities can not be interpreted as just the exchange of artistic ideas; most probably they demonstrate the migration of tribes from East to West (*cf.* Aliev 1988; Yusifov 1988). After the creation of Urartu the influences become stronger. The relationship is attested not only by the discovery of Urartian belts in the Caucasus and Caucasian belts in Urartu but also by that of two Urartian helmets (one with the Urartian inscription of King Argishti) in the cemeteries of Verkhnyaya Rukhta and Galiatskii in the northern Caucasus (Galanina 1985, 180). Armenia was part of Urartu. Furthermore, there is evidence (pottery and art objects) which gives grounds for supposing Urartian expansion into the territory of modern-day eastern Georgia (Chubinishvili 1965; Muskhelishvili 1978). Moreover, when the local population of the southern Caucasian foothills started to produce objects in iron, they initially imported and copied Urartian iron objects; in the northern foothills, iron objects were introduced by ‘Cimmerians’¹⁴ in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. (Voronov 1980, 217).

In the Scythian period influences and interactions between the Caucasus and Anatolia/the Near East became ever closer (Pogrebova 1984). Scythians went to the Near East from the northern Caucasus via Transcaucasia, and on their return also passed that way, including through Colchis (Tekhov 1980b, 5–20), some settling down there. New excavations continue to yield new material about the Scythian presence in western and eastern Georgia (Pogrebova 1981; Esayan and Pogrebova 1985; Pirtskhalava 1995; Abramishvili 1995). In the

¹³ The discovery of two- and three-headed clay animal figurines from Vani, Colchis demonstrates the penetration of ideas from Luristan (Lordkipanidze 1995b, 41–9).

¹⁴ They were most probably not “Cimmerians” but Scythians, and this process must date from the 7th century B.C. (*see below*. *Cf.* Tsatskheladze 1995, 327).

material culture of the whole of the Caucasus, Scythian art had an extremely strong impact, well demonstrated by archaeological evidence (Tekhov 1976; 1980b–c; Vinogradov 1976; Voronov 1980, 210–18). In Colchis, as well as in many other parts of the Caucasus, the commencement of large-scale production of iron objects (from the late 7th century B.C.) is connected with the Scythians (Voronov 1980, 217–8; Tsetskhladze 1995, 314–27).¹⁵

Thus Colchian, Koban and other Early Iron Age cultures in the Caucasus absorbed many Anatolian/Near Eastern features into everyday life and culture. This resulted not only from the geographical proximity of the two regions and the exchange of artistic ideas but also from the migration of different ethnic groups from East to West. These migrations started even before the Early Iron Age, some time in the 3rd millennium B.C. when Suani tribes arrived from Asia Minor in the mountainous part of the future Colchis (Chartolani 1996, 272).¹⁶ In the Early Iron Age some tribes migrated from north-western Iran to the Caucasus via Azerbaijan. Urartian culture spread its influence towards the Caucasian Mountains. Scythians returning from Asia settled in Transcaucasia, introducing more Anatolian features. Furthermore, Moschians migrated from central Anatolia to the southern part of modern-day Georgia (Khazaradze 1984; Kavtaradze 1997).

Pontic Interactions

In this section the term Pontic is used to describe the large tract of territory from the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe to the steppes of the Ukraine and the Caucasus. The reason for so doing is the increasing use in the literature of the terms 'Thraco-Cimmerian bronzes' (Milchev 1955; Bouzek 1983, 208–14; Bouzek and Ondrejova 1991; Gergova 1993; Levitki 1994, 188–201; Abramischwili 1995; *cf.*

¹⁵ A. Terenozhkin wrote several decades ago that "thanks to a more analytical investigation of existing evidence it will be possible to blow away the cobwebs of archaeological myth on the deep ancient beginnings of the Iron Age in Transcaucasia" (citation according to Voronov 1980, 218). His prediction has already been fulfilled.

¹⁶ Stylistically, the sculpture found in Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan is extremely interesting. Comparison shows that ancient South Caucasian monuments are similar, and at times identical, to sculptures from Asia Minor, northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. This influence began at the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Blek 1998).

Laszlo 1995; Grebennikov 1996; Porozanov 1996; Rusu 1997) and 'Caucasian bronzes' (Kozenkova 1975; Gergova 1980; Bouzek 1997, 200–1)¹⁷ to describe finds over a large area. There is no need here to give detailed descriptions of these kinds of object. This has been done recently by J. Bouzek (1997, 197–201, figs. 198–238). J. Chochorowski (1993) dedicated a whole book to them, including weaponry, horse furnishings, ornaments and personal ornaments found in the Early Iron Age. All of these objects have been labelled 'Cimmerian', and interpretation of them and the explanation of how they reached the Balkans and Eastern and Central Europe, and later formed the so-called 'Thraco-Cimmerian' group are both quite simple and straightforward. In Homer the Cimmerians are mentioned together with the Thracians. The Cimmerians were one of the Hyperborean tribes who participated in the ethnogenetic processes in Thrace. They migrated to the Balkans and into the Caucasus, Asia Minor and the northern Black Sea coastal region at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C. (see, for example, Gergova 1993, 70–1). Is this interpretation one which reflects real historical-archaeological events, or is it conjecture driven by the need to find some sort of explanation? To answer this question we need, first of all, to summarise our knowledge of the Cimmerians, and what we know about their culture, from an archaeological point of view.

Who were the Cimmerians and from where did they come? In all discussions the principal (indeed, only) source for answering this question is Herodotus (*cf.* Strabo 1. 1. 10; 1. 2. 9; 1. 3. 21), who mentions them in five scattered historical contexts but fails to provide a coherent account of the Cimmerians as such: 1) a Cimmerian army campaigning in Ionia before the reign of Croesus did not destroy the Iranian cities; 2) Cimmerians escaping the Scythians, invading Asia and settling at Sinope; 3) driven out by Scythians, going to Asia Minor and taking Sardis during the reign of the Lydian king Ardys, but also being expelled from Asia Minor by the Lydian king Alyattes; 4) in relation to the history of the Scythians of 'Upper Asia'; 5) in relation to the Scythian conquest of Eastern Europe. Herodotus drew the conclusion that the Scythians drove the Cimmerians from

¹⁷ On so-called Caucasian bronze bells and human figurines, their find in Samos and their interpretation as reflecting Caucasian-Greek connections see: Bouzek 1983, 217–8; 1997, 200–1. For a contrary interpretation see: Tsatskheladze 1995, 308–9, with literature.

their 'European' home and pursued them into Asia Minor. Although this may be correct, it is impossible to gain a clear picture of the chronology or the actual course of events before the mid-7th century B.C. for want of detailed historical evidence. By the time of Herodotus the Cimmerians has ceased to exist, thus he could not provide even a broad outline of their culture (Harmatta 1990, 117–21). The Cimmerians escaped the Scythians and reached Asia Minor both via the Balkans and the Caucasus (Herodotus 1. 104; 4. 2; Strabo 1. 1. 10; 1. 3. 21). However, they left no evidence of either their passage or settlement in any of these places. But they could hardly do so with the Scythians in hot pursuit.

In Greek written tradition the Cimmerians represent a cosmological element sprinkled into the historical narrative about the Scythians (Ivantchik 1991; Vassileva 1998, 71–2). It is even unclear where they lived: not just the northern Black Sea littoral but Transcaucasia (Kristensen 1988, 17–21; Ivanchik 1993; 1996, 28–34; Alekseev, Kachalov and Tokhtasev 1993, 31–50).¹⁸ And it is still a matter of debate (Grantovsky, Pogrebova and Raevskii 1997; Pogrebova, Raevskii and Yatsenko 1998). Cimmerians are much better known historically from Near Eastern written sources, but these concern them after they had left the Pontic region (Ivantchik 1993, part 2; 1996, 21–289; Dyakonov 1994).

Several generations of archaeologists have sought to provide archaeological evidence of the Cimmerians and their culture, but without yielding any positive results (Sulimirski and Taylor 1991, 555–60; Alekseev, Kachalov and Tokhtasev 1993; Ivantchik 1994; 1995; Vassileva 1998, 71–2). The archaeological search for the Cimmerians is based, once again, on information from Herodotus and is expressed in the proposition: because the Cimmerians were expelled by the Scythians, any pre-Scythian culture throughout the huge territory mentioned above must be Cimmerian. Here we face a further difficulty: all these so-called Cimmerian cultures have Scythian features, and objects executed in Animal Style are extremely close to the Scythian and Near Eastern variants of this. At the same time it must be mentioned that Macedonian bronzes show striking similarities to those from the Balkans, Caucasus and Near East (Bouzek 1974; 1983, 214–7; 1997,

¹⁸ I was unable to find a copy of Alekseev, Kachalov and Tokhtasev 1993 but the extensive review of it by Pogrebova, Raevskii and Yatsenko 1998, 69–87 gives a very clear idea of the issues it discusses.

figs. 231, 235). It is so difficult to distinguish archaeologically so-called Cimmerian culture, and it is so close to Scythian, that modern scholars have taken refuge in the labels 'pre-Scythian' or 'Early Scythian' to describe the cultures of the 9th–8th centuries B.C. (Ivantchik 1994; 1995; Tokhtasev 1993).

Another difficulty is caused by the interpretation of some objects from the Balkans as Caucasian, and thus reflecting Caucasian-Balkan relations in the Cimmerian period. In this group are included pendants, fibulae, bracelets, anthropomorphic figurines, weapons, cheek-pieces, and even pottery (Kozenkova 1975; Gergova 1980). One urn from Boljarovo has animal decoration in the same style known from incised Caucasian belts (Mitova-Dzonova 1986). These objects date to the first half–third quarter of the 8th century B.C. According to Kozenkova (1975, 70), they demonstrate that the people who left behind them the Koban culture participated actively in the army of the Cimmerians which went to Central Europe. Another opinion is that people from Ciscaucasia migrated to the Hungarian Plain during the Cimmerian-Scythian conflict mentioned by Herodotus (Chochorowski 1993, 275–8; *cf.* Erlikh 1997, 29). Here again the emphasis is on interpreting the (to us) unknown Cimmerians through the uncritical use of information provided by Herodotus. These so-called Caucasian objects in the Balkans do indeed look like things belonging to Koban culture. All of them demonstrate not just Caucasian features but Anatolian/Near Eastern as well (*cf.* Bouzek 1983, 194–6). As I have tried to demonstrate above, Caucasian cultures were heavily influenced by cultures to the South.

In summarising this short survey of 'Cimmerian', 'Thraco-Cimmerian' and 'Caucasian' bronze in the Balkans two points must be emphasised. First of all, there are no grounds for calling them Cimmerian—we know nothing of Cimmerian culture—and, secondly, all these objects exhibit very strong Anatolian/Near Eastern features.¹⁹ Why not link the spread of these objects in the Balkans to Anatolian influences? For this there is much firmer evidence (see section on Thracians above). This interpretation removes many of the uncertainties and gives a much clearer and more realistic picture. There

¹⁹ Like the Scythians, the Cimmerians are supposed to be of Iranian origin, or a branch of the Thracians, or Thracians with an Iranian ruling class, etc. (Sulimirski and Taylor 1991, 555). This can be used to explain why so-called Cimmerian objects resemble Anatolian/Near Eastern ones. But this is building one uncertainty on top of another to provide a simple explanation.

are no difficulties in demonstrating very strong Anatolian influences through migration from Anatolian Thrace into Balkan Thrace, which is happening in the same period that sees the spread of these objects. Similar migration is happening in Caucasus (see section on Caucasus above).

Undisputable links between different Pontic regions started in the second half of the 7th century B.C., connected with the Scythians. These are not just cultural; there was intermigration of various tribes. Much literature has been devoted to Scythian-Thracian links and the detail does not need to be repeated here (Melyukova 1979; 1989, 83–7; *Studia Thracica*; Zlatkovskaya and Melyukova 1969; Dusek 1984). The evidence demonstrates clearly that Thracians lived not only alongside Scythians in the Ukrainian steppes but also in the northern Black Sea colonies as well (Krykin 1993; Okhotnikov 1996). I will here simply mention new finds of Thracian pottery in Olbia, probably demonstrating the presence of some Thracian ethnic group as a constituent population of Greek Olbia from its inception (Leipunskaia 1996).

Scythian objects found in the Balkans and Eastern and Central Europe are collected by Bukowski (1977). A more recent survey is that by Melyukova (1989, 87–91). New excavations have provided data on the initial stage of Scythian penetration of the western Black Sea. The Chelik-Depe burial ground in Dobrudja has yielded graves with Scythian objects, some of them the same as in the Kelermes barrow. These complexes are dated to 670–620 B.C. (Simion 1992; Marchenko and Vakhtina 1997). Hitherto, only one isolated object had been found, a Scythian grave stele dating from the end of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century B.C., in the Constanta region.²⁰ Thus, Scythians lived in the western Pontus from the end of the 7th century B.C. (*cf.* Andryukh 1995, 51–70). Scythian Animal Style had a very strong impact on Thracian art (Melyukova 1976).

²⁰ Two stelae very similar to the Constanta example were found in the Perninskii region of Bulgaria. They are interpreted as stelae of Thracian origin in tombs belonging to Thracian chieftains (Toncheva 1972). But they are typical anthropomorphic Scythian stone grave stelae (Olkhovskii and Evdokimov 1994, 16–7; Belozor 1996).

Conclusion

The Early Iron Age material culture of the local peoples of the Pontus and Caucasus, although indigenous, shows foreign influences. The main aim of Early Iron Age archaeology in this region is to identify which features are local and which borrowed. This is not a simple task. No culture arises in a vacuum. Every people absorbs features of other cultures, reworking them according to their own needs and beliefs. As I have tried to demonstrate, the Pontic-Caucasian region was quite complex from an ethnic and cultural perspective. Its geographical location between West and East is reflected in local cultures. Where there are foreign features, they exhibit very strongly Anatolian/Near Eastern origins. Of course, objects can arrive in the course of trade, and artistic ideas be exchanged, but study of the evidence shows the process to have gone further. In Thrace, the northern Black Sea and the Caucasus, the migration of new ethnic groups with their distinctive cultures can be traced at the end of the Bronze Age—beginning of the Iron Age. This continues to be the case in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. These tribes are moving from East to West.

Ethnic groups coming from Asia Minor, central Anatolia and north-western Iran, and settling in the Pontic-Caucasian region, spread Anatolian/Near Eastern artistic ideas. Scythians journeying to the Near East and back did the same. Interactions between different areas within the Pontic and other region became very strong (*cf.* Bouzek and Ondrejová 1988). Before the arrival of Greeks, and later Achaemenians, Pontic people were already familiar with Anatolian art. Thus, it was quite easy for them to accept and absorb new cultural waves brought by colonists from Asia Minor and later Persians. The local Thracian, Scythian and Colchian kingdoms, which existed from the end of the 6th—beginning of the 5th century B.C., adopted Achaemenid structures, also deploying the techniques of Achaemenid kings when dealing with Greeks and other local tribes (bribes, gifts, presents, tribute) (Thucydides 2. 97. 3–6). Cumulatively, the result was that local élite culture was more Persianised than Hellenised. In the Classical period Hellenic traditions are used superficially, as decoration.

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19. THE SCYTHIAN 'RULE OVER ASIA': THE CLASSICAL TRADITION AND THE HISTORICAL REALITY¹

Askold Ivantchik

The 'Scythian rule over Asia' which plays an important role in the classical tradition on Asian history of the second half of the 7th century B.C. has provoked many discussions in the literature. Some scholars accept the reliability of the classical tradition and especially of Herodotus' account, including his chronological data, and use them as a base for the reconstruction of early Median history. Others deny completely the reliability of this tradition.²

This problem comprises two different but connected questions. First, what is the character of the classical tradition on the Scythian domination, how did it develop, what are its sources and what historical events, if any, did it reflect. Secondly, what would be the date of these events.

We know some different and partly independent versions of the history of the Scythian domination in Asia. These versions were sometimes conflated. For example, Pompeius Trogus talks about three Scythian invasions in Asia and three periods of Scythian domination; he borrowed the information about these invasions from different sources. The first invasion is connected to the war of the Scythians with the legendary Egyptian king Sesostris. Sesostris was defeated by the Scythian king Idanthysos or Iandysos, who became the ruler of

¹ This paper was prepared in the Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington, D.C.) in 1996–1997, within a very stimulating scholarly community directed by Kurt Raaflaub and Deborah Boedeker. I presented several aspects of the problem discussed here as communications at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, at the Pennsylvania State University and at the 207th Meeting of the American Oriental Society (Miami, March 23rd–26th, 1997). I am grateful to all the colleagues who took part in the discussion, especially to Glen Bowersock, Christian Habicht and Baruch Halpern. I am also grateful to Andrea Berlin and Sarah Peirce who corrected my English.

² Cf. for example: Millard 1979, 119–120; Sulimirski and Taylor 1991, 565–567 (positive assessment); Brown 1988, 82; Na'aman 1991, 36–37 (negative assessment). See the history of the study and the bibliography: Grantovskii 1994, 25–37.

all of Asia (Pomp. Trog. fr. 36 a-b Seel = Iord. *Get.* 6; Iust. 1. 1. 6; 2. 3. 8-18). The date of these events depends on the date of Sesostris and they were therefore attributed to very ancient times: Pompeius Trogus dates them 1500 years before the reign of the first Assyrian king Ninus and 3000 years before the first Olympiad. I have discussed this tradition in a separate article (Ivantchik, forthcoming), and confine myself here to saying, that this account is completely fictitious and goes probably back to Ephorus, who created the whole history in order to corroborate his statement that the Scythians are invincible. This statement was a part of Ephorus' more general idealisation of the Scythians. He constructed his story from details borrowed from two accounts of Herodotus, about the campaign of Darius against the Scythians and about their invasion of Asia at the time of Cyaxares.

Laying aside the tradition on Sesostris' war, the account of the Scythian domination in Asia is known in three main versions. Two of them are found in Pompeius Trogus, the third in Herodotus. The Scythian rule over Asia is also mentioned by other authors, for example by Diodorus and Curtius Rufus (Diod. 2. 43. 4-6; Curt. Ruf. 7. 8. 18), but these accounts are much shorter. The version of Herodotus (1. 103-106, 130; 4. 1-12) is perhaps best known. According to him, the Scythians, led by Madyes, son of Protothyes, invaded Asia, defeated the Medes and installed their rule over Asia. Then they made for Egypt, but did not reach it, because the Egyptian king Psammetichos managed to persuade them to turn back in exchange for abundant gifts. The returning Scythians plundered the temple of Aphrodite Urania in Ashkelon. Then the Scythians ruled over Asia for 28 years until the Median king Cyaxares invited the majority of them to a feast, made them drunk and slaughtered them. The surviving Scythians returned to their own land. But their wives, when they were away, had formed connections with their slaves and had borne children by them. These children tried to prevent the return of the Scythians. The returning Scythians were unable to prevail against them in battles, but finally remembered that they were fighting with their own slaves. The Scythians laid aside their arms and attacked their adversaries with whips in hands. The stupefied sons of the slaves fled.

Pompeius Trogus relates a different version of the same story as the "third domination of the Scythians in Asia". The summary of Pompeius Trogus given by Justinus does not however retain any

details of the Scythian raid itself (Iust. 2. 5. 1): it says only that the Scythians left their wives and children at home and were absent for eight years. The second part of the account, which concerns the war with the slaves, is on the contrary related at great length (Iust. 2. 5. 2-7). The adversaries of the Scythians in this version, in contrast to the Herodotus' account, are not the sons of slaves, but the slaves themselves, a detail obviously connected with the brevity of the Scythian raid. Some other details also differ: it is for example specially noted, that the Scythian women formed connections with the slaves because they thought that their husbands had died (*coniuges eorum longa expectatione virorum fessae nec iam teneri bello, sed deletos ratae*). It is in addition pointed out that the slaves, who "had been left for guarding the herds" attacked their masters because they had not recognised them.

The third version of the story of the Scythian rule over Asia is also preserved by Pompeius Trogus, who describes it as the second Scythian invasion of Asia after the war with Sesostris. According to Pompeius Trogus (Iust. 2. 4. 1-3), two 'royal youths' (*regii iuvenes*), Plynos and Scolopitus by name, who were exiled from their country, headed a multitude of young people and migrated to the region called Themiskyra by the river Thermodon in Cappadocia. They plundered their neighbours for many years until these neighbours slaughtered them. The circumstances of the Scythians' death are only vaguely mentioned in Justinus' epitome: "they were slaughtered by a trick following a conspiracy of the peoples" (*conspiratione populorum per insidias trucidantur*), but these circumstances were probably related at greater length in the original text of Pompeius Trogus. The wives of the Scythians were obliged to take up arms and became the first Amazons. Then Pompeius Trogus relates in detail the legendary history of the Amazons (Iust. 2. 4. 4-33). He ascribes therefore the 'second Scythian rule' to the remote mythical past: to at least one generation before the time of Heracles and Theseus, whose contemporaries were the daughters of the first Amazons, and to two generations before the Trojan war.

Two traditions can be distinguished in this text. These have different origins but were united in the single account by Pompeius Trogus or his predecessor. The main part of the account concerns the history of the Amazons. The image of the Amazons represents a special problem, which I cannot discuss here. Suffice it to say that this image, well-known already to Homer (Γ 189, Ζ 186, cf. Β 814:

Huxley 1960, 122–124), was originally connected only with Asia Minor and had nothing to do with the Scythians. The connection between the Scythians and the Amazons in Greek literature dates probably not earlier than the 5th century B.C. (Herodotus 4. 117).³ The Amazons' history by Pompeius Trogus goes back completely to the Greek literary tradition.

Some details in Pompeius Trogus' account are to be explained by this secondary combination of the description of the Scythian invasion in Asia with the legendary history of the Amazons. First is the localisation of the region occupied by the Scythians: Themiskyra and the river Thermodon, which replaced the vague Asia of other versions, are the standard localisation of the Amazons' land in the classical tradition. This combination also explains the date of the 'second Scythian invasion'. Since the main events of the Amazons' history were connected with Heracles and Theseus, the emergence of the Amazons and hence of the Scythians in Asia had to be dated to an earlier epoch. Both details of the Pompeius Trogus' account, the localisation and the date of the Scythian invasion, are thus of a purely literary origin and both can be dated quite late.

The beginning of this account is however not connected with the Amazons and can be traced to another source, which goes ultimately back to the Scythian oral tradition. This fact is indicated first of all by the name of one of the Scythians chiefs, Scolopitus, which has a transparent North-east-iranian, that is Scythian, etymology. Its second part includes the Iranian word *pita(r)-*, 'father', which is attested also by Scytho-Sarmatian names (Πιτοφαρνακης, Πιτοφάρνακης, Φιτοφάρνακης)—**Pita-farnaka-*, Πιδος, Φιδας etc., cf. Osset. *fɪd/fidæ* 'father'⁴ and the name *Dakmapida*—**Taxma-pita-* from Persepolis: Mayrhofer 1973, 147). The first part represents the Scythian autoappellation Σκολότοι. Herodotus mentions it (4. 6) as the name used by the Scythians themselves in contrast to their Greek designation Σκύθαι. In reality, both names reproduce two dialectal forms of the same

³ See other sources: Gutschmid 1894, 113. A. von Gutschmid supposes that the Greeks connected the legends about the Amazons, which had been well known for a long time before, with the Eurasian nomads after their acquaintance with the Sauromatians, in the society of which women warriors played an important role. This supposition seems to be very likely. About the Amazons see in detail: Blok 1995, with the literature; about their late connection with the Scythians: *Ibid.*, 410–419.

⁴ Vasmer 1923, 48; Zgusta 1955, 134–135; Abaev 1979, 299.

Scythian autodesignation, which is spelled by the Akkadian texts as *I/Aškuzāia* and can be reconstructed as **s/škuḏa-*. The *tau* in the end of the word Σκολότοι reproduces the north-east Iranian suffix of plurality and collectiveness *-tə*, which is common in Ossetic ethnonyms and family names. The mutation of the interdental into *-l-* between two vowels is also known in some East-iranian languages. The same word in the singular, without the suffix *-tə*, is the name of the Scythian king Σκύλης, whose history is related by Herodotus (4. 78–80).⁵

The name Σκολότοι is mentioned by Herodotus in his rendering of the legend about the Scythians' origin (4. 4–7). It is important to note that this relatively short text contains some Scythian words or names, which have characteristic East-iranian phonetic features. The mutation of the interdental into *-l-* is noted not only in the name Σκολότοι, but also in the word Παραλάται, which means the warrior class (τοὺς βασιλέας of Herodotus), whose ancestor was the mythical king Kolaxais. It corresponds precisely to the Avestian *Paraḏāta*,⁶ designation of the first kings, especially of Haošyaṇha, who is also considered the ancestor of the warrior caste. In the same text one can notice another feature of Ossetic phonetics, the mutation of the Iranian *r* into *l* in the position before *i*. The name of the legendary Scythian king Κολάξαῖς is to be explained as Iranian **hwarya-xšaya*, that is 'King Sun'. Its regular reflex is **xola-xšaya*/Κολάξαῖς. The same feature is to be noted in the name of his brother Λιπόξαῖς < **Lipa-xšaya* < **Ripa-xšaya*, which means 'King Mount'. In addition, another feature of the Ossetic phonetics is also present in the Scythian names, mentioned in the same text. The metathesis *pr* > *rp* is reflected in the name of the third brother Ἀρπόξαῖς < **Arpa-xšaya*. Its first part can be explained from Ossetic *arf*, 'deep, depth', from Iranian **āpra-* (Abaev 1979, 362–363; Grantovskii 1960, 7–12).

The account of Herodotus thus leads to the conclusion that one part of the Scythians in the 5th century B.C. spoke a dialect, which already had same phonetic features as had the later Alano-Ossetic. Greek inscriptions of the northern Black Sea region, which contain many Scytho-Sarmatian names, show that some dialects were more conservative and their phonetics were closer to Pra-Iranian as late

⁵ The historicity of this person is proved by a finger ring and coins with his name: Vinogradov 1980, 92–109; Zaginailo and Karyshkovskii 1990, 3–14.

⁶ This interpretation was proposed already by Vsevolod Miller (1887, 127). Cf.: Grantovskii 1960, 20.

as in first centuries A.D., although other dialects had by this time the same features as Ossetic.⁷ The systematic transmission of these phonetic features in the Herodotean account 4. 4–7 proves that this account was borrowed from the people who spoke this dialect, and was not significantly distorted. It makes probable the supposition that Herodotus heard this account directly from a Hellenised Scythian, who belonged to Scythian culture and spoke Greek. The existence of such people in the Greek colonies of the Black Sea region as early as the 5th century B.C. is testified by an epitaph found *in situ* in the cemetery of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. of Panticapaeum (CIRB 114).⁸ It belonged to a Taurian, but he had the Greek name of Tychon and his gravestone was inscribed with a Greek elegiac distich: Σήματι τῷ δ' ὑπόκειται ἀνὴρ [πολλοῖ]σι π[ο]θ[ε]ινός. Ταῦρος ἐὼν γενεήν· τοῦνο[μ]α δ' ἔστι Τύχων, "A man who missed by many is lying under this gravestone. He is Taurian by birth, his name is Tychon".⁹ In addition, Herodotus explicitly ascribes the account related in 4. 4–7 to the Scythians. It is notable by the way, that this conclusion has significant implications for the problem of the reliability of the '*Skythikos logos*' of Herodotus and of its sources, a problem which has been actively discussed over the last 20 years.¹⁰

The dialect form of the Scythian name Σκολότοι is not mentioned in other sources besides Herodotus and Pompeius Trogus (*cf.* however the name of the Scythian king Σκίλουρος, Strabo 7. 3. 17; 4. 3. 7, which probably contains the same word). This rarity and the status itself of a dialect word indicate that at least a part of the account of Pompeius Trogus comes from a well informed source, that drew its information from the tradition of the same Scythian group as Herodotus did.

⁷ For a survey of the Scytho-Sarmatian linguistic materials see: Abaev 1979, 272–364.

⁸ The burial rite of the Tychon's grave has some Taurian features: his body was covered with red ochre, see Shkorpil 1904, 80, No. 35.

⁹ It is tempting to ascribe the account of Herodotus to Tymnes, who was a trustee (ἐπίτροπος) of the Scythian king Ariapeithes and is mentioned by Herodotus as his source on the genealogy of the Scythian kings (4. 76). The example of the Taurian Tychon proves that the non-Scythian (probably Carian) name of Tymnes does not necessarily mean that he was not a Scythian. Independently of his origin (Scythian or Greek), Tymnes was obviously familiar both with Greek and Scythian cultures. Herodotus could however have other sources of information.

¹⁰ The accuracy of Herodotus was recently defended by W.K. Pritchett (1993). *Cf.* especially the criticism of F. Hartog (1988), who is one of the most radical opponents of the reliability of Herodotus' account of the Scythians, on pp. 191–226.

Thus, one of two Scythian 'royal youths', who led the Scythians during the invasion of Asia was called 'Father of the Scythians'. The meaning of his name was probably obscure to Pompeius Trogus and his source, but obvious to the Scythians. I cannot give a completely convincing etymology of the name of the second Scythian leader, Plynos. However, it can be compared with the Scythian name Φλιανος mentioned in an inscription from Olbia (*IOSPE* I², 101: 9), which means 'dear, beloved' and is formed from the root *fñ- > fñi-, 'love' (Vasmer 1923, 55; Abaev 1979, 289).

The name of Scolopitus, like the names of the personages of Herodotus' legend about Scythian origins, allows us to suppose that the basis of the account is Scythian. The meagre information about Scolopitus points also to his connection with the Scythian folklore tradition. He was a 'royal youth' and a leader of young Scythians. This suggests the archaic institution of *balc*, which was important in the traditional society of the Ossetians, the remote descendants of the Scythians. This term designated predatory raids in the territory of more or less remote neighbours, the raids which were carried out by mobile groups of youths and young men called *bal*. To reach a top rank of warrior, a man had to participate in three *balc*'s, of one year, of three years and of seven years; in addition, shorter raids were constantly made. The first *balc* of one year (*afəzbalc*) was at the same time necessary for the initiation of a youth in the class of adult men. In the 19th century, each youth had to leave his wife on the third day after their wedding to participate in his first *balc*. Participation in such a raid was in earlier time the necessary condition to marry.¹¹

The existence of a similar custom among the Scythians is confirmed by independent evidence. Pompeius Trogus says explicitly that it was the youths who made the raid in Asia. At the same time, the whole classical tradition starting from Herodotus considers the Scythian invasion of Asia an enterprise not of all Scythians, but only of men who left their families and property at home. This is typical for a *balc*. The account of Herodotus about the origins of the Sauromates (4. 110–116) probably reflects a custom that resembles the Ossetic *afəzbalc*, that is the first raid of one year. Herodotus describes here a typical *Männerbund*. Its members, unmarried youths, are separated from other Scythians, have nothing but their horses and weapons

¹¹ See in detail: Chochiev 1985, 110–162.

and live by hunting and plundering. The young Scythians married the Amazons and thus became adult men only after having spent some time in this kind of *balc*.¹² Even the word *bal* itself was already known in Scytho-Sarmatian dialects. It is attested in two names mentioned in the Greek inscriptions of Tanais and Olbia: Οὐαστόβαλος and Οὐάρζβαλος (*IOSPE* I², 91: 9; *CIRB* 1282: 30) which mean 'loved by *bal*' and 'loving *bal*' (**varzta-bal*, **varz-bal* < **vārz*, (Osset. *warzun*), Osset. *warz-bal* is attested: Abaev 1979, 284). It is worth to mentioning in this connection that in the Scythian legend about the origin of three social classes, the priests, the producers and the warriors, which has a number of analogues among other Iranian peoples, it is the youngest brother Kolaxais, who is considered a forefather of the warrior class including the kings (Herodotus 4. 7). It has been shown in the literature that the origin of the Indo-Iranian castes was connected with the age classes, and that the warrior caste developed from the age class of unmarried youths (Ivanchik and Kullanda 1991, 192–216, with literature). It is quite possible that the connection between warfare and youth still existed in Scythian society, which was very archaic and conservative, as was the case in much later societies of the Caucasus (Chochiev 1985, *passim*). For example, Herodotus calls the members of the suite of the Scythian kings, who were chosen by the kings themselves (4. 72), *νηνίσκοι*.

We can thus suggest that the Scythian raids in the Near East were made by similar mobile groups and that they were considered by the Scythians themselves as a kind of *balc*. The Ossetic epics about the Narts consist mostly of the description of such raids: all their adventures happen during the *balc*'s. The content of the Scythian

¹² F. Hartog (1988, 216–224) explains away this account of Herodotus by some structuralist oppositions ('culture—nature', 'war—marriage', etc.) which, he thinks, are characteristic for Greek literature and especially for the 'father of history'. He supposes that Herodotus simply follows the logic of these oppositions and describes the Scythians as Greek ephebes. The existence in Scythian society of the age class of unmarried youths, for which the features mentioned by Herodotus were characteristic, is however confirmed by independent data, including evidence of other Iranian traditions (the Avesta, the data on Achaemenid society, Ossetic ethnography, etc.). Hence, the description of Herodotus can be connected not with the Greek, but with the Scythian tradition, and reflects not the Herodotean imaginary, but Scythian reality. The similarity of the Scythian youths and the Greek ephebes is to be explained by the similarity of the functions of *ephebeia* in the Greek and of *afəzbəlc* in the Scythian and later Ossetic society and probably by the common Indo-European roots of both institutions. See about the Scythian youths: Grantovskii 1980, 131–132, 136. Cf. the criticism of this passage of Hartog's book in the review of C. Dewald (*CPh* 85, 1990, 222).

epics was hardly very different (I mean, of course, not concrete accounts, but the general character of the epics). In the same way, the main subject of the Old Irish epics was the *tain's* (cf. for example the most famous epics on the Ulster hero Cuchulain, *Tain bo Cuailnge*), i.e. the predatory raids in the territory of neighbours, which correspond precisely to the Scythian and Ossetic *bale's*. The same institution as well as its descriptions in epics are also known in other early Indo-European societies.¹³ The raids in the Near East, which are reflected in the classical tradition as a 'Scythian rule over Asia', clearly played an important role in Scythian folklore and served as a basis for the Scythian epics partially preserved in Greek sources.

The accounts of Pompeius Trogus about the second and third invasions of the Scythians in Asia and the account of Herodotus probably go back to different versions of the same Scythian legend, as do the two accounts of Herodotus about the origin of the Scythians. Their comparison with each other allows us to reconstruct the Scythian legend and to separate it from the additions of classical authors. The young Scythian warriors once made an especially distant raid in Asia. It was very successful: the Scythians subdued and plundered many countries. The local peoples could not defeat the Scythian heroes in a honest open battle, but overpowered them by a perfidious trick. The epitome of Justinus only mentioned this trick, but Herodotus gives details. The Medes invited the Scythian heroes to a feast, made them drunk and slew them. Similar stories are also known in Ossetic epics. So, the perfidious Boratæ, who could not overpower Wæræzmæg in a battle, invited him to a feast and tried to make him drunk in order to kill him (Narts 1989, 89–92, 234–241). Similarly, enemies killed another hero of epics named Hamyc after making him drunk, because nobody could overpower him when he was sober (Narts 1989, 278–279).

The folklore basis of this tradition is particularly clear in the account about the war of the Scythians with their slaves, which took place after the return of the Scythians from Asia. Besides Pompeius Trogus and Herodotus, the same story is related by Polyænus (7. 44. 2) and some other authors (Domit. Callistr. *FGrHist* 433 F 4; Pacat. *Paneg. Theodos.* 30; Amm. Marc. 22. 8. 41). Ammianus Marcellinus adds

¹³ Cf. Bremmer 1987, 30–43, with the literature. In these societies the youths represented special separated groups, which often were the main military force of these societies.

to this account that the Sindoi were considered the descendants of the Scythian slaves, who appropriated the property and the wives of their masters after their misfortune in Asia (*post eriles in Asia casus*). It is possible that the same tradition was also known to Valerius Flaccus who mentions a 'paternal crime' (*paternum crimen*: *Argon.* 6. 86) of the Sindoi.¹⁴

I have already mentioned that the major divergence between the versions of Pompeius Trogus and Herodotus is the duration of the stay of the Scythians in Asia. Scythian rule lasted 28 years according to Herodotus and only eight years according to Pompeius Trogus. The latter date is especially meaningful in connection with the story about the infidelity of the Scythians' wives. According to Ossetic customs, the maximum duration of a military expedition (*balc*) was seven years. The participation in such a long *balc* was considered a great honour and only the best warriors could do it. If a warrior did not return home after seven years of absence and no news was heard of him, he was considered dead. After the usual mourning of one year, his wife could and even had to marry again. Thus, a woman was considered completely free after her husband had been absent eight years. Thus, the conduct of the Scythian women was not as criminal as a Greek would think.¹⁵ It is important to note in this connection that Pompeius Trogus explicitly mentions that Scythian women considered their husbands dead and that the slaves that were left home to guard the herds first did not recognise their masters. Thus, the indication of Pompeius Trogus that the Scythian raid and their rule over Asia lasted 8 years likely goes back to the Scythian folklore tradition and is connected with the story about the infidelity of the wives of the warriors who participated in this raid.

¹⁴ Gutschmid 1894, 88. His supposition that the common source of Valerius Flaccus and Ammianus Marcellinus was Pompeius Trogus is however unfounded. The preserved parts of his work do not mention the origin of the Sindoi. Pompeius mentions in addition that the Scythian slaves as well as the wives were killed after the return of the Scythians.

¹⁵ Cf. a similar story in the Greek context: Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 216 = Strabo 6. 3. 3. The Lacedaemonians fought 19 years against the Messenians. In the tenth year of the war the Spartan women were angry at being alone and complained to their husbands that their country was in danger of lacking new generation. The Lacedaemonians then sent the youngest men back. There is however an important difference between the two stories: the Spartan young men cohabited only with unmarried women and a possibility of adultery and connections with the slaves was even not mentioned.

The statement by Herodotus that the Scythian rule lasted 28 years is a result of his calculation concerning the general chronology of Asian history. The Herodotean scheme of Eastern history, in which the 'Scythian rule over Asia' is included, is based on the conception of the parallel development of "Lower" and "Upper" Asia, divided by the river Halys. The Scythian rule in this scheme corresponds to one generation and three years, that is to 28 years (see in detail: Ivantchik 1993, 107–112). Thus the indication of Herodotus is based on a later calculation and is without doubt not historical.

Scythian legends were not a unique source for the classical tradition about their raids in Asia. Greek authors combined these accounts with data from other sources, including information about the Scythian raids preserved in traditions of local peoples of Asia. It is however hardly possible to derive the accounts about the Scythian domination from Median tradition, as it has sometimes been done.¹⁶ It would be strange if the enemy of the Medes were heroised in this tradition while the Medes themselves were represented very unfavourably. Cyaxares could not in fact defeat the Scythians in a battle and so killed them with perfidy and betrayal. The Median tradition is probably reflected in another account of Herodotus about the events of the same period, which also seems to have a folklore origin (1. 73–74). According to this account, Cyaxares granted asylum to a group of Scythians who had come to Asia, and took them into his service. In particular, he charged the Scythians with training Median boys in archery. Some time later the Scythians came into conflict with Cyaxares and he offended them. In revenge, the Scythians slaughtered one of their pupils, cut up the boy like game and sent him to Cyaxares; after that they escaped to the king of Lydia, Alyattes. Since Alyattes did not deliver up the criminals, a war between Lydia and Media broke out. To judge from the distribution of roles and the portrayal of Cyaxares, the source of this account is Median. Indeed, there is no question of a victory of the Scythians over the Medes; Cyaxares did not at all submit to the Scythians, but on the contrary took them into his service. The Scythians are represented not as mighty heroes and conquerors, but as fugitives, who turn out to be perfidious, cruel and ungrateful savages. It is very likely that the representations of the Scythians in the traditions of the Medes

¹⁶ Cf. for example: Müllenhoff 1892, 23–27; Piotrowicz 1929, 473; Tokhtasev 1996, 14.

and probably in these of other peoples who suffered from Scythian raids was just like this. The Median folklore story, which surely comes from another source than the tradition heroising the Scythians, confirms that it was Cyaxares who ruled in Media during the Scythian raids in Asia.

Another example of a non-Scythian account about these raids is the account of Herodotus about the plundering by the Scythians of the temple of Aphrodite Urania in Ashkelon and their punishment by the goddess. It comes probably from the local temple legend created *ad maiorem deae gloriam*. It may resemble the Ephesian legend about the ruin of the Cimmerian king Lygdamis, who tried to plunder and to destroy the temple of Artemis (Callim. 3. 251–258). The existence of these legends in the local Near Eastern milieu confirms once more the reality of the Scythian raids, although there is no question of a genuine domination or rule over Asia. The historicity of these raids is also confirmed by the mentions of the Scythians in Assyrian texts, which point to their presence on the eastern borders of Assyria, in Mana and Media, since the beginning of the third decade of the 7th century (Ivantchik 1993, 85–93).

The Scythian accounts about the raids in Asia were connected with two personages, Scolopitus and Madyes, son of Protothyas. They were probably acting in the different versions of these legends which existed among different Scythian ethnic groups. Scolopitus belongs completely to folklore and was probably a Scythian epic personage, but Madyes is doubtless historical. He is also mentioned by Strabo (1. 3. 21), who used in this passage a source both independent of Herodotus and well informed, which probably goes back to a local tradition of the Greeks of Asia Minor. The reliability of this source is confirmed by the fact that it supplies not only the correct name of the king of the Cimmerians during their raids in Lydia and Ionia (Λύγδαμις, *Dugdamme* of contemporary Assyrian texts), but also the circumstances of his death, which is described in Assyrian inscriptions (Ivantchik 1993, 114–115). Strabo mentions as well the defeat of the Trerans and probably of the Cimmerians by Madyes; this information was also unknown to Herodotus.

The historicity of Madyes, son of Protothyas is attested not only by his mention in two independent Greek sources, the accounts of which are partly confirmed by the cuneiform texts, but also by a direct indication of one of these texts. Though Madyes himself is not mentioned in Akkadian texts, his father, the Scythian king *Par-*

ta-tu-a, whose identification with Προτοθύης of Herodotus is certain, is. In one of his inquiries to the oracle of Shamash (SAA IV, 20), Esarhaddon writes that the Scythian king Partatua has asked for one of Esarhaddon's daughters in marriage. Esarhaddon wants to know if Partatua will conclude an alliance with Assyria and if he will be a reliable ally after the marriage with an Assyrian princess. The same tablet contains a report about two extispicies (predictions by observation of animal entrails), which were conducted concerning this inquiry. The signs of the first are ambiguous, but those of the second favourable. We can thus suppose that Esarhaddon got a positive answer to his inquiry and that it influenced his decision. The inquiry dates from about 672 B.C. (Ivantchik 1993, 93–94).

Another argument that has been used to prove the historicity of the Scythian raids in Asia and especially in Palestine, the existence there of a city called Scythopolis in the Hellenistic period, is however to be rejected. The suggestion that this city was named after a group of Scythians who settled in Palestine after their raid was made by classical authors: it is preserved in the *Chronika* of Eusebius (Euseb. *Chron.* 2.88 Schoene = Georg. Syncell. 214D). This assertion has often been repeated in the modern literature (Beer 1921, 947; Piotrowicz 1929, 492; Rowe 1930, 42; Rowley 1962–1963, 210–211; Sulimirski and Taylor 1991, 567, n. 68 a.o.). The name 'Scythopolis' was however used only in the Greek milieu;¹⁷ the Semites always called the city only by its ancient name of Beth-Shean (*cf.* for example the bilingual inscriptions on an ossuary from Jerusalem: Ammyiah ha-Bešanit/'Αμμία Σκυθοπολίτισσα and Ḥanin ha-Bešani/'Ανίν Σκυθοπολείτης; Frey 1952, No. 1372–1373). It is *a priori* hardly imaginable that the nomadic Scythians could settle this city during their short raid and could preserve their identity until Hellenistic times, when the name of the city finally appears. Furthermore, the results of excavations in Beth-Shean refute this suggestion (James 1966; James, Kempinski, Tzori and Bahat 1975, 207–229; Yadin and Geva 1986; Mazar 1993, 214–223). They show that the settlement at Beth-Shean, which existed since the Neolithic period, was destroyed and abandoned about 800 B.C. A squatter settlement, inhabitants of which used the remains of the buildings of the earlier period, existed there some

¹⁷ The mentions of Scythopolis in classical and Byzantine literature see: Avi-Yonah 1976, 93–94. The city is mentioned for the first time by Polybius (5. 70. 4) in his description of the invasion of Palestine by Antiochus III in 218 B.C.

time longer. Beth-Shean was completely abandoned not later than the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century B.C. It is possible that the remains of its population were deported by the Assyrians together with the inhabitants of Megiddo and Samaria. The city was reconstructed only in the time of Ptolemy II. Thus, Beth-Shean lacked not only Scythians, but also any other population in the 7th–4th centuries B.C. Of course, no material that could be connected with the Scythians has been found during the excavations (Avi-Yonah 1962, 126; James 1966, 139).

The suggestion that Scythopolis was named after a group of Scythians, who invaded Palestine in the 7th century B.C., was not the only explanation of its name proposed in antiquity. The name was also explained by the legend that Dionysos buried here his nurse Nysa and charged the Scythians from his mythical suite with guarding her tomb (Plin. *NH* 5. 74; Solin. 16) (Νυσά was the third name of the city, which it received in the time of Antiochos IV). According to another legend, the city was founded by the Scythians who were sent by the Taurian king Thoas to pursue Iphigeneia and Orestes. When they reached the coast and realised that the fugitives had already crossed the sea and were not longer accessible, the Scythians feared to return home and chose to stay in Palestine (Malala *PG* 97, 237; Cedren. *PG* 121, 272).¹⁸ Thus, the existence of a 'city of the Scythians' in Palestine intrigued later authors and they tried to explain its name by the creation of different legends. The connection of Scythopolis with the Scythian invasion belongs to the same kind of stories founded only on the name of the city.

The origin of the name 'Scythopolis' was convincingly explained by M. Avi-Yonah (1962, 126–127). He suggested that Ptolemy II, who founded a new city on the site of the ancient Beth-Shean, settled there some veterans of so called 'Scythian' detachments of his army as *klerouchoi*. These detachments of mounted archers, which were not necessarily formed of ethnic Scythians, played an important role in Hellenistic armies. Thus, Scythopolis was indeed called after the 'Scythians'; however the name comes not from the real

¹⁸ This is a topos in colonial legends, especially of the Hellenistic period. Cf. similar legends about Cadmos, Phoenix, Kilix and Thasos sent by Agenor to return Europe, the Colchians sent by Aietes to pursue Medea and Jason or Lycos and Cynus sent by Inachos to look for Io, the sources see: Vian 1963, 81, nos. 3–5, and Diod. 5. 60. 4–5.

Scythians, who participated in a raid in Palestine in 7th century B.C., but from the veterans of so called 'Scythian' detachments of the army of Ptolemy II. The ethnicity of these veterans is not clear, but they were in any case strongly Hellenised and considered Greek by the native population.

As I have mentioned, the date of the Scythian raids, the events which formed the basis for the classical tradition on the Scythian domination in Asia, represents a special problem. We have already discussed the dates of the Scythian invasion given by the classical texts. As has often been pointed out in the literature, the chronological data of Herodotus and other classical sources on Asian history of the 7th century B.C. through the first half of the 6th century B.C. are not authentic and derive from later calculations based mostly on genealogical principles (Jacoby 1902; Prakken 1943; Burn 1949, 70–73; Strasburger 1956, 143ff; Mitchel 1956; Kaletsch 1958, 1–47; Miller 1965, 109–128; Drews 1967, 1–10; Boer 1967, 30–60; Drews 1973; Mosshammer 1979; Parker 1993, 386–417). It is thus impossible to use these data to date the Scythian raids in Asia, as is usually done. However the inauthenticity of the date of an event in classical literature does not automatically imply the inauthenticity of the description itself: the two usually come from different sources (*cf.* Grantovskii 1994, 37).

Here it is important to note that the events connected by the classical tradition with the 'Scythian domination', including the defeat and submission of the Medes, the raid in Syria and Palestine as far as the frontier of Egypt, and the defeat of the Cimmerians, are completely unknown to the cuneiform texts. They know the Scythians (*I/Aškuzāia*) only as an unimportant people of the periphery. This is probably due to the lack of Assyrian texts containing historical information for the period after the beginning of the 630s B.C. This fact suggests that the 'Scythian domination' belongs to this period.

If the chronological information in the classical sources is unreliable and such information is lacking in the cuneiform sources, only biblical data may provide a basis for dating the Scythian raids in Asia, including the invasion of Palestine and destruction of the temple in Ashkelon. As early as the 13th century the classical tradition about these raids was compared with the prophecies of Jeremiah (1. 14–15; 4. 6–6. 30) and Zephaniah (2. 4–15) about a 'disaster from the north', which was interpreted as an allusion to the Scythians (Venema 1765, 142–143; Cramer 1777, 22–23 a.o.). Contemporary

objections to this interpretation identified the 'northern disaster' instead with the Babylonians, who are meant in the later prophesies of Jeremiah. Both points of view continue to find adherents.¹⁹

The interpretation of these texts depends in fact on the authenticity of the statement that Jeremiah began to prophesy in the 13th year of Josiah's reign (Jer. 1. 2; 25. 3, *cf.* 3. 6; 36. 2), that is in 627/26 B.C. (Josiah ruled in 640/39–609 B.C.: Tadmor 1978, 186–191, *cf.* Finegan 1964, 199–202. The date of his reign by Eusebius is 7 years too high). Babylon was at that time involved in the war for independence from Assyria and was as yet unable to threaten Palestine. One of the Babylonian chronicles describes the events of 626–623 (Grayson 1975, 17–18, 87–90, Chronicle 2) and tells of constant fighting between Assyria and Babylon, in which neither side could prevail during this period. Therefore the only real northern enemy for Palestine at that time could be the Scythians (*cf.* Piotrowicz 1929, 490–491; Rowley 1962–1963, 213–214). Zephaniah, who also writes about a threat from the North, confirms the evidence of Jeremiah. His prophesies have however a more general date: simply during Josiah's reign (Zeph. 1. 1), that is, 640/39–609. But even in the late years of Josiah's reign neither a Babylonian nor any other northern threat against Palestine probably existed: the only possible enemy of Judea was Egypt (Josiah was probably at this time a nominal vassal of Egypt) and it was in fact by the Egyptians that Josiah was killed (2 Reg. 23. 29). If the traditional dates of the early prophesies of Jeremiah and the book of Zephaniah are authentic, then it is hardly possible to interpret the 'disaster from the north' otherwise than as an allusion to the Scythians.

The opponents of the identification of the 'disaster from the north' with the Scythians have denied the authenticity of the first verses of Jeremiah or even its first chapters. The most radical point of view was expressed by C.C. Torrey (1937, 193–216). He supposed that the 10 first chapters of Jeremiah represent a pseudepigraph of the 3rd century B.C. and that the 'disaster from the north' means therefore Alexander the Great. This hypothesis has not found any adherents (*cf.* the criticism: Hyatt 1940, 499–513). It is much more common to place the early prophesies of Jeremiah at the end of the decade

¹⁹ For the history of the problem see in detail: Rowley 1962–1963, 199–234. The detailed argumentation against the identification of the 'disaster from the north' with the Scythians see: Wilke 1913, 222ff; Condamin 1936, 61–66.

of the 610s or the beginning of the 600s B.C. and to bring them nearer to his later prophecies, and to ascribe the traditional date of the beginning of his prophesying to a late redactor.²⁰ This hypothesis, which requires important alterations of the texts not only of chapter 1, but also 25, is in fact based only on the existence of a chronological gap between the early and late prophecies of Jeremiah. Since such arguments for a late date for the beginning of the book of Jeremiah are not convincing, there is no reason to deny the authenticity of the traditional text. Even if the date does belong to a late redactor, there is no reason why such a redactor could not have known from tradition the correct date of the beginning of Jeremiah's prophesying and separated this beginning from the later prophecies, placing it exactly in the 13th year of Josiah's reign.

An important argument in favour of the authenticity of the traditional date may also be found in an analysis of the religious situation in Judea, as described in the early prophecies of Jeremiah. He writes about widespread idolatry, worshipping of the 'queen of heaven' etc. This description corresponds well to the situation that existed before the religious reforms of Josiah in 622/21 B.C.,²¹ which were endorsed by Jeremiah. It is on the contrary hardly applicable to the later part of his reign or even to the reign of Jehoiakim. The same is true for the prophecies of Zephaniah, which also probably belong to the pre-reform part of Josiah's reign.

We can thus give credence to the traditional date of the early prophecies of Jeremiah and therefore interpret the 'northern disaster' as referring to the Scythians. It is probable, further, that these prophecies were written before the real raid of the Scythians in Palestine, and not *post eventum*, because Jeremiah foretells the destruction of Jerusalem. However, the Scythians neither destroyed nor probably even threatened Jerusalem and the prophecy was fulfilled only much later during the invasion of the new northern enemy, the Babylonians. Since the Scythian raid turned out to be much less destructive than Jeremiah had predicted, he was probably discredited for some time.²² This could explain why, after the book of

²⁰ See the bibliography: Rowley 1962-1963, 201-203.

²¹ See about the religious situation in Judea in Josiah's time and before it: Halpern 1987, 97-103; Halpern 1993, 115-154. See about the date of the beginning of the reforms: Na'aman 1991, 38, with the literature.

²² See about unfulfilled prophecies of Jeremiah and the passages of his book complaining the discredit connected with these prophecies: Rowley 1962-1963, 220-224.

Deuteronomy was found in the Temple, Josiah turned not to Jeremiah, but to a much less important prophetess Huldah (חִלְדָּה, Ὀλδαν of Septuagint), about whom nothing else is known (2 Reg. 22. 14). If this suggestion is right, the publication of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Josiah's reforms gives a *terminus ante quem* for the early prophecies of Jeremiah of 622/21 B.C. Since it was already clear at that time that his prophecies had not come to pass, this date could also be a *terminus ante quem* for the Scythian raid. This is of course only a guess. This same reconstruction can explain also the long break in the prophetic activity of Jeremiah, which has been so puzzling and has served as the main argument against the traditional date of its beginning: Jeremiah was probably discouraged by his failure and only returned to prophesying when the new northern danger, the Babylonians, appeared. It is however quite possible that some of his prophecies were not simply included in the collection known as 'The Book of Jeremiah'.

Of course, the early prophecies of Jeremiah are not preserved in their original form. According to the 36th chapter of the book of Jeremiah, all his early prophecies had been written down by the scribe Baruch, son of Neriah²³ in 604 B.C. After the scroll was burned Baruch rewrote the prophecies. It is quite probable that Jeremiah made some changes in his early prophecies and redacted them at the moment of these and later recordings. However, their main subjects, as well as their authentic date, must have been preserved. These subjects include, besides denunciation of the idolatry and appeals for the religious reforms started by Josiah later, in 622/21 B.C., also constant mentions of the threat from the north. We do not have any reason to suspect that Jeremiah has made a deliberate falsification of the text or has ascribed the later prophecies to an earlier date. At the same time it should be noticed that the mentions of Babylon as a source of danger which we constantly find in the later prophecies are lacking in the early ones. Thus we can suggest that in the beginning of his prophesying, Jeremiah, speaking of the northern threat, meant the Scythians. Later, when this threat was ended, he stopped mentioning it and probably also stopped prophesying for a while. Then, after the new northern threat appeared,

²³ Two bullae belonging to him (they bear the inscription לְבִרְכִּיָּהוּ בֶן נְרִיָּהוּ הַסֹּפֵר | "The seal of Berekhyahu, son of Neriyahu, the scribe") has been preserved until now: Avigad 1986, 28–29; Shanks 1987, 58–61; 1996, 36–37.

this time from Babylon, he returned to his earlier prophecies. We can't say if there had been originally any direct mentions of the Scythians in these prophecies (that Jeremiah knew this name is proved by the mention of the Scythians in the later part of his book: 51. 27). If so, such mentions may have been eliminated in the process of redaction and thus the text preserves only the general mention of the threat from the north. This made it possible in the new circumstances to treat the early prophecies as referring to Babylon. However, Jeremiah never included any direct mentions of Babylon in the early prophecies.

It seems that Hebrew tradition does not preserve any trace of the interpretation of Jeremiah's 'disaster from the north' as an allusion to the Scythians. Early Christian authors, however, did know this interpretation. Eusebius in his *Chronika* places the invasion of the Scythians 'as far as Palestine' at the same time as the beginning of Jeremiah's prophecy (Hier. 96 Helm): the mention of this event immediately follows the mention of the Scythian raid. In accordance with the direct indication of the book of Jeremiah, Eusebius places the beginning of his prophecy in the 13rd year of Josiah's reign. The chronological equation of the early prophecies of Jeremiah with the Scythian raid means that early Christian chronographers, that is Eusebius or his source Julius Africanus, knew the interpretation of the 'disaster from the north' as an allusion to the Scythian raid in Palestine. This interpretation had enough authority to make Eusebius abandon the Herodotean chronological tradition, which he otherwise usually followed in relating the events of history of Media, Lydia and other eastern countries. In contradiction to almost the whole of classical tradition, which relates the Scythian invasion to the reign of Cyaxares in Media, Eusebius dates this invasion five years earlier than Cyaxares.

The year 627/6 B.C. represents thus the *terminus post quem* of the Scythian incursion into Palestine, which was probably their most distant raid in Asia. A reliable *terminus ante quem* is given by the Babylonian chronicle of Nabopalassar, that is Chronicle 3 of Grayson's publication (1975, 18-19, 90-96). The Chronicle describes the events of 616-609 B.C. In the description of the events of 616 B.C., that is, the 10th year of Nabopalassar's reign, it mentions that the Egyptian army came to the aid of the Assyrians in their hostilities with the Babylonians. Egypt took an active part in the conflict also in the following years. This active role of Egypt in the Mesopotamian

conflict implies that the Egyptian border and Palestine, which the Egyptian army had to cross, were at that time sufficiently safe. We can thus suppose that in 616 B.C. the Scythian threat was already over. This supposition is confirmed by the role of the Medes in the events connected with the fall of Assyria. The Medes are mentioned in the same Chronicle from 615 and their king Cyaxares from 614 as the most important enemy of Assyria and ally of Babylon in the war, which ended by the seizure of Nineveh and complete destruction of Assyria. Hence, in the time described by the Chronicle, Cyaxares could act completely freely without the threat of the Scythians. The events of the years from 616 to 595 B.C. are described minutely enough in this and in two other Babylonian Chronicles (4 and 5 of Grayson's publication: Grayson 1975, 19–20, 97–102), in which again the Scythians are not even mentioned. The supposition that the term *Ummān manda* means the Scythians, which has sometimes been made (Gadd 1923, 12–13; Malamat 1950–1951, 155–156; Oates 1991, 180 a.o.), can now be completely rejected. This is an archaising term of elevated style, known in the Akkadian texts since the 3rd millennium B.C., and used in neo-Babylonian literature to designate the Medes (Thureau-Dangin 1925, 27–29; Piotrowicz 1929, 495–498; Zawadzki 1988, 64–131).

The Scythian raids, including the invasion of Palestine, which form the basis for the classical tradition of Scythian domination in Asia, belong thus to the time between 626 and 616 B.C. The beginning of this period is the most probable as the date of the Scythian raids, though there is only indirect evidence for this. When Jeremiah began to prophesy, the Scythian threat was quite real, and it is likely that their raid took place shortly thereafter. In addition, the 'disaster from the north' is mentioned in those prophecies of Jeremiah, the original version of which probably belongs to the pre-reform period of Josiah's reign. The same is true for the prophecies of Zephaniah. It is possible that Jeremiah's lack of participation in the events connected with the finding of the book of Deuteronomy points to the same date. Thus, the king of the Scythians at the time of their so called domination in Asia was Madyes, son of Protothyes. As I have already mentioned, his father was a chief of Scythian detachments in Asia already in 672 B.C. The chronological gap between the mention of Partatua and the Scythian raid in Palestine would thus be between 46 and 56 years. Since there is no reason for doubting the relationship between Madyes and this raid, the first date seems to

be preferable. We can thus date the Scythian raid to a time soon after 626 B.C.

Thus, we can reach the following conclusions about the 'Scythian domination' in Asia. The classical tradition about it is founded on real events of the time shortly after 626 B.C. At that time, when Assyria had become much weaker and did not always control even the remnants of its possessions, but the new powers, Media and Babylon, were not yet firmly established, bands of Scythians had a free hand. Although their presence on the eastern and north-eastern borders of Assyria was known since the 670s B.C., for a long time they played only a marginal role in Near Eastern history. Now, however, they probably succeeded in defeating and perhaps even subduing the Medes, who were, according to Assyrian texts, their nearest neighbours in Asia. The king of the Medes was at that time Cyaxares, who is mentioned in the Babylonian chronicles in connection with later events from 614 B.C. The Scythians also made some raids in more remote regions and plundered some cities of Syria and Palestine, for example Ashkelon. In the same period they appeared for the first time in Asia Minor and defeated the Cimmerians, another group of Eurasian nomads, probably also Iranians, who had been present there for a long time. The king of the Scythians, or in any case the leader of their most successful band, was at this time Madyes, son of Protothues, who was called in Assyrian texts *Partatua*, and was a contemporary of Esarhaddon. The Scythians were far from establishing a stable political domination over Asia or any part of it. Rather, they engaged in periodical plundering and raids like the later Ossetic *bale's*; some states, for example Media, perhaps paid at the same time tribute to the Scythians. Accounts about these raids probably were an important element in Scythian epics. Like the epics of their remote descendants the Ossetians, these epics probably consisted mostly of descriptions of deeds of Scythian heroes during their predatory raids, *bale's*. The classical tradition of the Scythian rule over Asia comes largely from the folklore of the Scythians. It was probably under the influence of Scythian folklore that the duration and importance of these raids became exaggerated in the Greek tradition. Besides Scythian folklore, classical authors used other sources for their accounts of the Scythian rule over Asia. These data came probably from the traditions of the Greeks of Asia Minor, as well as from the traditions of other local peoples who had permanent contacts with the Greeks and who were exposed to real Scythian

raids (for example the stories about the plundering of the temple in Ashkelon and about the Scythian archers in the service of Cyaxares). The development of the classical tradition was also influenced by different later theories and chronological calculations by means of which the Greek authors tried to find a place for the 'Scythian domination' in the general scheme of the history and chronology of Asia.

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20. GREEKS, SCYTHIANS AND *HIPPAKE*, OR “READING MARE’S-CHEESE”*

D. Braund

The purpose of this paper is to explore one of the more positive features of the image of Scythians in Greek thought and literature, particularly in order to attempt a more nuanced analysis of Greek texts on barbarians beyond “the noble savage” and “the other”. Of course, it has become usual to focus upon the negative views of Greeks about Scythians, while there is much that is positive. In particular, there is a distinctly positive Greek viewpoint on their “milk-drinking”, although that has been isolated and identified by Shaw as a key feature of Greek alienation from the (in part, imagined) menacing lifestyle of nomad Scythians.¹ After all, actual relations between Greeks and Scythians were far more complex than simple hostility or enmity and were well understood as potentially symbiotic and productive, even far away from the Black Sea region.

Herodotus, for example, is explicit in excepting Scythians from his negative generalisation on the peoples of the Black Sea region:

The Euxine Pontus . . . produces the most unintelligent peoples of any region, with the exception of the Scythian people. For among the peoples of the Pontus we can cite none in the field of wisdom, nor do we know of any cultured man born there, except the Scythian people and Anacharsis. But the Scythian people has discovered the greatest thing in human affairs, and most wisely of all those that we know, though I do not admire their other tendencies. The greatest thing they have devised is that no-one who comes against them can escape and

* I am grateful to Stephanie West for showing me her forthcoming paper on Hdt. 4.2.

¹ See the ground-breaking paper by Brent Shaw (Shaw 1995). There is a valuable discussion of sources and modern literature on the “Scythian mirage” in Lévy 1981.

On the non-literary evidence for Scythian diet see: Gavrilyuk 1987, esp. 28–9 on milk-products. Gavrilyuk takes the view that sheep-milk was more important than mare’s milk, noting the representation of sheep-milking on a pectoral from Tolstaya Mogila and the cheese (sheep’s ?) found at Pazyryk (albeit far away in Siberia, it should be observed).

that they cannot be caught if they do not want to be found. For they have built neither cities nor walls, but being nomads (lit. "house-carriers") all are horseman-archers, living not from agriculture but from their herds, and their dwellings are on their carts—so how could they not be unfightable and impossible to attack?

(Herodotus 4. 46)

Not only is Herodotus overtly positive about Scythians (despite his reservations), but he also finds most positive the very aspect of their lifestyle that has been seen as inimical to Greek society and values, namely their nomadism. He proceeds to illustrate the strength that resides in nomadism by showing the defeat that the Scythians inflicted upon the mighty Persian Darius, by exploiting their mobility. And that mobility, in Herodotus' account, arises from their lack of possessions. In essence, this is the strength that comes with austerity. However ambivalent Greek society might be about nomadism in itself, Greek writers were always swift to express an admiration for austerity: insofar as nomadism was austerity, Greeks might well admire Scythian nomadism. I shall discuss elsewhere and at length the similarities between such conceptions of austere Scythians and the so-called "Spartan mirage".³ Indeed, if it is true that Herodotus' *Histories* were completed in an Athenian milieu in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, then Herodotus' comments in this passage on the strength to be derived from *not* having cities and walls would have particular point (cf. 7. 139).⁴

At the beginning of his fourth book Herodotus had given space, at the start of his Scythian *logos*, to the Scythian production of mare's milk (4. 2). The immediate context is his account of the return of Scythians to their homeland, after a lengthy absence, to discover that their wives had been sleeping with their slaves. However, there is no pressure in Herodotus' narrative for the disquisition on mare's milk: that disquisition seems to be given space for its own sake, as an alien facet of the Scythian lifestyle, which had already occurred

² As even Herodotus seems to indicate elsewhere, Scythians might well engage in agriculture: see, for example, Gavrilyuk and Pashkevich 1991. The fragility and subjectivity of the label "Scythian" is to be acknowledged and stressed: to what extent is nomadism a criterion of "Scythianness", whether for ancient authors or for modern archaeologists?

³ See Braund forthcoming. It is worth observing that, like the Scythians, the Spartans too had a reputation for the use of butter (*bouturon*): Plut. *Mor.* 1109b.

⁴ For a lucid discussion of the issues see: Gould 1989, 14–18.

in the Greek literary tradition in Homer, Hesiod and Aeschylus (see below).

The Scythians blind all the slaves for the sake of the milk which they drink, doing as follows. They take bone pipes, very similar to flutes, and placing them in the private parts of female horses they blow through them with their mouths: while some blow, others do the milking. And they say that this is why they do this: the veins of the mare are filled by the blowing and the teat is made to descend. And when they draw off the milk, they collect it in deep wooden vessels and having posted the blind slaves around the vessels, they stir the milk. They take off the top of the liquid, which they consider the more valuable, and the lower part which they hold less so. For this reason the Scythians blind all those that they capture; for they are not agriculturalists but nomads.

(Herodotus 4. 2)

The passage entails a number of problems, though these have been significantly reduced by Stephanie West's recent discussion, bringing to bear much comparative evidence on mare-milking.⁵ It remains less than totally clear why Herodotus considers that the Scythians blind their slaves "for this reason", but I at least am persuaded by West's argument that Herodotus means that the Scythians blind their slaves because they have limited use for them in their nomadic lifestyle, requiring them for mechanical tasks for which they have no need of eyesight, as in this passage. Here, very much *en passant*, Herodotus is seeking to account for a form of milk-processing which does not entail curdling with an additive, such as the fig juice or rennet noted by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 3. 20, 522b): it is the labour of blinded slaves that creates the curdling. At the same time, however, Herodotus does not make it entirely clear which roles are performed by the blind slaves: they evidently play a part in stirring the milk and may be thought to do much else (blowing, milking etc.), but Herodotus does not quite say so and West's view that they participate only in the separation-process seems to me to be very attractive.

⁵ West forthcoming. As she rightly observes, there remains much room for caution and query about the precision of the descriptions of the process and the terminology used by Herodotus and Hippocrates. In ancient terms, *koumiss* seems closest to the sour mare's milk mentioned by Strabo as their "relish" (*opsēma*, which resists adequate translation); see further below. At the same time, while comparative approaches are invaluable in offering insights and suggestions, all nomads are not the same: I am reluctant (perhaps wrongly so) to ascribe mistakes and misconceptions to Herodotus and Hippocrates on the strength of the practices of non-Scythians.

Indeed, that process was an extremely labour-intensive task, as Gavriluk's figures demonstrate: some 40,000 "beats" are needed to create a portion of koumiss. The Kalmyks around Astrakhan tackled the process three times a day, for an hour at a stretch.⁶

Herodotus' authorial decision to insert this vignette in his narrative (and in so prominent a position) remains to be understood satisfactorily. It may be enough that Herodotus is concerned to show different (and especially extreme) customs. He also has a sustained interest in slavery, part of his concern with freedom and power, as well as with the physical marking of slaves.⁷ The modern reader may be struck by the cruelty of Scythian practice in blinding their slaves, but there is scant sign of such an attitude in Herodotus' text. An apparent parody in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* may indicate that humour might have been as significant a response as horror in Classical Athens.⁸ Also relevant may be the ready association between milk and motherhood (as e.g. at Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 3. 2, 523a): after all the main theme here is the story of how the very slaves who worked the milk in Scythia slept with the wives of the absent Scythians and bred an army which the Scythians had to deal with upon their return.

Herodotus' description of the working of mare's milk in Scythia has a well-known counterpart in the Hippocratic corpus, where we are given more detail and some terminology. The author is seeking to describe the separation that occurs in the human body, in his view, as a result of extreme climatic conditions. In heat, he claims, the human being becomes hot and the humour in the body, all heated up, is stirred by the violence entailed. And if the human being is purged of the stirred humour, then he loses his superfluity of it:

This resembles the practice of Scythians with mare's milk. For they pour the milk into wooden vessels and agitate it. And as it is agitated it foams and separates. The fat, which they call butter (*bouturon*) separates to the surface, as it is light. But the heavy solids separate to the bottom and they set it aside and dry it. When it has become firm

⁶ Gavriluk (1987, 29), with further discussion of possible vessels, wooden and other, perhaps lined with skin.

⁷ See Bloomer 1993 with Braund 1998 for an extended discussion of Hartog 1988; on slavery, see esp. Hartog 1988, 332–5 and 253–4.

⁸ Aristoph. *Acharnians*, 860–3; on comic Scythians see: Hall 1989.

and dry, they call it "hippake". The whey of the milk lies in the middle. Similarly in the human being, when all the humour in the body is stirred, the principles of which I have spoken separate completely. The bile separates to the surface, for it is the lightest. Next comes the blood, third is the phlegm and last is the water which is the heaviest of these humours.

(*Diseases* 4. 51 [Littre p. 584])

The account is complementary to that of Herodotus, with which it is broadly contemporary, perhaps a decade or so later. However, there is no indication that either arises from the other or that they arise from a common source, beyond the shared mention of wooden bowls and an awareness of a process of separation (bipartite in Herodotus, but tripartite in this passage). There is no significant linguistic correspondence between the two passages. The authorial angle is quite different, of course: while this passage is concerned with separation, Herodotus focusses instead upon the Scythian use of blind slaves in the process of mare-milking and its aftermath.

At first sight, the Hippocratic introduction of the Scythian parallel to illustrate the medical condition might seem to suggest that the reader could be expected to be familiar with the Scythian practice. Yet only very vaguely familiar, at best, for the Scythian practice is set out in some detail. On balance, it seems to me unlikely that many readers will have been very sure about the Scythian practice beyond a general awareness of Scythian use of mare's milk and, very possibly, a vague familiarity with the special terminology (*hippake* and perhaps *bouturon*). Indeed, even in the matter of such terminology, the Greekness of the words is striking: these are not Scythian terms, though the Greek terms may be accurate translations of Scythian words. Moreover, while *hippake* seems appropriate enough in that it indicates a connection with horses, the term *bouturon* (approximately, "cow-cheese") seems singularly inapposite in this context *prima facie*. As for mare's milk itself, it is worth remembering that this was in use as a medical restorative in Greece proper. That, in turn, may help to account for a Hippocratic interest in its use among the Scythians (cf. Hipp. *Internal affections*, 3. 6. 28 and 32 for some of its medical applications; cf. Dioscorides 2. 71 and 75), while the Scythians themselves were of much interest to Hippocratic medicine as humans in a cold climate, valuable for the exploration of climatic influence, an issue germane to the quoted portion of *Diseases* (cf. *Airs, Waters, Places* and, it should be noted, Herodotus, 4. 29, amongst others). The

more one considers the matter, the less surprising is the inclusion of Scythians in a text such as this.

However, something is to be gained by bringing the two passages together. Herodotus states that it is the top of the separated milk that is valued most among the Scythians: this is the *bouturon* of the Hippocratic account. The *hippake* is less valued: evidently it is a kind of cheese. In the *Airs, Waters, Places*, we are told that the Scythians eat boiled meat and drink the milk of mares: "*And they eat hippake: this is cheese from mares*" (AWP 18). As usual, there is no mention here of the valued *bouturon*: it is *hippake* (and mare's milk in general) that attracts the attention of Greek authors and which becomes emblematic of the Scythian lifestyle, no doubt to a large extent because the word *hippake* (unlike *bouturon*) evokes horses.

Further, Strabo preserves a fragment of Aeschylus, no doubt from his Prometheus trilogy:

And Aeschylus is evidently sharing the position of the poet (*i.e.* Homer), saying of the Scythians:

"But eaters of hippake, well-ordered (*eunomoi*) Scythians"

And the same estimate still now persists among the Greeks. For we consider them the most straightforward of men and the least disposed to turn to evil, much more frugal than us and more self-sufficient.

(Strabo 7. 3. 7)

Both Aeschylus and, at some length, Strabo stress the positive features of the Scythian lifestyle, which is perceived not only as different, but also in a sense as better. The eating of *hippake* and, more broadly, the consumption of mare's milk are presented as entirely positive by Strabo and (as it seems) by the string of earlier writers from whom he quotes (Homer, Hesiod, Chrysippus, Ephorus; *cf.* more generally Choerilus of Samos), though he acknowledges, through the medium of Ephorus, that there was also a strong tradition that took a hostile view of the Scythians (Strabo 7. 3. 7-9). The position of Theopompus must be the subject of speculation, but thanks to Hesychius we know that he mentioned *hippake* (or at least sour milk) in the third book of his lost *Philippica*, which dealt with Thrace and the Pontic regions, embracing the expedition of Sesostris:

Hippake: A Scythian food from mare's milk. But some say sour mare's milk, which Scythians use. It is both drunk and eaten in solid form, as Theopompus states in the third book of the same account (the *Philippica*).

(Hesychius *s.v.* "*Hippake*")

Evidently, either Hesychius or Theopompus (or both) used *hippake* to mean not only mare's cheese, but also a drink made from mare's milk. At the same time, Hesychius seems to infer from his sources that *hippake* may be equated with sour mare's milk: whether he is correct in such an inference remains unclear. Strabo, who had read widely on the subject, as we have seen, distinguishes between *hippake* and sour mare's milk, though he is uncertain about the way in which the latter was produced:

... nomads, feeding on horse-meat and other types of meat, as well as mare's cheese and milk and sour milk (this is their relish, prepared somehow).

(Strabo 7. 4. 6)

The reasons for Theopompus' mention of *hippake* remain elusive. It was perhaps enough that *hippake* was central to the Greek image of Scythians and was firmly established as such in the literary tradition (including Herodotus, with whose work Theopompus was much engaged).⁹ *Hippake* was also credited with a utility that might have encouraged its inclusion: while Dioscorides describes it as "nutritious", Theophrastus gives more detail:

They say that the Scythians can continue for eleven or twelve days on *hippake* and *skuthike*.

(*Hist. Plant.* 9. 13. 2)¹⁰

Hippake was austere alterity at its best. For Greek audiences it combined practical utility with a localised simplicity of lifestyle. Other forms of cheese, such as that of Syracuse, might be the luxury food of the Greek world proper. But *hippake* is no luxury and is nowhere described as eaten by Greeks: it is the food of Scythians, and not a luxury even for them. Moreover, it is mare's cheese, evocative of the horses on which, in every sense, they were seen to live. While in the Greek world the possession of horses suggest wealth, status,

⁹ His account of Thrace and Sesostri's Scythian adventures, also in book three of the *Philippica*, surely owed much to Herodotus; cf. Christ 1993. The Thracians too seem to have been perceived as "butter-eaters" (*bouturophagoi*, if the emendation is right): Anaxandrides, *Protesilaus* fg. 42, Kassel-Austin.

¹⁰ *Skuthike* is a plant, perhaps a sort of liquorice. Its listing here with *hippake* seems to have misled the elder Pliny, who takes *hippake* to be another plant, though Theophrastus says nothing to indicate that he is using the term in anything but the standard sense: Plin. *NH* 25. 83, evidently explaining the name as arising from the effect of the "plant" on horses, as *skuthike* had an effect on Scythians (25. 82). Cf. Garland (1974, 279–81) for the excerpted evidence of Philo of Byzantium.

privilege and political power, among the Scythians their possession is mundane, a given feature of their simple lifestyle, with no suggestion of luxury or advantage.¹¹

At the same time, the production of *hippake* is a special form of knowledge, a customary process specific to the Scythians, a technology well-suited to their simple lifestyle. Pausanias extends the image to include the Sauromatians:

They all breed herds of mares... the Sauromatians being nomads. They not only use these mares for riding to war, but they eat them and sacrifice them to the local gods. They also collect hooves and clean them out and split them down to make them like snake-scales... They bore holes in these scales and sew them with horse-hair and cattle-hair to make breastplates no less good-looking than Greek ones and no weaker; they stand up to striking and shooting from close range.

(Pausanias 1. 21, Penguin transl.)

The pattern of thought is much the same in its essentials as the more widespread image of the neighbouring Scythians, to which it evidently owes a great deal—a nomadic and austere lifestyle, multi-functional horses, and readiness for warfare, together with an effective and specific simple technology.

Herein, I suggest, resides the explanation of the Greek tendency to credit the Scythians with *eunomia* and justice. As Herodotus hints in the first passage quoted above (4. 46), the Scythians are imagined as having created a lifestyle which is in harmony with their natural environment. The familiar contrast of *nomos* and *phusis* may apply even to the Scythians, but the distance between custom and nature is much shorter in their case than in that of civilised Greeks, to the extent that the contrast loses any force. Strabo's extended discussion confirms the point. He reports and approves the Ephoran view (itself validated through Homer) that Scythian nomads who live on mare's milk excel other men in their justice (Strabo 7. 3. 9). He further notes with regret the (supposed) corrupting and deleterious effects of exposure to Greek "civilisation" upon the justice of Scythian traditions (Strabo 7. 3. 7).

The familiar notion of the "noble savage" might reasonably be used to characterise Greek conceptions of Scythians. However, the

¹¹ Compare Matthews (1989, 337), who sets Herodotus' account beside other ancient accounts of nomads.

notion can only be a starting-point for the elucidation of an extremely complex range of accounts, from author to author and context to context. Unfortunately it tends more often to be used as a convenient dustbin into which texts on barbarians can be consigned, an end to further enquiry. In this paper I have focussed upon a feature of Scythian lifestyle which immediately problematizes the notion of "the noble savage". For example, to claim that *hippake* is a feature of the lifestyle of the "noble savage" is to raise awkward questions about its "nobility" or "savagery": neither term begins to suffice, not least because, as I have sought to argue, the key point about *hippake* (and its production) is its appropriateness to its context and to larger considerations about Scythian nomads.

At the same time, the more sophisticated methodology of existentialism, with its stress on the interaction of self and other, must be applied with nuance and caution, if "the other" is to be more than a vaguely-fashionable term for "the noble savage". As for *hippake*, it evokes both self and other for Greek audiences (and, in rather different ways, for modern readers). But then, so too, potentially at least, does every other aspect of human existence and interaction. The immediate task seems to me to be to explore the internal dynamics of images of Scythians, in part (as with *hippake*) and in whole, and to read each text in its context and with the dynamics of the image to the fore. In this paper I hope to have made a small contribution to that endeavour by interpreting *hippake* as part of that composite image, while at the same time giving some thought to the context of the Herodotean and Hippocratic texts upon which we principally rely.

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21. EARLY TYPES OF GREEK DWELLING HOUSES IN THE NORTH BLACK SEA

V.D. Kuznetsov

The chronological framework of this paper is confined to the initial phase of Greek settlements on the north coast of the Black Sea. Thus, practically we are talking about the Archaic period: from the 7th century B.C. (the Berezan settlement) to the beginning of the 5th century B.C. This period is the least studied in the history of the architecture of the ancient states on the Black Sea, and domestic architecture in particular. This is not accidental as the lack of archaeological material for investigation of the initial stage of colonising in the new lands is obvious. However, a particular view has been formed about the early types of Greek dwellings on the Black Sea, about which we cannot fully agree. The author, realising how complicated and controversial the problem is, naturally does not make his aim to answer definitely all the questions. His main goal is to dwell upon some significant details of this problem in the light of new archaeological material. In particular, it concerns the question about the types of dwellings dug into the ground (dug-outs and semi-dug-outs).

During the excavation of Greek cities in different parts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, remains of houses are usually found which are in a better or worse state of preservation. It would seem therefore, that the types of Greek dwelling have been well studied. But in reality things stand differently. We will start with the fact that the problem is many-sided. Because of the fact that during excavations it is mainly the foundations of buildings that are recorded, in the best cases, the lowest courses of a wall's masonry, archaeology gives us an idea mainly about the plan of a house, its dimensions and the disposition of the rooms. The attempts, then to identify the functional purpose of one room or another face serious obstacles, very often completely insuperable. This is due not only to the bad state of preservation of these rooms, but also to their being multi-functional. The main division in a Greek house was in the line of "male half"—"female half". However, it is never possible to record this archaeologically (Jameson 1990, 172, 185, 192). Furthermore, bearing in

mind that the written sources give very scarce information about the arrangements in a Greek house, the picture we are facing is not at all happy. As concerns the houses from the Classical and Hellenistic period, there is some progress in their study (Grandjean 1988; Chamonard 1922–1924; Robinson and Graham 1938; Robinson 1946; Graham 1974a; Graham 1974b; Pesando 1989; Jameson 1990, 171–195) but for the Archaic period the situation is more vague. This is due to insufficient study of the levels of the corresponding period as well as to the poor preservation of the level itself and the building remains within it.

The study of the houses in the Black Sea area has its beginning in the systematic excavations of cities and settlements. As in the Mediterranean, the houses of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods have been studied by far better than those of the Archaic period (Levi 1955, 215–247). Nevertheless, as a result of intensive excavation in the last decades, a considerable amount of new material has appeared which allows us to form an idea about the Archaic dwellings of this region. Furthermore, there is a predominant view among researchers that the earliest type of Greek dwelling on the North Black Sea were structures dug into the ground, dug-outs and semi-dug-outs. As, up till now, this question has not been subject to any critical study, we will try to look deeper into it.

First of all, we have to put the question about the definition of the terms “dug-out” and “semi-dug-out” put forward by S.D. Kryzhitskii, with which we concur.¹ Although there are significant differences between the structures called dug-outs and those called semi-dug-outs (at least from the formal side), we will not examine them independently. Besides, it should be pointed out that some scholars in practice assign to the category of semi-dug-outs some structures which go quite deep into the ground (more than 1–1.5 m),

¹ “Semi-dug-out—a construction dug more than 0.3 m into the ground, the supporting walls of which project above the level of the surrounding ground surface and which are formed by the sides of the foundation trench and a ground construction. The ground parts of the walls can be made of any kind of material. The roof cornice is above the level of the ground surface but is not high enough for the construction of a normal ground doorway. Dug-out—a construction dug into the ground as deep as its supporting walls which are the sides of the foundation trench. Moreover, facing of the walls is possible—wood, wattle and daub or stone (which is not a bearing construction). The roof cornice (when such is present) is usually at the level of the ground surface (or a little higher)” (Kryzhitskii 1982, 12; Kryzhitskii and Rusyaeva 1978, 3).

(Okhotnikov 1990, 10, 12; Mazarati and Otreshko 1987, 17) which in turn almost wipes out the difference between these two types of structure.² Furthermore, the number of buildings which can be identified as dug-outs according to the criteria stated by Kryzhitskii is not very large.

One of the most active supporters of the idea that in the initial stage of Greek settlement on the north shores of the Black Sea they lived in dug-outs and semi-dug-outs is Kryzhitskii. In one of his works he wrote:

After the discovery in the last decade at Olbia, in the territory of the Upper city, in the lowest cultural level, of a large number of dug-out structures (about 40), the attribution to the Greek colonists is beyond doubt and the question about the character of the earliest dwellings of the ancient north Pontic cities can be considered solved. (Kryzhitskii 1982, 11) (Fig. 1).

In his later book this view acquires a somewhat theoretical nuance:

Dug-out dwellings were a natural stage in the development of Greek architecture in the new conditions of the southern region of Eastern Europe. Their appearance is explained by a slow development of the economy of the Greek state and a retarded building industry. (Kryzhitskii 1993, 41).

Kryzhitskii finds that:

the dug-outs were a modification of the usual dwelling of a colonist—and as a rule one-chamber structures.³

The opinion that the structures dug into the ground represented the first stage of housing construction in the Black Sea is shared by other specialists. For example, according to L.V. Kopeikina above ground construction in Berezan started in the middle of the 6th century B.C. (Kopeikina 1981, 207). Y.A. Vinogradov thinks that in Myrmekion, founded in the middle of the 6th century B.C.,⁴ the transition from dug-out to ground dwellings took place at the end

² Marchenko and Domanskii consider as dug-outs "structures dug into the ground from 0.2 to 0.6 m the large wall of which ought to protrude above the surface" (Marchenko and Domanskii 1986, 49). Attention has to be paid to one circumstance: when defining the depth to which a (semi-) dug-out was dug, the measurements are taken from the level of the virgin soil and not from the ancient ground surface.

³ Kryzhitskii 1985, 59. In passing we will not note the unsuccessful use of the term "chamber": as far as they are talking about a house, more appropriate seems to use the word "compartment" or "room".

⁴ In my view, this event took place in the second quarter of the century as is shown by numerous finds (Kuznetsov 1991a, 33). Among the new materials *cf.* Vinogradov 1992, 104 figs. 3, 5, 6.

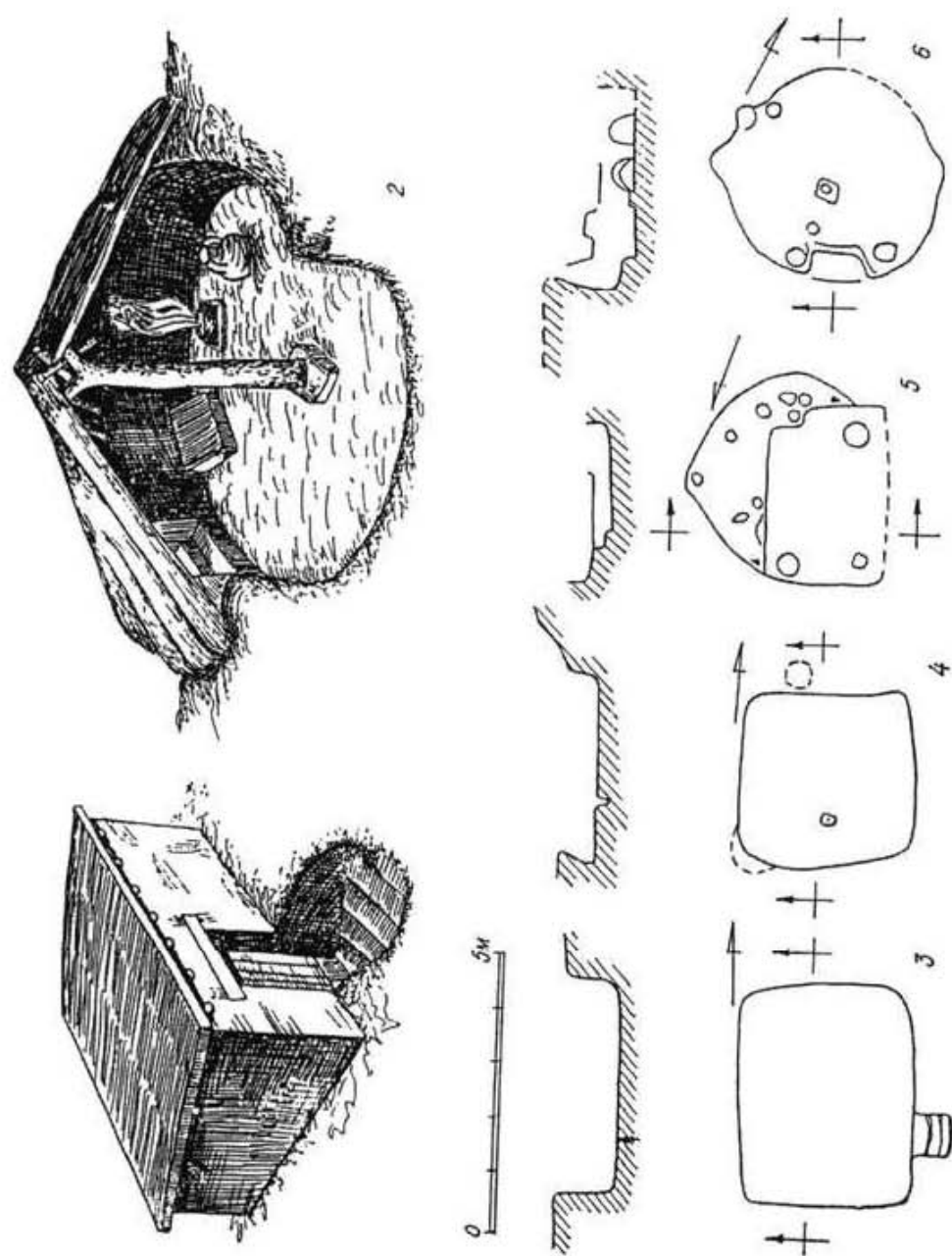


Fig. 1. Reconstruction (1-2) and plan (3-6) of dug-outs from Olbia (after Kryzhitskij 1993, 44).

of the 6th—the beginning of the 5th century B.C. (Vinogradov 1992, 105). K.K. Marchenko considers the radical transition made by the Olbiopolites from building dug-outs and semi-dug-outs to constructing ground mud-brick-stone buildings took place “some time in the beginning of the 5th century B.C.”⁵ Analogous views about some other cities are held by a number of other scholars (Alekseeva 1991, 11; Sekerskaya 1989, 49; Kutaisov 1990, 70).

What in fact do the dug-outs look like, found during excavation in the cities of the North Black Sea? In short, they are circular, oval, square or rectangular structures in plan, dug into the ground up to 2 metres and deeper. Based on the finds from excavation of a number of construction elements their exterior and interior appearance has been reconstructed. They have straight walls, sometimes daubed with clay or revetted with stone, one or only a few supporting props, pent or ridge roof, often there are stairs leading up inside. Inside the dug-outs so-called “couches” have been found, cut into the virgin soil which served, as some archaeologists suggest, as a sleeping place. In addition there are “small tables” which were left when the ground was dug out and were sometimes daubed with clay. From time to time hearths and stoves of different shapes have been found, as well as some other details. They vary between literally a few square metres to 10 times that in surface area.

So let us examine the basis for considering the dug-outs as being houses in general and as Greek houses in particular. Kryzhitskii writes that the dug-out structures were regional phenomenon of Eastern Europe throughout ancient history (Kryzhitskii 1993, 41). S.N. Mazarati and V.M. Otreshko stress that “the criteria for distinguishing living from husbandry rooms have not been established”. Nevertheless, they point out, correctly, that the rounded buildings were mainly for husbandry purposes as far as their small dimensions and shape make them inconvenient “for placing sleeping spaces”. The prop is also an obstacle in this respect. Some of the arguments of the authors, though, indicate the presence of some other issues. For example, in connection with a certain semi-dug-out, dug 1 m into the ground they write:

⁵ Marchenko 1982, 132. The answer to the question about the transition to above ground building in Olbia can be considered as commonly accepted (Kryzhitskii 1979, 11; Kryzhitskii 1982, 14).

Judging by the presence of a service pit and recesses in the floor, the lack of a hearth and the daubing of the floor, as well as the careless digging of the foundation pit, the building had a husbandry purpose. (Mazarati and Otreshko 1987, 15–16).

With regard to dug-outs and semi-dug-outs on the Lower Dniestr S.B. Okhotnikov wrote:

The evidence for most of the excavated structures as dwellings is mainly based on the presence of stoves, hearths and traces of portable braziers. The pisé platforms also provide indirect evidence for their use as living quarters (Okhotnikov 1990, 15).

In their turn K.K. Marchenko and Y.V. Domanskii stress that the difficulty of defining structures dug into the ground as dwellings

is accompanied by almost insuperable obstacles—and the complete lack of diagnostic information—and for that reason any interpretation is conditional... This circumstance is to be explained mainly by the absence of any trace of permanent hearth or oven, everyday 'small tables'—platforms in the form of rectangular banks of earth, clay enclosures, stone revetting, kitchen and everyday pottery in situ etc., *i.e.* all that... more or less is characteristic of living construction on the Lower Bug of the late Archaic period (Marchenko and Domanskii 1986, 53; Marchenko and Domanskii 1981, 71; Vinogradov and Marchenko 1986, 63).

These criteria defining structures dug into the ground as dwellings, reflect sufficiently the general attitude to the solution of this problem: admitting the complexity and ambiguity of its solution, with constant hesitation in stating the functional purpose of a given building because of the vagueness of the criteria, most specialists, nevertheless, have no doubts about the existence of Greek dug-out houses. It has to be pointed out that most of the scholars think in this respect "archaeologically". In other words, very often they do not want to get away from purely archaeological analysis of what has been found and to try and interpret the complex problem. However, it is necessary to put the following question: how convincing are the examples given above from the point of view of elementary logic and common sense? It has to be admitted that the level of cogency is not very high. Indeed, is it possible to call a pit with very limited dimensions a dwelling? So limited that it would have been absolutely impossible to stay in it for any length of time, if, moreover, one takes into consideration its rounded shape and the presence (if at all) of a supporting prop. Although attention has already been paid to this fact (Lapin 1966, 157–158), for some reason it is far from

always being taken into consideration. For example, Vinogradov reports the find of a "rounded semi-dug-out" with a ledge or a couch of 1.95 by 1.75 m which makes only 3.4 m² (Vinogradov 1992, 101). It is obvious that it would have not been possible to live in it. The photograph shown in the article (p. 103, fig. 2.1) leaves no doubt about the functional purpose of the structure: three pits cutting through each other. It was the bottom of one of these pits that formed the "couch". The cultural level of the Bosporan cities (*e.g.* such as Phanagoria, Kepoi, Hermonassa etc.) comprise a huge quantity of household and rubbish pits, which very often cut through each other forming similar "ledges". In favour of the opinion that these do not represent couches is at least the fact that very often one of two such pits "sitting" on top of each other is dated to the Archaic and the other one to the Roman period (as has been attested many times in Phanagoria and Kepoi).

And now for the details of construction used in arguments supporting the dug-outs' living character. Is the presence of such elements as stairs, daubing or revetting of the walls, holes for supporting props, "small tables", enclosures, rammed floor etc. any sort of proof? We ought to give a negative answer to this question. These structure details show the arrangement of the interior of the given structure but are not at all a deciding factor in defining its use as dwelling; indeed, it need be nothing of the sort. In other words these arguments are insufficient;⁶ even when there is a hearth, which for many is a convincing and definite argument. First of all, most are so badly preserved that it is difficult to talk about them as hearths at all.⁷ Secondly, many ovens and hearths were of household and production character (Okhotnikov 1990, 14–15, 50). Moreover, hearths (as they are often understood in archaeological literature, *i.e.* in the broad sense of the word, any place, built up or not, where there was fire), paradoxical as it may sound, testify rather to the non-living character of the rooms they are found in. Permanent hearths were, as

⁶ It is relevant to cite the example of one find in the area of the Corinthian gymnasium. Here was found a construction, which by itself was a pit 3.45 by 5.05 m large and 2.31 m deep. The walls of the pit were partly daubed with clay and partly faced with mud-brick. A staircase led inside. Some scholars' point of view is that there is good reason to consider this as a living building. However, C. Mattusch who published the complex, rightly interprets it as a pit for casting bronze statues (Mattusch 1991, 383–392, figs. 1–5, pls. 101–102).

⁷ Leipunskaya is right in pointing out that ovens and hearths of the Archaic period are practically not studied as a result of their very poor preservation (Leipunskaya 1986, 40–41).

is shown by the archaeological facts, a rarity in Greek houses. For example, in Delos they are practically unknown. In Olynthus in one hundred houses only eight hearths were found.⁸ This is due to the fact that a hearth needed for the most part to be in a special room—a kitchen. Otherwise, it would be highly inconvenient in everyday life, as functionally it would have taken up too much space, especially in such modest dwellings as Archaic houses. For this reason the Greeks normally used portable hearth-braziers.

Let us now turn to the question of the architectural appearance of the constructions.⁹ We will discuss later the rectangular buildings. For the rounded constructions it has to be noted that in Greece oval (as well as apsidal) houses of the Geometric period disappear in the 7th century B.C. and do not exist in later times (Drerup 1969, 93; Coldstream 1977, 304). In any case, it is houses on the ground we are talking about and not dug into the ground, or, even less, dug in to a considerable depth (Drerup 1969, 75, fig. 59). In the light of what has been said, the efforts to “revive” the rounded buildings of Homeric times in the Black Sea area in the 6th–5th centuries B.C. (and even later) seem very strange. Moreover, reconstructions of such “dwellings” look pretty exotic (Okhotnikov 1990, 8–9, fig. 3; Kryzhitskii 1985, 60, fig. 13).

Why are scholars so confident that at a particular stage in the history of North Black Sea architecture there existed houses, which were dug-outs or semi-dug-outs? There must be some objective reason behind such a point of view. One of the most important reasons (if not the most important) is that here we face a clearly archaeological attitude: speaking figuratively, its main principle is not to raise its eyes from the ground, not to try and judge the evidence within the context of Greek culture. In other words, it is silently accepted

⁸ A typical hearth for the preparation of food looked very fundamental. For example, in Olynthus they were 1.07–1.53 by 1.07–1.35 m in dimension (following the outer contour) and constructed of four elongated stone blocks (Chamonard 1922–1924, 180ff; Robinson and Graham 1938, 185–188).

⁹ Efforts to find in Greece analogies to the Black Sea dug-out dwellings have been unsuccessful. Nevertheless, for this purpose the evidence of Pausanias is used (10, 4, 1) about the Phocaean settlement Panopaeum (for example, Sekerskaya 1989, 44): “the inhabitants live here along the mountain stream in semi-dug-outs, which are more like mountain hovels”. However, it is not possible to agree with the translation of the phrase *en stegais* as “in semi-dug-outs”. It would be more correct to translate it as “in huts” or “in hovels”. Moreover, it is difficult to use Panopaeum for the solution of the question we are interested in, as it was in essence a mountain village (cf. Sekerskaya 1989, 158).

that if something has not been found it did not exist. As some structures have been found dug into the ground, and in the absence of surface buildings, inevitably the conclusion is drawn that part of these constructions served as dwellings (Marchenko and Domanskii 1986, 57; Marchenko and Soloviov 1988, 49). And the more widespread the hypothesis about dug-outs and semi-dug-outs as the earliest types of houses of Greek immigrants becomes, the more "victims" are needed: if in the beginning they were talking about the existence of ground level houses and semi-dug-outs (Levi and Karasev 1955, 217; Lapin 1966, 102, 158), now the view becomes stronger and stronger that the structures built into the ground are considered as the first period of the existence of Greek settlement (Kryzhitskii 1993, 41; 1982, 11, 19; 1985, 63; Kryzhitskii and Rusyaeva 1978, 24–25; 1980, 73, 84; Mazarati and Otreshko 1987, 8; Kopeikina 1981, 171; Tolstikov 1992, 62). The reasons for this phenomenon, which was completely uncharacteristic of Greek house architecture, were also found.

Kryzhitskii, for example, finds that

the use that the immigrants made in the initial stages of the adoption of new territories of the traditions of the dug-out house-building is a manifestation of a certain objective historical law... The features of the geographical environment new to the Greeks, the not very high level of development of their productive, technical and economic capacities in the initial stage of their settling in the region, led to the adoption of the local dug-out house-building tradition (Kryzhitskii 1982, 29; 1993, 41; Kopeikina 1975, 198).

According to V.V. Lapin the dug-out type of dwellings represents a concentrated materialisation of

the poverty of the people, who were deprived of their homeland and still had not found their new one. The working poor who immigrated from Greece into the North Black Sea area rebuilt their life from scratch, and for that reason they were quick to adapt to dependence on the climate and the insufficiency of building materials, and empirically found the right solution (Lapin 1966, 156).

Thus, the main reason that made the immigrants abandon their house-building traditions was the scant economic base, the lack of productive possibilities and even the shortage of qualified builders and the low level of building techniques (Kryzhitskii 1993, 51). For this reason, in conditions of a severe climate, the Greeks borrowed a type of house new to them (Kopeikina 1981b, 171) (according to Lapin they themselves "empirically" came to it). However, practically

all scholars agree that the dug-outs were temporary dwellings for the colonists. We will later return to the problem about the economic capacities of the new *apoikiai*. I now concentrate on the questions which arise in connection with the influence of the climate and the local house-building traditions.

The first question is whether, if under conditions of severe, as is often written, climate, it was necessary to build houses, very often deeply dug into the ground, they then after some time disappear and the usual ground level houses appear? Maybe the climate stopped being so severe? It is not likely that this can be accepted. If we are to explain the fact that the Greek houses in the Black Sea were dug into the ground because of the climate, then it would be necessary to admit that in Italy there were also severe winters, in so far as there are also known houses of the first colonists dug into the ground (Mertens 1990, 375). Further, in what way are we to imagine that local house-building traditions influenced the Greeks? The latter had to start settling down immediately. And so, did the immigrants send expeditions in the hinterland (and not nearby but to the forest-steppe area [Kryzhitskii 1993, 41]) in order to get acquainted with the local traditions? In order only to learn how to dig rectangular or square pits and make ceilings on top of them? It is hardly worth abandoning common sense, and forgetting that what we are talking about here are representatives of a civilisation which had centuries-old building experience, and in their homeland had built a number of magnificent structures (Lawrence 1983, 160ff; Pichikyan 1984, 75). It was not accidental that Herodotus called Miletus (one of the main metropoleis of the Black Sea *apoikiai*) "the pearl of Ionia" (5. 28). We can, of course, call the immigrants "the working poor", but they were hardly so helpless as not to be able to build houses for themselves similar to the ones they lived in at home. They knew what to expect when they sailed away from homeland shores, and that they could rely only on themselves. Otherwise we can only suppose that during their journey they forgot what they knew before. In general, behind unproved allegations about the immigrants' lack of economic possibilities, about the low level of their building techniques (which alone seems amazing), transpires an ambition to "drive" the potential of the colonists into humble dug-outs, and to find grounds for the hypothesis of these being their first dwellings.

As regards the statement that the dug-outs were temporary dwellings of the colonists, we have a paradoxical situation: in many *apoikiai*

these "temporary" dwellings existed over many decades. Kopeikina writes: "We know that until the middle of the 6th century B.C. in Berezan there were almost no ground level buildings" (1981b, 171; 1975, 188). If we start from the fact that Berezan was founded approximately in the middle of the 7th century B.C. (Kopeikina 1979, 106, 111), it turns out that the Greeks lived in dug-outs and semi-dug-outs for about a hundred years. They lived for approximately half a century in such conditions in Olbia (Kryzhitskii 1985, 60; Kryzhitskii, Buiskikh, Burakov and Otreshko 1989, 35). The number of the examples can be enlarged. It seems that the process of forming "building specialists" (Kryzhitskii 1985, 68) was prolonged a little. In this respect it is possible to say that, despite the whole complexity of the economic conditions and underdevelopment of the productive base, there are no reasonable grounds to think that the immigrants were not capable of building for themselves houses usual for their culture, no matter whether of stone or mud-brick. To the possibilities of such building we will turn now.

We must first ask ourselves what natural resources and what expenses in labour and time were needed to build a house typical for Ionia in the 6th century B.C. These houses, as is known, were not large (Kobylyna 1965, 59). Houses built of mud-bricks were widespread in the Archaic period.¹⁰ This was due in particular to the fact that mud-brick houses were cheaper than ones built of stone, and for their construction stones, which were in short supply in many regions, were not needed (or only a small quantity for the foundations). We have the testimony of some inscriptions about the fact that mud-brick building was cheaper than stone. It is not of prime importance that these inscriptions are of periods later than the Archaic (Classical and Hellenistic) as we are concerned not with absolute but with relative values. In general, we can say that building in mud-brick was no less than half as expensive as buildings in stone.¹¹ For example, in Delos in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. the officials of the temple of Apollo paid 9 drachmas and 5 obols¹² for the construction of a stone wall around the square *orgeon* in the Herakleion

¹⁰ The Greeks used to build not only their houses of mud-brick, but also a number of other constructions—starting with defences and ending with temples (Orlandos 1966, 51–52). For this reason they had perfect control of this material.

¹¹ It is true, though, that building of cut stone is concerned (Martin 1965, 62).

¹² Sometimes the difference was much bigger and for stone building the payment was 18 drachmas for a square *orgeon* (Martin 1965, 62).

and 3 drachmas 5 obols 9 chalkoi for the building of a mud-brick peribolos in the Asklepion (*IG XI 2, 287A.104-7*). Clay, appropriate for bricks, was present almost everywhere, at least in most cities in the Black Sea area.

One inscription is very important for our theme. This is a building report of the *epistatai* of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis (4th century B.C.). It reads: "To the carpenters, who built a wall from mud-brick around the gates and the tower and who worked wood (*ta xylina ergasamenoi*),¹³ three people eating at home,¹⁴ 2 drachmas 3 obols each, 187 drachmas 3 obols altogether; to the hired workers carrying the bricks to the tower and the gates, preparing the clay mixture, lofting up the timber and clay, six people, 1 drachma 3 obols each person eating at home, 225 drachmas altogether for 25 days" (*IG II/III² 1672.26-30*) (Kuznetsov 1989, 133). This passage allows us to calculate the efficiency of labour in building mud-brick walls since we know all the initial data (the number of the bricks,¹⁵ the number of the days spent for the work [25] and the people involved). Thus, one craftsman who was helped by 2 unskilled workers laid approximately 413 bricks ($31000:25:3 = 413.3$). This number must be considered as minimal, as these were slaves and were not interested in the results of their work. Nonetheless, we will proceed from it, assuming that in the Archaic period the efficiency was not any lower.

One more question. It is known that Vitruvius recommended that mud-bricks should be dried for two years (2. 3. 2).¹⁶ There are no reasons to suppose that the Greeks always followed this rule,¹⁷ and we have the right to doubt thanks to another passage from a building inscription. This time it is a Delian document dated 250 B.C. It reads: "Blepsios and Botrys made a contract to make bricks

¹³ Beams and frames (*Fahrwerk*), put into the mud-brick wall for strengthening (Müller-Wiener 1988, 64-65, Abb. 26).

¹⁴ *Oikositoi*, i.e. (in this case) slaves, rented for building works (Kuznetsov 1989, 139).

¹⁵ In lines 23 and 26 this quantity is given—31 000 pieces.

¹⁶ In order to accelerate this process, the mud-bricks were laid on reed mats (Orlandos 1966, 57). For the preparation of the mud-bricks no "production capacities" were needed, nor any special devices, except for a simple wooden frame, in which the mud-bricks were moulded.

¹⁷ In some cases when for one reason or another the building works had to be carried out quickly, different objects were added to the clay for the preparation of mud-bricks (including even coins, pottery and terracotta sherds etc.) (Orlandos 1966, 55).

and build (of them) (*poiesai kai oikodomesai*) the peribolos of the Archegesion, 6 drachmas 2 obols for (each) hundred; after 1450 bricks used in the work (*en to ergo*) were counted they received on the orders of the architect 93 drachmas 3 obols after the completion of the work" (*IG XI 2,287A.99–100*). How long could Blepsios and Botrys have worked? As this document is the yearly report of the *hieropoioi* (the officials of the temple of Apollo), the assumption follows that they could not have worked longer than a year. It can be assumed that the preparation of the bricks and their laying in the wall could have taken no longer than two to three weeks. Otherwise, the sum of the money they made would appear to be so small that there would be no sense in completing the work.¹⁸ Drying the bricks could have taken several months, for example.

To summarise the results: it can be supposed that the usual Greek house of the Archaic period, typical for the North Black Sea area, demanded for its building not very large quantity of bricks. As an example we will use a very well preserved house excavated in Phanagoria (to which we will often return). It was found on the upper plateau of the city (trench "Upper City") in 1978. Its dimensions were typical of an Archaic house, an area of approximately 12.5 m. As we will see below, its height was no less than 5 m. In each course there were about 27 bricks (their dimensions being 0.56–0.57 by 0.41–0.42 by 0.07 m), which makes approximately 2000 bricks (27 bricks by 72 rows—1944). This way, the walls of such house could have been built in about 5 days, as our calculations base on documents show. If we take into consideration the time spent on digging the foundation trench, the preparation of the bricks, and the construction of the roof, we can talk about several weeks. In the light of all these calculations we cannot talk about a year, and even less about several decades.¹⁹ The immigrants, having sailed to their new settlement, could easily, for a short period of time, stay in tents or on the ships, investigate the local supplies of clay where these were not known to them in advance and begin building the first

¹⁸ The author intends to dedicate a separate work to the problem about wages (its amount) of craftsmen working in construction of public buildings, based on epigraphical evidence.

¹⁹ Contemporary experience shows that mud-bricks can be made very quickly and no special qualifications are needed (Robinson and Graham 1938, 229). According to the evidence of building inscriptions, mud-bricks could be laid, practically, by anyone.

houses of mud-brick. It is important to point out that for this purpose no special production skills were needed. It was enough to have at their disposal some simple tools and clay (Orlandos 1966, 53ff).

Houses could also be built of stone. In principle it could not have taken much longer. Let us turn back to the inscription from Eleusis. In one place the obtaining of stone for the construction of the foundations of the tower is discussed (*IG II/III*² 1672.48–50). These stones are called *lithoi arouraioi*. It means that they were not obtained in a quarry but were collected from the surface.²⁰ The number of the stones is 304 and these were obviously quite large as they were used for a tower. They were acquired by five people in the course of approximately one month. This period is conducted from the fact that the record was made in the section concerning expenses during one of the *prytaneiai* which lasted, as is known, little more than a month (Bickerman 1975, 30; Tod 1985, 143–144). Therefore, obtaining the stones (which did not involve cutting) for the construction of a dwelling house did not take a considerable amount of time. Although this last example is to some extent conditional, it is very significant as it gives an idea about efficiency of labour and we are right to rely on it.

Thus, we have good reasons to draw the conclusion that references to the lack of possibilities for building houses by Greek colonists in the first decades of the existence of the *apoikiai*, due to lack of economic or productive capability, have no grounds and are refuted by the epigraphical documents.

However, if the colonists had the possibilities to build for themselves the usual ground level houses and if they really did build such houses, it follows that these should be found during excavation. The excavated houses in this case would themselves be argument enough against the idea about the dug-outs and semi-dug-outs. And although early ground houses are known (we will talk about these later), let us first consider the question about the preservation of the cultural level of the Archaic period.

The problem about the formation of a cultural level of ancient monuments is quite complicated and little studied. The literature almost lacks work on the subject (Blavatskii 1950, 55–59; Blavatskii 1967, 113–120; Lapin 1966, 79ff). Practically, only in the specialised

²⁰ The foundations of Olynthian houses were made of such stones (field-stones) (Robinson and Graham 1938, 223).

work by V.D. Blavatskii, it has been correctly noticed that a characteristic feature of the formation of a cultural level is its being saltatory (Blavatskii 1950, 57). However, we are interested in something else—the preservation of a cultural level. Here another very important thing has to be pointed out: its uneven preservation and periodical destruction. This first concerns the earliest and, correspondingly, the lowest level—the Archaic. It was this level that was first subject to destruction in the process of different building activities and numerous replannings that took place in the course of centuries. In cases where archaeologists manage to reach virgin soil (which itself is very difficult, given the thickness of the later level),²¹ they often report very bad preservation and even total lack not only of building remains, but also of the level itself. This remark applies to many Greek cities. For example, in Olbia which became a sort of a “firing ground” for proving the hypothesis about dug-outs as the earliest type of Greek house in the North Black Sea area, the earliest levels have preserved a very small number of building remains. This circumstance makes the solution of the question about the architectural appearance of the *apoikia* very difficult. The main difficulty for its resolution is, writes Kopeikina

the bad preservation of Archaic constructions. Even such settlements as Berezan and Olbia, where the Archaic level is very strong, the building remains of that time are fragmentary and it is only with vague assumptions that we can make any kind of conclusion about the planning of the city, about the arrangement and architecture of the houses (Kopeikina 1975, 188; 1976, 135; cf. Levi 1956, 42; Karasev 1964, 32, 49; Pruglo 1978, 45–46; Kryzhitskii 1987, 18, 24; Leipunskaia 1986, 29; Rusyaeva 1980, 37).

Extremely bad preservation of the Archaic level is characteristic also of many other cities (if not the majority of them) (Blavatskii 1960, 169; Marchenko 1968, 27, 42; Tolstikov 1992, 59; Sekerskaya 1978, 27; Sekerskaya 1989, 20–21; Vinogradov 1991, 73; Kuznetsov 1991, 36; Lapin 1966, 78–79). Lapin suggested that one of the reasons was the fact that the early level was often destroyed by basements and pits dug deep into the ground.²² This is indeed so. However, we

²¹ For example in Hermonassa (Zeest 1961, 53; Korovina 1984, 81) where the thickness of the level extends over 10 m or in Phanagoria where it sometimes reaches 6–7 m.

²² Lapin considered basements as characteristic of the North Black Sea building techniques, a result of the severe climate (Lapin 1966, 79–80). We can hardly agree

should not confine ourselves only to this explanation. First of all we should point out that in the course of existence of one city or another different replanning and levelling took place on its territory, which were connected with different events destroying earlier levels. These were reported many times during excavations (Blavatskii 1969, 175; Kryzhitskii 1982, 17; Kopeikina 1979, 197; Alekseeva 1991, 13; Kuznetsov 1992, 32). For example, Blavatskii writes that during the excavations at Panticapaeum traces of major destruction and restoration work connected with them were recorded many times, remarking furthermore that "the earliest level were often razed to the virgin soil".²³ Moreover, very important in this respect was a significant factor in Greek building techniques, *i.e.*, when building large public buildings as well as private houses it was a rule to try and put the foundations on solid ground. As a result of this the builders sometimes dug the foundation trench down to the rock base or to virgin soil, in other cases—after levelling the surface intended to be built on, different substructures were made.²⁴ Apart from the archaeological examples given by R. Martin (which is surprisingly unused in Russian archaeological literature), we can give epigraphical examples which not only support what has already been said, but also widen our knowledge of building techniques. In the same inscription from Eleusis which is so rich in information concerning our problem, there is a report about the construction of a house of mud-brick,²⁵ which was intended for a priestess (*ten oikian tes hiereias*). Although the inscription is highly fragmented in this place, the information most important to us has been preserved: "120 sacks with finely chopped straw (*achyron sakoi*) from Artimas and Manes for the construction of the wall as well for the house of the priestess and the *epistasion*,"²⁶

with this, even if only because such constructions are also being found in the cities of Continental Greece (Hellmann 1992a, 260).

²³ Blavatskii 1960, 175. Sokolskii writes about the excavated 2250 m² section, where "almost all remains from early constructions have been demolished, if they have not been dug into the ground" (Sokolskii 1961, 34).

²⁴ In more detail *cf.* Martin 1965, 308–314. Such substructures were also recorded in the Black Sea cities (Kobylyina 1983, 51–52; Kopeikina 1975, 188, 194–195; Karasev 1964, 54; Kuznetsov 1992, 30).

²⁵ Evidence for this is not only the straw which was bought for the production of the mud-bricks, but also the word *plinthoi* on line 78.

²⁶ The wall and the *epistasion* (*i.e.* the building which served as head-quarters of the *epistatai*, responsible for the building works in a sanctuary) have no relation to the house of the priestess—they are just being built at the same time.

1 drachma 3 obols for a sack, 180 drachmas altogether; to the hired workman [such and such], living in the deme of Alopeke, for the clearing of the plot (for the building) of the priestess' house 125 drachmas; [to such and such] who took the earth out, 60 drachmas pay; to the hired workman who took to pieces the old foundations and took out (the stones) and [cleared] the place down to the bed rock (*epi to steriphon*), [such and such] living in the deme of Eleusis, 67 drachmas; to the hired workman, who made the foundation of the ho[use of the priestess ———], in all money to Neoklides 150 (+) drachmas. . bricks [———]" (*IG II/III*² 1672.73–8).

Thus, before building the house, the building remains of earlier times were first taken to pieces and then a foundation pit was dug down to virgin soil. But a cultural level and the buildings connected with it were subject to destruction not only in this way. Not only stone constructions were taken to pieces (because of its lack in a particular region or for some other reason) but even mud-brick walls. Moreover, bricks were either used again or were broken into pieces and crushed for the preparation of new bricks. These unique pieces of information we find in the following two passages: 1) "To the hired workmen who took the bricks out of the old demolished tower for the wall according to the decree of the Council, and the earth (*choun*) for the theatre and who crushed the clay lumps, thirty people for four days, 1 drachma 3 obols each man a day, eating at home, 180 drachmas altogether; to the hired workman Daos, living in the deme of Kydathenaion who took to pieces the foundations of the tower and cleared (the place) down to the rock base (*epi to steriphon*), 48 drachmas" (*IG II/III*² 1672.44–47). 2) "To prepare 14000 half-foot bricks from the tower"²⁸ (*IG II/III*² 1672.55–6).

These facts explain why, during the excavation of Archaic levels, remains of houses and other ground surface constructions are rarely found: after levelling (if such took place) the mud-bricks were carried out of town or were used again.²⁹ As concerns surface levelling

²⁷ In this context this term, obviously, denotes the mass formed by the collapsed mud-brick (Ginouves and Martin 1985, 44).

²⁸ *Plinthoi ai elkystheisai apo tou pyrgou triemipodioi*: MXXXX. In other words, 14000 new mud-bricks had to be prepared out of ground mud-brick, of which the old tower was constructed. 30 labourers were engaged in preparing the clay mass, mentioned in the previous passage.

²⁹ We will cite one more example in which the demolition of a wall is referred to: "To the hired worker Philokleios, who lives in the deme of Koridalle, having demolished the crossing wall, the towers, the gate and the long wall? around the

Phanagoria gives us a very interesting and significant example. Here, on the upper plateau in the Archaic level were found remains of mud-brick houses and other construction, from the second half of the 6th–the beginning of the 5th century B.C.³⁰ The level was then covered (obviously in the first half of the 5th century B.C.) by a substructure of very compact dark clay. On the surface of this substructure lies the 2nd–3rd century A.D. level. The levels of the Classical, Hellenistic and Early Roman periods are absent. They were destroyed as a result of numerous re-plannings. The Archaic level was not destroyed for the simple fact that the substructure prevented this: every time when levelling, the builders reached it, and did not go down in search of virgin soil, as it satisfied their demand for stability. It is indeed to this that we are obliged for the preservation of the early level. We have already discussed the levelling activities recorded in different cities. These could affect considerable areas³¹ or even be total.³² In this respect, of considerable interest is the following note which concerns the urbanisation of the newly hatched *apoikiai*. It shows that at first the immigrants built up their settlements without any system or any particular plan. After that came the “second phase” when, after some time (for example after a couple of generations), the colonists, having made certain of their security, carried out a more rational organisation of the territory of their city, which was accompanied by massive re-planning activities (Trillmich 1990, 371). As a result, only structures dug into the virgin ground (pits, [semi-] basement constructions and what are called dug-outs and semi-dug-outs) could survive from the earlier level. The hypothesis of the “second phase” seems very attractive, not so much because it is logical, but also because the archaeological facts support it. However, its universality can hardly be insisted on.

All that has been said above, including the archaeological and epi-

house of the town-criers? next to the small gate opposite, 300 drachmas” (*IG II/III*² 1672.23–5).

³⁰ The plan of the Archaic quarter is partially published (*Ancient States of the North Black Sea*, Moscow 1984, 136, table 38, 4).

³¹ As for example at Berezan (Kopeikina 1979, 192, 197).

³² Such could have been the situation in Phanagoria on the plateau already mentioned. Here, on the ground sand were found houses built in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., whilst from the building complexes of the time of founding the city (the middle of the century) are preserved only those which were dug into the ground (pits in particular). In Kepoi, as a result of levelling works in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., the entire level of the first half of the century was destroyed and material was preserved only in pits (Kuznetsov 1991b, 37; Sokolskii 1975, 616).

graphical examples, give evidence of one thing: the cultural levels of a Greek city, and especially the earliest ones, were constantly subject to destruction by their citizens. This fact should by no means be forgotten when discussing the characteristics of different sides of the life of any settlement. This same conclusion applies also to the characteristics which we give to the Archaic Greek house. But despite the bad preservation of the levels, we possess a representative selection which allows us to acquire a general idea about the types of dwellings in the Archaic period.

Greek houses of the Archaic period, built of two main building materials, stone and mud-brick, are not only known from excavation in numerous cities of the North Black Sea area, but are also described in detail by many academics (Kryzhitskii 1982, 11–30, 47–48, 58–66). Let us recall that houses of the 6th century B.C. were found in Berezan (Kopeikina 1975, 190–191, 196; 1979, 197–198), Olbia,³³ Nikonion (Sekerskaya 1989, 29–30; 1978, 27–28), Kerkinitis (Kitaisov 1990, 63, 70), Panticapaeum (Blavatskii 1957, 13–14, 16–19; 1960, 173; 1964, 28–29; Marchenko 1984, 29–42; 1984, 10–16), Tiritake (Gaidukevich 1952, 74–77, 85, 88–89), Myrmekion (Vinogradov 1991, 73), the supposed site of Kimmerik (Kruglikova 1962, 62–66; 1975, 32–36), Nymphacum,³⁴ Hermonassa (Zeest 1961, 53), Gorgippia (Alekseeva 1991, 12–13), Kepoi (Sokolskii 1975, 616–617), Patraeus (Abramov 1994, 128), Phanagoria.³⁵ In many cities the houses that were found during excavation date from the end of the Archaic period, but earlier houses are not exceptional (for example in Panticapaeum, Nymphacum, Kepoi, Patraeus).³⁶ One fact is enough to throw strong doubts on the hypothesis about the dug-outs as the

³³ We can hardly consider convincing Levi's argument in favour of the buildings excavated by her being public in character (Levi 1978, 38). According to Kryzhitskii and Nazarchuk the construction discovered by them was "parade" in character, although this remains rather difficult to understand (Kryzhitskii and Nazarchuk 1994, 99–106).

³⁴ There cannot be any doubt that the constructions that Khudyak (1962, 18, 13–16, 43–46) takes to be sanctuaries (of Demeter and Aphrodite) were in fact houses, as is indicated also by their plans (*cf.*: Koshelenko and Kuznetsov 1990, 83–84; Kryzhitskii 1982, 63–64).

³⁵ The result of the research carried out in the trench "Upper City" have not been published.

³⁶ According to the kind information of A.P. Abramov, in Patraeus a house was discovered, standing on the ground, constructed of mud-bricks, but its study has not finished yet. On the floor were found fragments from a Fikellura amphora (third quarter of the 6th century B.C.) and from an Ionian cup, type B2 (580–540 B.C.).

first type of a Greek house: that the first houses appear in the initial period of the immigrants' settlements. Indeed, if the colonists were able to build houses usual for them, why did they need to live in "dug-out" dwellings which very often were unsuitable.

Early Greek houses consisted mainly of one room and covered a surface of a few to a few tens of square metres. From time to time houses consisting of two, three and even four rooms occur. We will not concentrate on describing Archaic houses technically because to a great extent this has already been done. We would better turn to another question which provokes certain problems. One of these is that the early houses were often dug into the ground. This gives some scholars reason to call them semi-dug-outs. Can we agree with such characterisation? I cited above the definition given by Kryzhitskii to the semi-dug-outs, which does not allow us to mix up semi-dug-outs and houses dug into the ground. Let me fill in more details of this definition.

All the constructions dug into the ground can be divided in two groups. To one of them belong buildings having walls (built of stone or mud-brick) laid down at the bottom of a foundation trench, which was dug in advance, and rise to the necessary height.³⁷ To the other belong buildings which do not have such stone or mud-brick walls in the foundation trench. Sometimes there may be such walls (as is attested by some archaeologists), but their base lies at the level of the ground surface. Can we consider these two types completely identical? We have hardly any serious reasons for doing so. If only because in the first case a house is concerned, built according to the Greek building techniques, and in the other, a structure which does not have even proper walls (in any case in its lower part). I shall cite two cases.

I mentioned above the house excavated in Phanagoria. For its construction a foundation trench was dug, the bottom of which lay at 0.60–0.70 m from the ground surface. The walls of the house, made very of carefully laid mud-brick resting on the bottom of the foundation trench did not have a foundation and rise up parallel to the walls of the foundation trench. At the eastern side there an entrance was constructed which was actually a small corridor, leading within, the walls and stairs of which were made with bricks and

³⁷ Kryzhitskii calls these semi-basements houses (Kryzhitskii 1982, 65).

a doorway. At the level of the lower stair there was a wooden two-leaved door which had fallen inside the room. It was preserved in the form of burnt timbers and square beams as a result of the fire that destroyed the house. Metal hinges were found on which the door leaves must have hung and allowed them to open and close.

The second example concerns the majority of the semi-dug-outs found in the North Black Sea area. I will not give a summarised description but only underline one detail characteristic of them: it is the lack of "wall daubing" (Kryzhitskii 1982, 12; 1993, 42). In other words, the assumption has been that the walls of the foundation trench represented walls for the semi-dug-outs. Let us ask the question: can we imagine a house (especially one with limited surface, for example 6 m²) with earthen walls in which people could live for years and often decades? This is surely impossible, if not because it contradicts common sense. The walls of such a "living" building would crumble and quickly become useless, even if only because of the activities of the people living there, who would anyway be having great difficulties fitting in. No matter how much we demote the abilities of the Greek immigrants in building work (Kryzhitskii and Otreshko 1986, 13; Kryzhitskii 1993, 51), we have to leave them at least the possibility of making simple things. For example, to daub with clay.

Thus, taking into account the differences between the constructions dug into the ground, we cannot assign to the same category both semi-dug-outs³⁸ and houses built of stone or mud-brick, following the Greek house building tradition known to us in particular by the excavation of Kalabak-tepe (Miletus). It is quite a different matter to determine why these houses were dug into the ground. It is usually considered that it was due to the severe climate of the North Black Sea area in comparison with Greece (Lapin 1966, 156; Kopeikina 1981b, 171). Without pressing on this question, we only repeat that some time later the houses are built on the ground surface under the conditions of the same climate. The question about the outside appearance of the houses dug into the ground may be partially resolved, though. Let me turn to the archaeological evidence.

³⁸ It is necessary to take into consideration the term "semi-dug-out" itself, which carries the stamp of something temporary, something of poor quality, "not real" in comparison with a "real house".

The example of the houses found in Panticapaeum show that in the North Black Sea area in the period of settlement there were ground surface houses with basements. Logically, it leads to the question: were not all rooms dug into the ground in fact basements (or semi-basements)? Obviously, for the time being a simple answer to this question is not possible. However, there are additional facts in our possession which show that the houses from Panticapaeum are far from being unique. We turn to Kepoi. Here, N.I. Sokolskii excavated a house with a basement, which was built in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. (Sokolskii 1975, 616–617). The mud-brick walls of the basement were dug into the ground deeper than 2 m. The ground surface part of the house was not preserved. The inner space of the basement was divided in four by two walls, which shows its non-living character, so it becomes clear that above it there was a ground surface living room. At the same time the house from Kepoi shows the technical possibility to build out of mud-brick a two-storey house, evidently more than 4 m high (the width of the mud-bricks and so of the wall is 0.47 m). Sokolskii remarks that the construction of the walls was very sound and subject to minimal deformation in spite of its being built on sand.

At the same time the possibility of building two storey houses out of mud-brick should not be doubted. There were no obstacles to this. Mud-brick is very solid building material which can sustain great loads.³⁹ As a proof we can point out the well known fact that in Olynthus the two-storey buildings were constructed of mud-brick laid on top of stone foundations. Moreover, the roofs of the houses were made of tiles (Robinson and Graham 1938, 223–234).

Now let me go back to the house from Phanagoria. The example of the house from Kepoi suggests that this construction was also a non-living basement. Let us see whether we can prove it. The four walls of the construction were preserved to the height of 0.91 m, 1.03 m and 1.58 m. Thus, the average height of the walls is 1.18 m.

³⁹ According to reference books, it is capable of sustaining weight of 25 kg/cm². Moreover, in a climate with a minimal temperature of minus 10 degrees, the width of the walls had to be no less than 0.25 m, and at –20 degrees—0.38 m. We will also point out that contemporary burnt bricks sustain weight of 35 kg/cm². This evidence coincides with the American calculations, according to which mud-brick sustains weight of 28 kg/m² and it is possible to build two storey houses out of bricks from 0.30 to 0.46 m wide. This is confirmed by ethnographic evidence from modern Greece (Robinson and Graham 1938, 228–229).

The number of bricks preserved is 480. The entire room was filled with mud-bricks which fell inside during the fire. Moreover, on top of the remains of the house there was a layer of bricks which had turned into a solid clay mass. The entire height from the floor of the building sometimes exceeds 2 m. If we are to calculate only part of the mass which was found inside and above the building (*i.e.* on 12.5 m²), we can estimate quite accurately the number of bricks lying here. The bulk of the clay mass is 25 m³ (12.5 by 2 m). In order to estimate the number of bricks composing this mass, it is necessary to divide the above number by the cubic volume of one brick which is 0.0167 m³ (0.42 by 0.57 by 0.07 m). We obtain about 1500 bricks altogether. If 480 bricks were needed for the construction of the four walls of our room with average height of 1.18 m each, then from 1500 bricks it would be possible to build walls more than three times as high. Thus, the height of the walls of the house from Phanagoria reached 5 m at least.⁴⁰ As this is far too much for a one-storey building, it follows that the house consisted of a basement (or semi-basement)⁴¹ and a living room above it. A staircase was constructed along the wall of the house to lead to the ground part of the house, which rose above the surface of the ground, as is done today, for example, on the Greek islands of the Aegean.

The differences between the houses from Phanagoria and Kepoi and analogous ones from Panticapaeum consists of the fact that the walls of the (semi-) basements of the latter were made of stone. We can hardly agree with Sokolskii that the Archaic houses excavated by him in the territory of Panticapaeum were divided into two types: large houses with basements and small houses dug into the ground (Sokolskii 1961, 39). It is evident that we are dealing with one and the same type—a house consisting of a (semi-) basement and a ground surface room. The number of such houses is not confined to the examples given above. During the excavations at Panticapaeum and Phanagoria buildings regularly appear dug into the ground, filled

⁴⁰ It has to be noted that we do not take into account the space occupied by doors and windows, which would increase the number of bricks used for the construction of the walls and, respectively increase their height.

⁴¹ The depth of the floor is measured not from the level of the today's surface, which was not recorded, but from the level of the virgin soil. Hence, it means that in antiquity the basement was deeper than it seemed to the academics.

with a large number of mud-bricks, which testifies to the existence of ground level storey.⁴²

Thus, although these facts cannot prove that all parts of a building dug into the ground found during excavation were necessarily (semi-) basements, above which there were living rooms, they show convincingly that such houses were not rare in the Archaic period in the North Black Sea area. But, speaking strictly, owing to the bad preservation of the early level, we are not to expect a great number of such examples. Those parts of the houses which were dug into the ground had two functions. The first consisted of basements being used as stores for products and also as working rooms (this is why fire could be used in them). In Greece basements were never habitable (Hellmann 1992a, 260). Moreover, a basement played the role of air insulation which prevented the dwelling room in top of it cool down, it separated the latter from the cold earth. In this line of thought (responding to the explanation of the houses dug into the ground as due to the severe climate) it has to be pointed out that mud-brick was very effective building material also because it was good at keeping heat.⁴³ For this reason it was not necessary to dig the houses into the ground. Houses built of mud-brick were covered very carefully with a special water-proof solution which could be laid on in several layers and then whitewashed (Hellmann 1992b, 37–42). Covered with such plastering, the house let through neither moisture, nor cold, and with proper care people could live in it for decades.⁴⁴ Such a house could then be covered using the most effective means the Greeks had—tiles, which are sometimes found when excavating Archaic houses.⁴⁵

⁴² In Phanagoria no less than five houses were excavated, which were covered by a thick layer (up to 1 m) of collapsed mud-brick (*cf.* Sokolskii 1961, 36). Sokolskii accepted that house 1 consisted of two rooms (covering 5 and 4.3 m² area). But it is rather only the basement that was divided in two parts (as is shown by the example from Kepoi), while the ground room above it remained single and its area was 9.3 m². Using the hearths as an argument supporting the view that these two rooms were habitable and not a basement, is not convincing, as far as “remains of hearths” as a criterion for the determination of a building being a dwelling or not is highly debatable (see above): fire could be made for different reasons and not only in living rooms (for example, remains of a hearth were found in one of the Olbian Archaic basements: Kopeikina 1975, 194).

⁴³ The variation of temperature inside the mud-bricks was not very great at different times of the year (Robinson and Graham 1938, 229, n. 26).

⁴⁴ The Archaic mud-brick house excavated in Phanagoria in 1994 had inside it a yellowish daub 2–3 cm thick, which could be pierced only after considerable effort.

⁴⁵ Sokolskii 1961, 36. It must be noted that we cannot insist that tiles are fre-

The second function concerns a construction factor: walls which were dug quite deep into the ground were able to sustain greater pressure than those set on top of the ground surface.

Apart from the constructions made of stone and mud-brick, there are also buildings made of wattle and daub, for example from the North-Western Black Sea littoral (Mazarati and Otreshko 1987, 12–14; Kryzhitskii 1982, 20). Not long ago during excavation at the southern outskirts of Phanagoria wattle and daub buildings were found. I look at these in more detail.

The southern outskirts of Phanagoria started to be built up from the first years of the 5th century B.C. Before that the Archaic necropolis was there, to judge by several graves, dating to the second half of the 6th century B.C.⁴⁶ In the level above virgin soil were recorded badly preserved remains of some constructions made of wattle and daub (Fig. 2). One of the best preserved buildings ("house 2") consisted of four adjoining rooms. Their surface was about 20, 18.5, 28 and 28 m² respectively. Thus, the total surface area of the whole building was about 94.5 m² (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, 113–114). To the southern side of the rooms adjoined areas which were also fenced with wattle and daub walls. The excavators call these yards. In the middle of the four rooms of "house 2" there were hearths (according to the terminology of the authors). In the other houses, 11 in total, such hearths were not recorded. Four of the wattle and daub constructions were built on top of the ground. They date from the 5th century B.C. The remains of the rest were recorded in the later cultural level (approximately from the middle of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century B.C.).

Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov suggest that these constructions were temporary dwelling houses, built by the Greek immigrants who came

quently found during excavation. For the Greek tiles were in the category of portable belongings and, for example, were taken down from the roofs when changing the living place (if renting was in mind) (Hellmann 1992b, 201). Naturally, tiles were taken down from houses at the end of their existence. What is most important is that tiles were considered as extremely valuable, as is shown by the following passage: "(to the worker), who carried the pieces of tile to the agora, 1 drachma 3 obols; to the crier 1 obol" (*IG XI 2, 287A.77*). Thus, broken tiles were taken to the square where the crier made a public sale. Another record is also interesting: "from the sale of old tile—9 drachmas 2 obols, Antilakos bought it" (*IG XI 2, 144A.21–2*).

⁴⁶ In a recent article inaccurate data are given about the number of ancient graves found there: in fact there were found not 100 (Treister and Vinogradov 1993, 557), but 10.

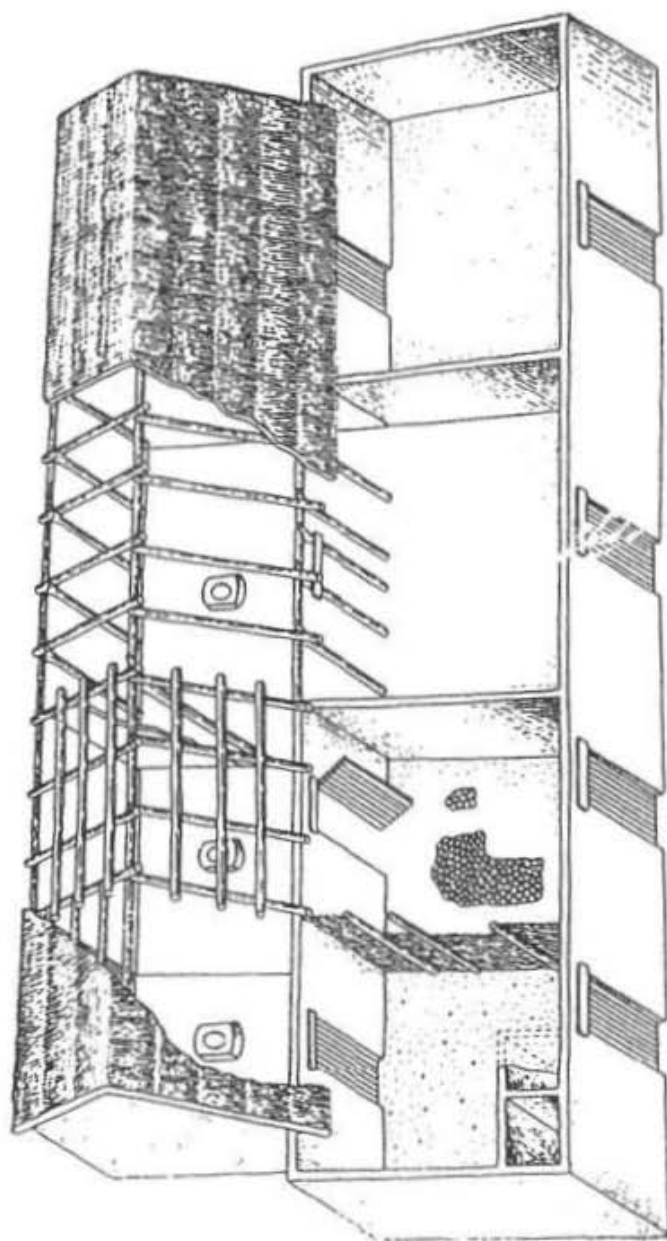


Fig. 2. Isometric drawing of wattle and mud-brick building from Phanagoria (after Treister and Vinogradov 1993, 557).

to Phanagoria after the defeat of the Ionian revolt against the Persians (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, 130–131). The authors are trying, and very unconvincingly, to show that such constructions were without any doubt Greek houses (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikova 1993, 130). There is no doubt that wattle and daub constructions were known to the Greeks (Müller-Wiener 1988, 64–65, Abb. 26A). But can we assert that the Phanagorian buildings were dwelling houses? The material that was published⁴⁷ allows us to give a negative answer to this question.

If we start only with the fact that the plans of the Phanagorian wattle and daub buildings is far from the plans of known Greek houses, including those from Phanagoria: the elongated constructions, divided in sections recall rather some sort of husbandry buildings. Their owners had no need to live in them, since for this purpose they were able to build houses of mud-brick. It is not accidental that next to the wattle and daub constructions there were found mud-brick houses (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, 127). The thesis that these were temporary dwellings also needs to be questioned: on the sites of some of these constructions, after the end of their use, analogous new ones are built, and one of them was even built on top of the ruins of a mud-brick house (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, 127–128). In this complex situation, wattle and daub constructions survived in this area no less than a hundred years (beginning of the 5th–beginning of the 4th century B.C.). For this reason, it is not possible at all to talk about any temporary nature of these “houses”.

Without going further into the list of weak points in the interpretation of the wattle and daub constructions as dwelling houses (which could be continued), we will try to specify their functional purpose. In this I rely on the finds in the above described constructions. For example, in “house 2” there were found fragments of a melting pot with some drops of bronze that dripped over, and a large quantity of bronze slag as well as a variety of bronze objects. “All this,—write the authors,—without any doubt attests bronze-casting production, with which, most probably, were connected the remains of a kiln (?) in one of the rooms. Bronze slag was also found in ‘house 7’” (Dolgorukov and Kolesnikov 1993, 114). It has to be pointed out that during the excavation in the southern outskirts of Phanagoria

⁴⁷ Also the personal impressions of the author who for many years has participated in the excavation at Phanagoria.

there were very frequent finds connected with craftsmanship (waste pottery vessels, moulds for the production of terracotta statuettes, bronze and iron slag). A little to the west of the sections where the wattle and daub constructions were found, in 1983 a workshop (5th century B.C.) was discovered. Here were found remains of a wattle and daub wall, a kiln, ready, but still not fired terracotta statuettes and a mould for their production.

Bearing in mind all these facts, as well as the discoveries made by M.M. Kobylina which testify to intensive craftsmanship activities in this section of the settlement (Kobylina 1953, 124–127; 1966, 172, 186; 1967, 124–129; 1969, 104; 1970, 69–72), we can say with certainty that the newly found wattle and daub constructions were not dwelling houses, connected with the new wave of settlers from Ionia. They were constructions built for craftsmen's needs, in which blacksmiths, bronze-casters, potters worked.⁴⁸ The presence of smelting and pottery kilns was a factor which, because of the risk of fire, made it necessary for these workshops to be placed on the outskirts of the town.

To conclude: Greek colonists had two ways of planning the territory of a future town. The first consisted of a total planning of the area before building, in which case streets, quarters, squares, areas for temples etc. were planned in advance. Megara Hyblaea is usually given as the most prominent example in this respect.⁴⁹ The second consisted of building up the living area without any system in the first stage. So far as is known to me, up till now we do not have any convincing proof that any of the North Black Sea cities were built following prior planning. So, there are reasons to believe many of them were built in the earliest period of their existence without any preliminary planning. At a certain stage in the life of the newly built *apoikiai* a re-planning of the city territory takes place,

⁴⁸ In connection with this, the reconstruction of the outside appearance of the wattle and daub constructions given by the authors of the publication is very dubious. It is not impossible that the two rows of rooms, distinguished by wattle and daub walls were not rooms and yards adjoining them. The "rooms" most probably did not have roofs as kilns were found (obviously for metal casting).

⁴⁹ Cf. Vallet, Villard and Auberson 1976; Di Vita 1990, 348ff. About the differences between the two types of organisation of the town space, one of which is represented by the Greek cities in Italy (Megara Hyblaea, Metapontum, Selinous etc.) (which can be called depressive) and the other one of the metropoleis of the Black Sea cities, Miletus (unitarian type) see: Marín 1983, 29.

which in many cases leads to the destruction of the earliest cultural level. Traces of such re-planning are recorded, for example, in Berezan (Kopeikina 1975, 188). Most prominently, major planning works, carried out in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., are recorded in Kepoi (Kuznetsov 1991b, 36–37). As a result of these, the level of the time of founding the city was completely destroyed. This level was preserved only in pits, dug into the ground, in which were found mud-bricks, stones and tiles, belonging to the first buildings.

The fact that the earliest level of the life of a settlement is missing leads to the fact that for the most part it is constructions dug into the ground that are preserved. This appears to be one of the reasons for the birth of the hypothesis that the dug-outs were the first type of Greek house in the North Black Sea area. In reality, the colonists used to build houses typical for their metropolis, which, despite some stratigraphical problems, are recorded in many Black Sea cities. Furthermore, we must not omit the fact that not in every city has the place of the earliest settlement been found. Its excavation could provide, if not the remains of the earliest houses, at least some proof for their existence. We also have to bear in mind what has been pointed out above: ground dwelling houses could be taken to pieces after the end of their existence in order to use again the building material. And this does not only concern stone, but also mud-bricks, tiles and wood. As in Ionia (Müller-Wiener 1986, 99, Abb. 25), the houses were not very large. At the same time, it is not possible to talk about some sort of standardisation of the early houses, as sometimes very unusual houses are being found (Onaiko 1980, 11–65). None the less, there is no reason to believe that the architecture of the Archaic Greek houses in the Black Sea was completely original. From the very beginning, these houses developed in principle in accordance with the general line of the development of Greek houses. These were translated to a new soil and did not start their development from scratch.

There is no single well-expressed criterion according to which we could consider the dug-outs and semi-dug-outs as being dwellings. It is for this reason that many scholars hesitate in defining their function. These constructions had no relation to traditional Greek house building. There is no doubt that the colonists used to construct buildings connected with different husbandry (in the broad sense of the word), productive or just household activities. With this purpose in mind they had to build different enclosures and buildings for the

cattle and poultry, different kinds of sheds, pits and structures for the processing of agricultural products, for storing food supplies, rooms for craft activities etc. The latter must have begun from the very beginning of the *apoikia*, in as much as the life of any settlement is unthinkable without craftsmanship and productive activities. Without joining the abstract discussions about when "craftsmanship could have come into existence" in the Black Sea cities, we will only refer to a few examples of early production (Kopeikina 1989b, 171–172; 1976, 140; Sekerskaya 1989, 35; Treister 1992, 68). Many of these buildings were dug into the ground for one reason or another (including production), which contributed to a great extent to their preservation.

Thus, the hypothesis about the semi-dug-outs and dug-outs as the first houses of the Greek colonists cannot be considered well-founded. The evidence is unconvincing. The hypothesis contradicts all that is known about the architecture of Greek houses and the Greek building techniques. Strictly speaking, it was based only upon the fact that there existed constructions dug into the ground, which were interpreted as being houses. And this is only in order to support this conclusion that efforts have been made to diminish the economic and technical potential of the Greek immigrants, and to represent them as being helpless "poor", who were not able to set up their life at the accustomed level and for that reason lived in highly difficult conditions. All this does not agree either with our knowledge about the capacities of the Greeks in building their usual houses, with the archaeological evidence which testifies to the existence of such houses in the earliest period of the *apoikiai*. The house building of the North Black Sea cities is a continuation of Greek, and especially Ionian, house architecture. It is not possible to agree that the colonists, having sailed to new lands, forgot these traditions, their own experience and building techniques, and after that, in a few decades time, remembered them and unexpectedly began building typical for their metropolis houses.

And last. The question of the urbanisation of the cities of the North Black Sea area is very important. Without being able to dwell upon it in more detail, we will only mention that the efforts to connect the architectural appearance of a settlement directly with its socio-political structure, to consider it as being a *polis* or denying it this privilege and also to draw any similar conclusions (Kryzhitskii

et al., 1989, 37ff; Kryzhitskii 1985, 67), seem to be very risky. It is known that the appearance of a settlement is not enough to characterise it as a *polis*. It is possible to cite such well-known examples as a city which was not a *polis* (Piraeus) as well as a village, which was a *polis* (Panopaeum) (Sakellariou 1989, 88ff; Starr 1977, 98; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1972, 92–93; Koshelenko 1980, 9ff; Finley 1983, 3–23).

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22. SOME CLASSICAL SUBJECTS ON THE LATE HELLENISTIC SARMATIAN *PHALERAE* (TO THE ORIGIN OF *PHALERAE*)*

Mikhail Treister

The plaques of horse-harness, *phalerae*, were spread in the Late Hellenistic period over the vast territories of Eurasia from Siberia to the Pontic steppes (Fig. 1). This category of finds first attracted the attention of A.A. Spitsyn (1909) and Y.I. Smirnov (1909). M.I. Rostovtzeff (1922, 136, 232; 1926, 250, 258) associated the diffusion of the *phalerae* executed in the 'Graeco-Iranian-Indian' style in South Russia (which, in his opinion, was born on the boundaries between the Scythian and Sakan Turkestan, Persia and India in the Early Hellenistic period under the influence of the Achaemenian art) with the penetration of the Sarmatians. Later on (Rostovtzeff 1936, 102) he compared *phalerae* from the Hellenistic burials of the Taman Peninsula, Kuban and Don basins with the works of Graeco-Sakan art, closely associated with the Early Parthian art, and maintained that they were brought into the North Pontic region by the Sirakes. The view of the Eastern origin of the horse-harness from the steppes of Eastern Europe was shared by K.V. Trever (1940, 34–8), who attributed all the known finds to the art of Graeco-Bactria. With slight variations this became the leading view. Thus, for example, M.B. Shchukin (1994, 144–6, see also maps on p. 159) wrote about the elements of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian art in the *phalerae*, the finds of which from southern Siberia to the west Pontic area mark the westward penetration of the Sarmatian tribes.

Other studies have shown that some of the *phalerae* attributed as Graeco-Bactrian were probably manufactured in the north-western Pontic area (Fettich 1953; Allen 1971) or even "under the influence of

* The author is grateful to Erika Simon for her very helpful advise, concerning the subject of *phalera* from Kurchanskaya; to Sergei Yatsenko and Nataliya Smirnova—for consultations on Sarmatian costume and Graeco-Bactrian coinage respectively; to Ursula Knigge for the photographs of a silver disk from Kerameikos and a clay mould from Larissa; to John K. Papadopoulos and Despoina Tsiafakis for the photographs of the silver dish and *phalerae* from the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Indo-Scythian art... in Pontus, perhaps also by the Sarmatians" (Harmatta 1970, 40). Harmatta has dated the *phalerae* found in the northern and western Pontic area to between 125 and 61 B.C., stating that

there is no other possibility than to consider this *phalerae* find group on the whole, as having originated in the West, and to link it up with the economic boom which was the consequence of the friendly relations established by Mithridates in the Pontic region with the Sarmatians (Harmatta 1970, 38).

I. Marazov analysing the finds from Yakimovo as well as *phalerae* from Stara Zagora and pieces in the museums of Paris and Leiden maintained the manufacture of these *phalerae* in Asia Minor and the existence of Late Hellenistic toreutic workshops on the lower reaches of the Danube.¹ According to him, we can hardly speak of any Graeco-Indian artistic influence in this large group of toreutic works (Marazov 1979, 64–5). K.F. Smirnov (1984, 112ff), who made a list of 16 complexes with *phalerae* found in the south of Eastern Europe, maintained that Indo-Graeco-Bactrian influence was the most significant in the origin of the *phalerae*, although the majority decorated with floral patterns may have been produced within a rather limited time in some toreutic centres of the north Pontic area, e.g. Olbia or Bosphorus. I have already suggested (Treister 1994, 200–1; 1996a, 341) that the group of *phalerae* decorated with rosettes composed of lily leaves and acanthus could have been manufactured by Sarmatian craftsmen as a result of a comparatively short acquaintance with the Hellenistic centres, although the main impulse was rather more Asia Minor-Syrian than Indo-Graeco-Bactrian. On the other hand, Sarmatian craftsmen could have reproduced some Classical subjects (e.g., *phalerae* from Severskaya, or from Korenovsk). M. Pfrommer (1993, 9ff, 13, 20) associated the diffusion of the three-looped *phalerae* in the north Pontic steppes with Central Asian influence, possibly Bactrian tradition, which was spread by the Parthians to the Hellenised Near East, and then reached the north Pontic region with the Sarmatian migration and Pakistan at the latest with the rise of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian realms. Recently, V.I. Mordvintseva (1996a) in her dissertation on the *phalerae*, made an attempt at stylistic analysis, singling out seven stylistic groups, although some *phalerae*

¹ Most recently this point of view was developed by F. Kaul (1995, 14–5) that "both the discs from Stara Zagora and from Paris fall however comfortably into the Thracian artistic style. The discs could quite conceivably have come into Mithridates' ownership as a princely gift from a Thracian king".

were not included in this typology (Mordvintseva 1996a, 10–7). Among the centres of production of Hellenistic *phalerae* Mordvintseva singles out Asia Minor, Bosphorus, the Kuban area, various centres of Graeco-Bactria, Central Asia and the Ural region.

Despite much study, the problems of the manufacturing centres of *phalerae* remain unsolved; some important pieces lack special stylistic investigation, which can help to trace the origin of the objects. I shall discuss the transformation of some classical subjects in the decoration of some Hellenistic *phalerae* found in the Kuban river basin in South Russia.

Phalera from Severskaya (Fig. 2) (Spitsyn 1909, 25, fig. 41; Rostovtzeff 1922, 136–7, pl. 27, 4; 1926, 247–8, pl. 25; 1993, 42, pl. 4; Ebert 1929, 110, Taf. 41C.b; Smirnov 1953, 32–7, pl. 8; Harmatta 1970, 35; Anfimov 1987, 185, ill. on p. 176, 188–9; Pfrommer 1993, 9, 70, n. 21). Rostovtzeff (1926, 247–8; 1993, 42), maintained that it shows two scenes from the struggle of the gods with giants: the victories of Dionysus and Athena. He considered that the framing grapevine scroll in its lower part may be interpreted as a snake, symbolising the ground on which Athena and Giant are standing (Rostovtzeff 1931, 549–50). What about the origin of the *phalera* he found in the Graeco-Iranian-Indian sphere, on the reliefs from Mathura, on the dish from Badahshan etc. (Rostovtzeff 1926, 250; 1993, 44–5). Trever (1940, 23) considered Dionysos on the *phalera* as a syncretic image adopting the features of the comparable Central Asian deities, comparing it with those represented on the silver dish from Badahshan, and the grapescroll framing as the a stylised image of a dragon adopted from Chinese art (Trever 1940, 50). K.F. Smirnov (1953, 34–7) suggested that the images of the deities are syncretic combining the cult of Dionysus-Sabazios with local cults, while the *phalera* is discussed by him as a product of Middle Asian toreuts, either Hellenised Parthian craftsmen or toreuts living in the territory of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom after it was conquered by Yüeh-chi in ca. 130 B.C.; the view was shared by Y.M. Desyatchikov (1973, 78) and N.V. Anfimov 1987, 185). S.A. Yatsenko (1992, 192) and Shchukin (1994, 145) considered the *phalera* as manufactured in Bactria. Marazov (1979, 64–5) maintains that the Severskaya *phalera* belongs stylistically to the group of objects having their roots in the Balkans (Marazov 1979, 64–5). I agree with the view first expressed by Rostovtzeff about the combination of the two subjects in the composition of the *phalera*. One can only speculate what the deities represented on the piece meant to the Sarmatians. More important, as

Smirnov (1953, 34), Marazov (1979, 64) and others have already pointed out, is that at least one part of the composition was already known among the Sarmatians hundred years earlier, namely on *prometopidion* from Fedulovo (Fig. 3) (Spitsyn 1909, fig. 43; Zasetskaya 1966, 31–2, fig. 5; *Cat. Leningrad* 1985, No. 35; Treister 1996b, 107, fig. 29), which is most probably a Bosporan version of the subject (Treister 1996b, 106–19). The right part of the scene on the *phalera* from Severskaya is even far stylised. I do not know the direct prototype of the left part of the composition, however, beyond doubt, its subject was widespread among the Sarmatians. Evidence for this is provided, for instance, by the *phalera* from Taganrog, which was kept before the 1917 revolution in the private collection of Romanovich in Rostov-on-Don. Rostovtzeff (1926, 248; 1993, 42) briefly described its decoration: a panther to the left, with a standing figure of Dionysos behind with a *thyrsos* in his right hand. Further indirect proof is given by its later use on the *phalerae* made of gilt brass from the horseman burial 9 in the necropolis of Tsem dolina near Novorossiisk, dating to the early 1st century A.D., representing Bacchic scenes with Eros sitting astride a panther (fig. 4) (Malyshev and Treister 1994a, 32, fig. 3; 1994b, 47, Abb. 6–8; 49–52, No. 4, Taf. 3). It is noteworthy that the medallions, originally used for vessels were adopted as *phalerae*, most probably by the last owner—a practice most probably spread widely by the Sarmatians (Malyshev and Treister 1994b, 52).

The grapevine scroll framing the composition on the Severskaya *phalera*, has a direct prototype on the silver medallion of the bowl in the Getty Museum (Pfrommer 1993, No. 127) with the image of Dionysus and Ariadna (Fig. 5). The way the scroll ends are formed on that medallion allows Pfrommer (1993, 66) to suggest “an eastern workshop in the Seleucid sphere of influence and perhaps a date not earlier than the later second century”.² He maintains that “for the figural scene on the medallion, the silversmith cited and reinterpreted earlier Hellenistic prototypes, such as representations of ‘Eros and Psyche’” (Pfrommer 1993, 218, No. 127). The barely recognisable prototype of one of the elements of lower framing is a double-lotus palmette, a typical feature of 4th century gold necklaces.³ The level

² Later on we find similar grape scrolls also in the representation of Bacchic scenes, e.g. on the Roman paste with standing Dionysos and Ariadne (Gaspari 1986, No. 194); on the 3rd century A.D. silver dish from Pendshab in the British Museum (Rostovtzeff 1926, pl. 7; Dalton 1964, 58–9, pl. XXXIII; Haussig 1992, No. 196), and the 5th century A.D. dish from Lyakhsh (Yakubov 1985, 73, fig. 2).

³ From Nymphaeum: ca. 400 B.C. (Vickers 1979, 41–2, pl. Xla–b; mentioned:

of stylisation may be compared, however, with similar elements of the gold necklace from burial 5 of the Tillya-Tepe royal necropolis in the northern Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1985, 116–9, ills. 64–5; 252, cat. 5.3). The somewhat naïve style of representation with figures out of proportion, and the same technique of decoration with dotted pattern find parallels on the *phalera* with Heracles and Nemean lion from Stara Zagora (*Cat. Cologne* 1979, No. 426; Marazov 1979, 64, fig. 39; Kaul *et al.*, 1991, 17, fig. 11; Kaul 1995, 6, 14, fig. 14) and similar *phalerae* from Anatolia kept in Leiden (Drexel 1915, 12, 14, Abb. 6; Rostovtzeff 1922, 136, pl. 27, 3; 1926, 245; Pfrommer 1993, 71, n. 25) and in National Library in Paris (Drexel 1915, 13–4, Abb. 7; Rostovtzeff 1922, pl. 27, 1–2; Klindt-Jensen 1961, fig. 24, 53; Ghirshman 1962, 260, Abb. 337; Megaw 1970, 135; Sulimirski, 1970, pl. 36; Allen, 1971, pl. XIV; Charrière 1971, Abb. 323; Pfrommer 1993, 70–1, n. 25; Shchukin 1994, 145). The inscription on the Paris *phalera* with the name of Mithridates Eupator: *naos artemid ek ton tou ba mithrtdt* (Drexel 1915, 14–5, Abb. 7; *cf.*, Rostovtzeff 1922, 136–7; 1926, 245, 257) gave some scholars grounds to maintain that this group of *phalerae* was produced in either Asia Minor (Drexel 1915, 17); or Thrace (Marazov 1979, 62–3; Kaul 1995, 14). However, comparison of this group (characterised by a narrow concave rim, dotted pattern and complete gilding of the fronts in combination with a rather primitive, naïve execution) with two *phalerae* from Treasure I acquired by the Getty Museum (Pfrommer 1993, No. 32–3) tends to suggest Early Parthian workshops situated somewhere in north-western Iran and influenced by Seleucid art (see details below).

The craftsman united two different subjects, adding a contemporary Seleucid-type grapescroll framing as well as palmettes and rosettes, heavily schematised. Some details of the costume are important: both Dionysus and Athena are girdled with rather wide belts decorated with friezes of circular plaques, a feature impossible for the prototypes, unknown in the contemporary Sarmatian costume, or in the

Williams and Ogden 1994, 153); Panticapaeum, *ca.* 400–380 B.C. (Miller 1979, 11, pl. 5c; Williams and Ogden 1994, No. 94); Temir-Gora, *ca.* 400–375 B.C. (Miller 1979, 11, pl. 5a); Homolion, second half of the 4th century B.C. (Miller 1979, 10–1, pl. 4a, c; Williams and Ogden 1994, 153); Tarent, *ca.* 350–330 B.C. (Miller 1979, 11, pl. 5b; Williams and Ogden 1994, No. 135); Oguz Barrow, *ca.* 330–310 B.C. (Boltrik, Fialko 1991, 128, Taf. 11, 13); Karagodeuakhsh, *ca.* 325–300 B.C. (Artamonow 1970, Abb. 319; Galanina and Grach 1986, fig. 254; Anfimov 1987, ills. on pp. 160–1; *Cat. Venice* 1987, No. 102).

earlier Persian or Central Asian costume of the 5th–4th centuries B.C. (Gorelik 1985). We find similar decoration in the Late Parthian art of Hatra, *e.g.*, on the late 2nd century A.D. limestone statue of Nihra, presumably son of Sanatruq I (Mathiesen 1992, 74–5, 209–10, No. 205, fig. 75), on the so-called “Parthian Stone” at Bisotun (Kawami 1987, 160–2, No. 3, pl. 4) and in the art of Palmyra (the relief with a god Iarnibol from Dura-Europos: Mathiesen 1992, 200–1, No. 183, fig. 60). Such decoration of belts was spread widely by the Kushans: on the fragmentary statue of a ruler from Surkh Kotal (Schlumberger 1970, fig. 56; Pugachenkova 1979, 116, 124, fig. 134; *Cat. Zurich* 1989, 53); on the figures of Bodhisattva from the Buddhist sanctuary at Dal’verzin-tepe of the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D. (Turgunov 1992, 146, fig. 9; Pugachenkova 1995, 29–31, fig. 13; Silvi Antonini 1995, 259–65, figs. 2, 4–5); and on the composition of *zophoros* of the Khalchayan palace (Pugachenkova 1979, 90, fig. 103 below). Identical belt decoration occurs on the figures of the large 3rd century A.D. battle relief of Tang-e Ab near Firuzabad (von Gall 1990, 20–30, Abb. 3) and on the figures of riders on the Sasanian dishes (although on the latter group the belts are usually equipped with two buckles in the centre,⁴ going back to the Parthian prototypes of the 1st–2nd centuries)⁵ (Post 1995). There are two circular plaques on the head of Dionysus—originally they represented two rosettes of flowers. This is similar to the Hellenistic and Early Imperial bronze busts of Silenus, Dionysus (Barr-Sharrar 1987, C1–49, pls. 1–15; C79–94; pls. 26–30), a *phalera* with a bust of Dionysus from the vicinity of Dushanbe (see references below) and a 1st century B.C. attachment to a pitcher handle in shape of satyr’s head (Oliver 1977, No. 74). The figure of the naked giant is waved by the snake, trying to bite him in the breast. The front of the panther’s body and the rock below, on which the head is lying, are decorated with leaves. The craftsman has a very slight idea of perspective and the meaning of certain attributes. Thus, Dionysus is holding a *thyrsos* with its point downwards, as if trying to strike a head below, which has noth-

⁴ *E.g.*, with the images of Shapur II, *ca.* 310–320 A.D.: Trever and Lukonin 1987, No. 2, figs. 6–7; of Shapur III: Trever and Lukonin 1987, No. 4, figs. 10–1; Varahran, *ca.* 390–420 A.D.: Trever and Lukonin 1987, No. 7, figs. 14–5; Hosrov II: Trever and Lukonin 1987, No. 9, figs. 18–9; hunting king, first half of the 7th century A.D.: Trever and Lukonin 1987, No. 10, figs. 20–1 *etc.*

⁵ About the development of Iranian and Parthian belts in general see: Moorey 1967; Ghirshman 1979, esp. 170–1.

FIGURES 1-14

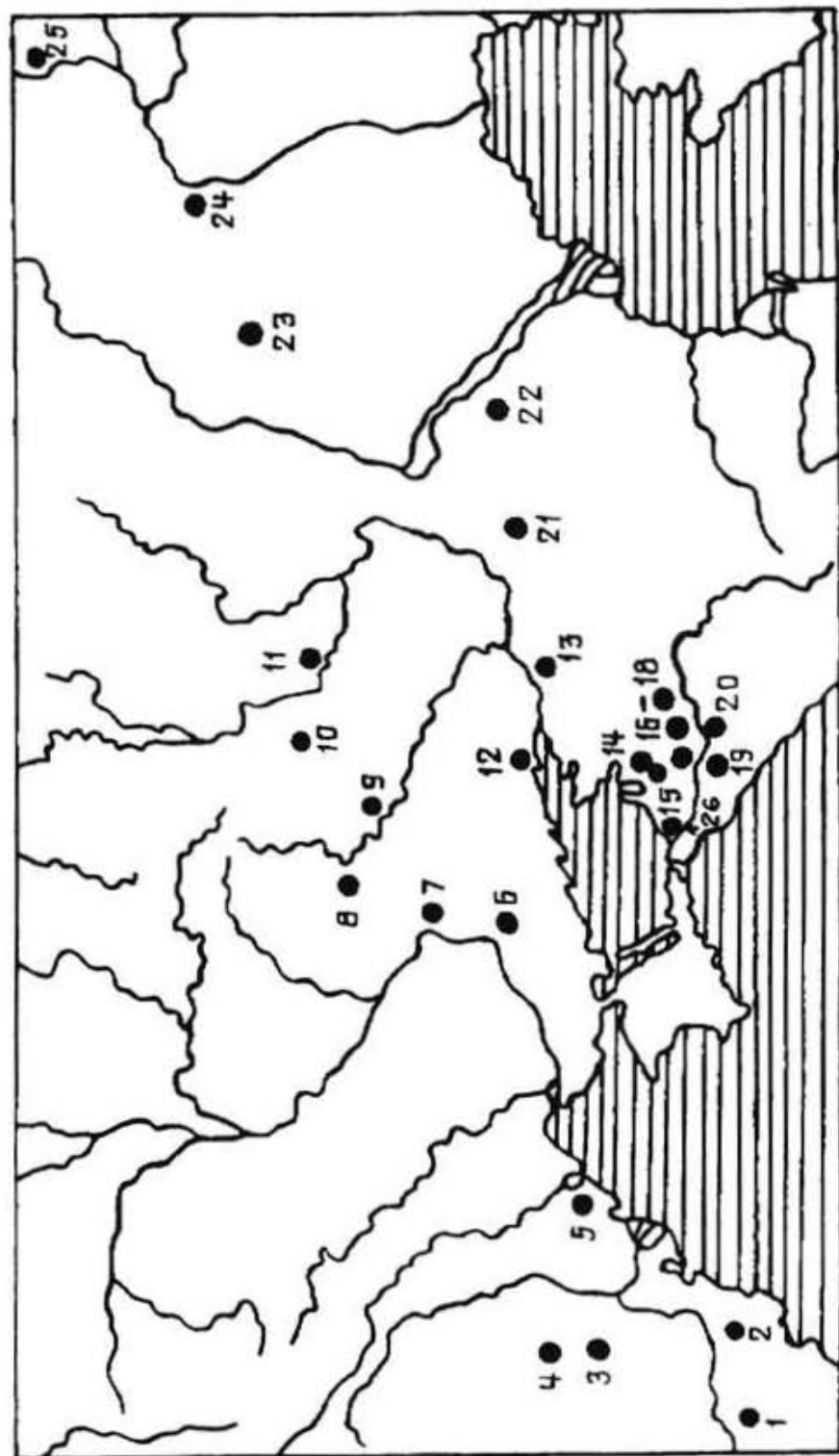


Fig. 1. Finds of *phalene* of the Hellenistic period in Eastern Europe (after Mordvintseva 1996b, 149, fig. 1; added by the author). 1 - Galiche; 2 - Stara Zagora; 3 - Herastrau; 4 - Surcea; 5 - Tverditse; 6 - Yanchoktrak; 7 - Bulakleya; 8 - Balakleya; 9 - Starobelsk; 10 - Klimenkovskii; 11 - Antipovka; 12 - Taganrog; 13 - Fedulov; 14 - Novodzhherilievskaya; 15 - Korenovsk; 16 - Voronezhskaya; 17 - Akhtanizovskaya; 18 - Uspenskaya; 19 - Severskaya; 20 - Sergeevskaya; 21 - Zhutovo; 22 - Krivaya Luka; 23 - Novouzensk; 24 - Volodarka; 25 - Prokhorovka; 26 - Kurchanskaya.



Fig. 2. *Phalera* from Severskaya, State Historical Museum, Moscow. Photograph A.M. Bochkarev (after Anfimov 1987, 188).



Fig. 3. *Prometopidion* from Fedulovo. State Hermitage. Inv. 2214/12. Photograph: The State Hermitage, St Petersburg.



a



b

Figs. 4a-d. *Phalerae* from Tsemndolina. State Historical Novorossiisk Museum. Photograph: L.M. Neskvernova; drawings N.S. Safronova.



Figs. 4 c and d.



Fig. 5. Dish with relief Tondo. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. 83. Am. 389. Late 2nd century BC. Silver with gilding. Size: H: 2.7 cm; Diameter: 16.2 cm; Diameter (tondo): 10.4 cm. Photograph: The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 6. *Phalera* from the collection of Temryuk Museum. Inv. KM-4770/TKM-2005. Diameter 13.2 cm. Acquired in 1971. Photograph: A.M. Bochkarev (after *The Blue Ring* 1990).



Fig. 7. A silver medallion from Kerameikos. DAI-Athen. Photograph by G. Hellner. DAI-Athen Neg. Nr. ICER. 12882.

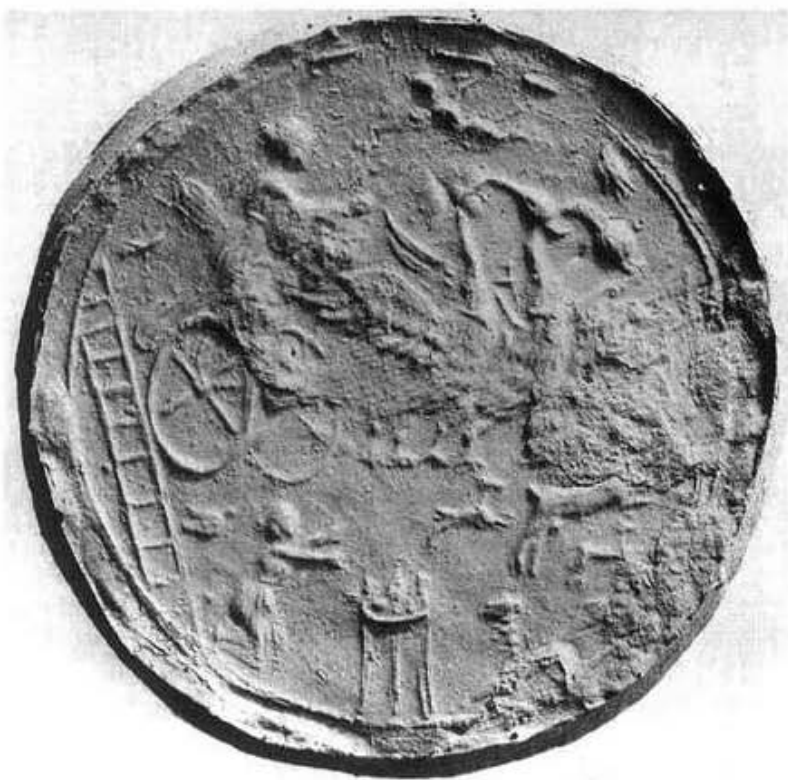


Fig. 8. A clay mould from Larisa. Karamanolis collection. DAI-Athen. Photograph by G. Hellner. DAI-Athen Neg. Nr. KER. 12889.



Fig. 9. Bronze Matrix. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1920. Inv. 20.2.24. Neg. No. 47853. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 10. *Phalera* from Yanchokrak. State Historical Museum. Inv. 44306. Drawing: I.I. Gushchina (1969, 45, fig. 1, 2).

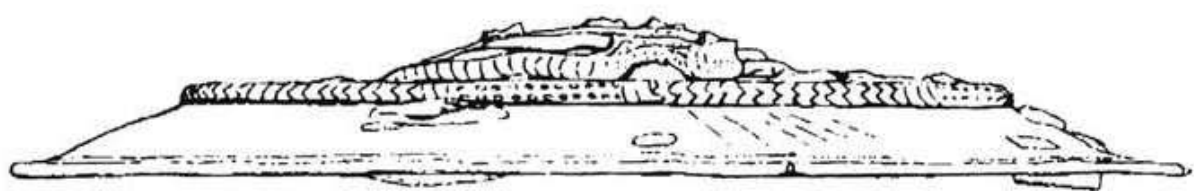


Fig. 11. *Phalera* with war-elephants. The State Hermitage, St Petersburg.



a



b

Fig. 12. *Phalerae* from Volodarka, Ural Regional Local Lore Museum. Drawing: V.I. Mordvintseva (1996b, 150-1, figs. 2-3).



Fig. 13. *Phalera* with a lion and a stag. Treasure I. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. 81.AM.87.3-4. 2nd century BC. Silver with gilding. Diameter: 15.0-2 cm. Photograph: The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 14. *Phalera* with a lion and a stag. Treasure I. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. 81.AM.87.1-2. 2nd century BC. Silver with gilding. Diameter: 12.6 cm. Photograph: The J. Paul Getty Museum.

ing to do with the original composition of Dionysus riding a panther: compare, for example, the 2nd century B.C. mosaic from Delos (Gaspari 1986b, No. 434). The craftsman has no experience of representing a human or animal body.

I will return to the origin of the Severskaya *phalera* after analysing another, almost unknown piece.

Phalera from Kurchanskaya. The Temryuk Historico-Archaeological Museum houses a silver gilt *phalera* (Fig. 6) found by chance in summer of 1971 near stanitsa Kurchanskaya in the vicinity of Temryuk on the Taman Peninsula. The piece was first briefly discussed by Desyatchikov (1973, 78) who attributed the subject on the *phalera* as representation of Aphrodite Pandemos, stressing, however, that "the work is undoubtedly barbarian". He compared it with the Severskaya *phalera* following the attribution of the latter piece by K.F. Smirnov (1953, 37). Yatsenko (1992, 192) attributed it as a piece of Bactrian manufacture. In the guide to museums of the Krasnodar region the *phalera* is dated to the 4th century B.C. (*Blue Ring of Kuban* 1990, 18, fig. 21). It is also mentioned by V.V. Dvornichenko and G.A. Fedorov-Davydov (1981, 101, 104), who state that it has loops in the same position as the *phalera* from Krivaya Luka.

In the central field of the Kurchanskaya *phalera* a female figure is represented, sitting on a galloping goat whose front legs are thrown forward. The goddess's legs are shown on the right side of the goat's body. Her body is shown *en face* with her head turned in profile to the right. The left arm of the goddess is bent at the elbow and lifted vertically upwards. In her hand there is one end of the *chlamys*, going back behind the head of the female, it is turned below the right shoulder and is drapping the lower front part of her body. The right arm is turned somewhat artificially behind, bent at the elbow and lifted upwards; in the hand there is a wavy-shaped object with hemispherical pommel at its upper end. The wrists are decorated with spirally twisted bracelets, shown by the engraved lines. The goddess wears a *peplos* with a high girdle, covering her arms practically to the elbows, modelled with rare vertical folds and a *himation*, hanging in a semi-circle from her hands over the lower part of the body, practically covering her legs. The goat's body with a short tail is ornamented with hammered dot pattern, probably imitating the folds of its skin. To the right of the goddess sitting on the goat there is represented a half-naked male in three-quarter turn to the left, wearing

boots decorated with relief dots, and folded *chlamys*, covering his left shoulder and arm in *petasos* on his head with *caduceus* in the right hand stretched forward. His head is shown in profile to the left, and the god, undoubtedly Hermes, is looking at the goddess sitting on the goat. In the upper part of the central field over the goat's head there is represented in profile to the left a naked winged Eros with a wreath in his outstretched hands. One more Eros is shown in vertical position behind the goddess's back. Below the goat's legs there are represented galloping panthers, their front legs stretched forward, and a diagonal staircase, its upper end below the front right hoof the goat. The central field of the relief is decorated with numerous symbols among which just over the head of the goddess there is shown a half-moon, while her figure is framed with six-, seven- and eight-pointed stars.

The central embossed field of the relief is framed with a narrow frieze decorated with stamped zigzag pattern, dividing it into triangles; those pointing towards the centre of the relief decorated with dots inside, and the others with vertical notches.

The Kurchanskaya *phalera* belongs to a circle of monuments which has recently attracted the attention of scholars, primarily because of the find at the Athenian Kerameikos in the destruction level of the late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. of building Z of a silver disc 8.3 cm in diameter with an image of Aphrodite sitting on a goat (Knigge 1982, 153–70, Taf. 31; Axmann 1986, 8, Taf. 2, 5; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 36f).

On the Kerameikos medallion (Fig. 7) the goat is galloping to the left, not to the right and the goddess is embracing its neck rather than holding an object. Her left arm is turned slightly behind, but not so high as on the disc from Kurchanskaya. She is holding firmly in her hand the end of drapery, the edge of which is hanging vertically down, forming folds in the shape of a swallow's tail, while the cloth is draped across the front of her body. Like the Kurchanskaya relief, the Kerameikos disc depicts below small galloping baby-goats or rams and a staircase beneath the goat's legs. The staircase is disproportionately large compared with that on the Kurchanskaya relief; it is shown on the background of the goat's protome crossing the disc and making a small segment on its left side with a figure of a naked Hermes in boots and *petasos* standing on tip toe in profile to the left. His right shoulder is draped with folded clothes. On the upper part of the disc there is a flying Eros with his right arm

stretched forward (there is only one figure of Eros on the disc from the Kerameikos); behind the goat there is a flying pigeon. Also on the upper part of the disc, as on the Kurchanskaya relief there is a half-moon with its ends downwards, although it is situated not above the head of the goddess, but between it and the head of the goat, as if connecting them, while the spare place in the relief field is covered with seven- and eight-pointed stars of various dimensions. Having analysed the stylistic peculiarities of the images on the Kerameikos medallion, U. Knigge (1982, 154) dated it to *ca.* 370–360 B.C.

Similar treatment of subject and even the details of composition may be seen on the semi-circular votive relief of Attic workmanship from the Museum of Sparta, dating either to the late 4th century B.C. (Mitropolou 1975, 7–8, No. 1), or to the Hellenistic period (Knigge, 1982, 158, Taf. 33, 1). The treatment of the fold of the *himation* over the back of the goddess is similar, although her pose is slightly different, she is sitting turned to the left. As on the Kurchanskaya relief, Eros is shown behind the goat's tail; while the goat is also represented at gallop. The staircase is shown behind the outstretched hoofs of the goat in the lower right edge of the relief.

A terracotta votive relief of similar shape from the vicinity of Kerch is kept in the Hermitage. The goddess is represented in a similar pose, although her arms are not uplifted; below the goat's legs there are shown two small galloping baby-goats and to the left of Aphrodite there is a vertical image of Eros without wreath (*Terracotta Statuettes* 1974, 18, No. 29 [5th century B.C.], pl. 5, 5; Mitropolou 1975, 16, No. 9).

A votive relief of similar shape with an image of Aphrodite with two small baby-goats and a vertical figure of Eros, dating to the early 2nd century B.C., originates from Macedonia (Adam-Belene 1994, 75–6, 82, fig. 7; *Cat. Hannover* 1994, No. 356).

The relief on a circular marble disk, kept in the Louvre and originating from Athens, is also dated by E. Mitropolou (1975, 13–4, No. 5) to the late 4th century B.C. Below the goat's legs there are two small goats galloping to the right. The pose of the goddess and the treatment of the folds of her *himation* are reminiscent of the images on the reliefs from the Museums of Sparta and Temryuk.

Similar subjects are also found on the reliefs decorating bronze mirrors.

Thus, on the mid-4th century B.C. mirror from the Louvre found in Corinth (Züchner 1942, KS47, pl. 6; Hackens and Levy 1965,

560, fig. 20; Mitropolou 1975, 17–8, No. 10) and on the mirror from Eretria kept in Athens (Züchner 1942, KS 5; Hackens and Levy 1965, 561–2, figs. 21–2; Miller, 1979, pl. 23a) the goddess is holding the end of her *himation* in her right arm lifted upwards. The *himation* of Aphrodite sitting on a goat is treated similarly on 2nd century B.C. gold medallions from Delos; there are two eight-pointed stars in the field on each of them. In the lower part of the medallions below the goats staircases are shown lying horizontally (Hackens and Levy 1965, 565, fig. 23; 557, 563, 565, pl. 23; Mitropolou 1975, 21–3, No. 15–6; Miller 1979, pl. 23c–d). A similar composition is also represented on a gold medallion 2.55 cm in diameter from the Paul Canellopoulos collection originating from Syria. However, unlike the Delian medallions, it has no mirror, and the eight-pointed stars are replaced by three six-petal rosettes with petals in shape of dots (Laffineur 1980, No. 118, fig. 130). On the medallion of a necklace from Pelinna in Thessaly, Aphrodite, her torso naked, is holding the edge of her *himation* with her hands lifted upwards; below her is an image of a flying bird, while the front legs of the goat are touching the staircase, shown diagonally in the right part of the relief (Miller 1979, 38–40, pl. 22a). There is also a silver medallion 6.4 cm in diameter with analogous composition from the 2nd century B.C. burial in the region of Beroia (Romipolou and Touratsoglou 1974; Marazov 1979, 44, 52, fig. 30).

A cast pendant with an image of Aphrodite sitting on a goat in a similar pose originates from Delos (Miller 1979, pl. 23, e). In a similar pose there is a figure of Artemis on a deer. In her right hand the goddess holds a burning torch, consisting of seven or five rods of plain wire, bound in three places with three wires. The figures are the pendants of earrings from the necropolis of Nymphaeum dating to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. (Silanteva 1959, 7, fig. 2, 2; Hoffmann and Davidson, 1965, 82, fig. 12f; Williams and Ogden 1994, No. 110). An analogous composition with stars in the field is represented on the bezel of the gold ring from the Ralph Harari collection (Boardman 1976, No. 7).

An eight-pointed star is also shown in the field of a gold medallion 3.4 cm in diameter from the Helene Stathatos collection. Kybele and Hecate are represented in a carriage with a lion lead by a figure of Hermes. It dates to either the late 5th–early 4th century B.C. or the Hellenistic period (Amandry 1963, 220, No. 160, fig. 125; pl. 33; Jentel 1976, 366, pl. 60, fig. 197; Naumann 1983, 230, 355,

No. 525; Reeder Williams 1987, 438, fig. 13; Bentz and Rumscheid 1989, 69; Siebert 1990, No. 404). A similar composition is represented on the relief silver disc (pyxys lid) from Olynthus, dating either to the late 5th century B.C. (D.M. Robinson) or to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. (F. Naumann). In contrast to the Stathatos medallion the figure of Hermes is draped; a half-moon is shown between the heads of Hecate and Kybele, between the ends of which there is shown an eight-pointed star. Over the scene there is a figure of a flying Eros with a wreath in his outstretched hands (Robinson 1941, 160–2, fig. 17; Naumann 1983, 158, 229–30, 355, No. 524, Taf. 39, 2; Reeder Williams 1987, 438, fig. 14; Bentz and Rumscheid 1989, 69). The half-moon with a many-pointed star are seen in the field of a silver gilt medallion with a carriage of Kybele of the Hellenistic date found in Ai-Khanoum (Bernard 1974, 114; Pugachenkova 1979, 146, 157–8, fig. 169; Francfort 1984, 92–104, pl. XXXI; Pichikyan 1991, 256–8, fig. 52; mentioned Saprykin 1996, 116) as well as on a gold foil plaque from Gorgippia, which is a part of a diadem, representing a syncretic image of either Helios-Nero, as O.Y. Neverov suggests, or Helios-Mithra, as S.Y. Saprykin (who, in consequence, dates it earlier than Neverov—to the reign of Aspurgus) supposes (*CR St Petersburg* 1906, 127, fig. 179; *Cat. Leningrad* 1980, No. 140; Neverov 1982; 1986, 192–3, fig. 7; Saprykin 1983; *Cat. Daoulas* 1993, 130, No. 63.01; Treister 1996, 85, No. 2). Analogous scenes are represented on the medallions of Calenian relief gutti: there are three eight-pointed stars in the fields, one shown between the ends of the half-moon.⁶

Numerous examples may be listed of toreutic works with zigzag decoration, similar to the framing of the Kurchanskaya disc. A similar ornamental band decorates a pair of silver discs each depicting Thetis on a hippocamp, which are said to have been found in the valley of Tempe in Thessaly (Marshall 1911, Nos. 3046–7; Jacobstahl

⁶ Medallions: 1) from Etruria in Würzburg (Pagenstecher 1909, 95, No. 183e, Taf. 20; *Führer Würzburg* 1975, 214; Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3e, 371 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); *CCCA* IV, 84–5, No. 207, pl. 78 (3rd century B.C.); Naumann 1983, 356, No. 530 (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.); 2) from Apulia in Göttingen (Pagenstecher 1909, 95, No. 183a; Jentel 1976, AP XI 3g, 365–7, 372 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); Naumann 1983, 355, No. 526 (3rd–2nd century B.C.); Bentz, Rumscheid 1989, 69, Taf. 47, 4–6 (third quarter of the 4th century B.C.); 3) from Ascoli Satriano in Tarentum (Jentel 1976, 370, AP XI, 3a (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); and pieces of unknown provenance: 4) in Stuttgart (Pagenstecher 1909, 95, No. 183d; Kunze-Gotte 1965, 80, Taf. 68, 3, 7; Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3b, 370, pl. 60, fig. 198 (4th–3rd

1956, 207; Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 1992, No. 37). A similar pattern decorates various Late Hellenistic articles of toreutics, originating mainly from the Kuban river basin in north Pontic area, but also from north-western Pontic area: silver *phalerae* with an image of a winged deity and sphinx from the so-called Yanchokrak hoard (Rostovtzeff 1926, pl. 4; Gushchina 1969, 45, fig. 1; Marazov 1979, 36, fig. 18; Smirnov 1984, 103, fig. 48; Shchukin 1994, 160–1; figs. 57, 4; 58; Simonenko 1994, 112, No. 26; 128, fig. 10); *phalerae* of the Bulakhov complex (Kostenko 1978; Smirnov 1984, 110–1, fig. 52; Simonenko 1994, 109, No. 16; 126, fig. 7); a plaque with an image of a griffin from Severskii tumulus (Smirnov 1953, pl. VIb; Anfimov 1987, 184); large silver *phalerae* from stanitsa Novodzhervskaya (Anfimov 1987, 202); a lid of a silver pyxis from Artyukhov barrow (Maximova 1979, 83, Art. 65); an oval silver plaque with an image of a horseman from Surcea (Marazov 1979, 43, fig. 22; Shchukin 1994, 181, fig. 65, 9); a silver gilt medallion of the vessel from the Yakimovo Treasure in Bulgaria (Marazov 1979, 30, fig. 14; *Cat. Cologne* 1979, No. 419); *phalerae* from Herastrau to the north of Bucharest (Marazov 1979, 35, fig. 17; *Cat. Frankfurt* 1994, No. 60.1; Shchukin 1994, 181, fig. 65, 15); and silver *phalerae* from Zhutovo tumulus 27 in the Volga basin (Mordvinsteva 1994, 97, fig. 1, 1; 98, fig. 2, 1).

Semicircular festons with dots decorate the frames of *phalerae* with the images of a horseman and a female deity from Galiche (Rostovtzeff 1926, pls. 2–3; Marazov 1979, 34, fig. 16; 45, fig. 23; *Cat. Cologne* 1979, No. 390–2; Kaul *et al.* 1991, fig. 34; Shchukin 1994, 156, fig. 52). Dots in the centre of triangles decorate one of the *phalerae* of the Bulakhov Treasure (Smirnov 1984, 111, fig. 52 second row, left; Simonenko 1994, 112, No. 26; 128, fig. 10), and one from Balakleya (Smirnov 1984, 85, fig. 38, 4; Simonenko 1994, 108, No. 12, 124, fig. 5, 4). The surface of the outer frieze of triangles on one of the *phalerae* from the Taganrog Treasure is also decorated with dot pat-

centuries B.C.?); *CCCA* VII, No. 141; Naumann 1983, 356, No. 529 (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.); 5) St Petersburg (Pagenstecher 1909, 95, No. 183c; Naumann 1983, 355, No. 527 (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.); 6) London (Pagenstecher 1909, 95, No. 183b; Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3c, 370 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); Naumann 1983, 355, No. 528 (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.); 7) Lucera (Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3d, 371 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); 8) Madrid (Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3f, 371 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); 9) Agrigent (Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3i, 372 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?); 10) Basel (Jentel 1976, AP XI, 3j, 373 (4th–3rd centuries B.C.?)).

tern (Spitsyn 1909, 42, fig. 55; Smirnov 1984, 75, fig. 29, 5). The inner friezes of triangles are ornamented with vertical notches on the silver *phalerae* with horsemen from the Sarmatian burial of Krivaya Luka necropolis in the Lower Volga basin (Dvornitchenko and Fedorov-Davydov 1981, 102, figs. 2–3). The frame of the *phalera* from the Aktanizovskii Treasure is treated in a similar way (Spitsyn 1909, 33, fig. 21).

Returning to the subject on the Kurchanskaya disc and related compositions let me mention the following. The cult of Aphrodite Pandemos is attested in the Athenian Acropolis at least since the early 5th century B.C. (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 29ff). The association of the cults of Aphrodite and Hermes is proved for example by the fourth day of the *Aphrodisiai* feast being devoted to them (Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 31, n. 78). U. Knigge (1982, 158) maintains that the images of winged Eros is nothing but a personification of Proserpina, the morning star which appears before Helios and is the only star shining in the day time. She (Knigge 1982, 161–70) also considers the goddess sitting on a swan to be Aphrodite Urania, appearing in the daylight realm of Apollo, but the goddess sitting on a nanny-goat accompanied by two baby-goats in the night sky to be Aphrodite Pandemos. However, E.B. Harrison (1984, 383, n. 21) maintains that such a strict division is impossible. The interpretation of the subject on the mould from Larissa by U. Knigge (1985), namely the transformation of Aphrodite Pandemos, represented by a small figure below, in Aphrodite Urania, shown on the carriage is also a subject of criticism (Fig. 8). It has been maintained that the small figure is a worshipper or votary near the altar of Aphrodite (McPhee and Pemberton 1990, 128–9, n. 35). The goddess shown on the Delian medallions is attributed by E. Levy (Hackens and Levy 1965, 559) as Aphrodite Epitragia.

The cults of Aphrodite Pandemos and Aphrodite Urania were widespread in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. S.R. Tokhtasev (1983; 1986) has come to the following conclusion analysing the history of the Bosporan shrine of Aphrodite Urania. According to Hecataeus (*FGHst* 1 F 211) the shrine stood on the shore of a small bay of the same name forming part of the Corocondamitis (modern Taman gulf) on its southern shore, near Hermonassa. This location is arrived at by comparative analysis of the Hecataeus fragment and Strabo (11. 2. 10). Unfortunately, archaeologists have so far not found the remains of the shrine. Probably the oldest witness to its existence is Hecataeus.

From the beginning of the 4th or perhaps even at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. inscriptions have appeared from the Taman Peninsula with dedications to "Aphrodite Urania, guardian of (the shrine) Apaturum" (*CIRB* 917, 1111, 1234). In this period the shrine flourished. No later than the middle of the 4th century B.C. an affiliated shrine was erected in Phanagoria. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period a settlement had grown up around the shrine at Apaturum (Pliny *NH* 6. 18). At the end of the 2nd or at some point in the 1st century B.C., when troubled times had come to Bosporus, the Apaturum shrine fell into decline but relatively soon, apparently in the 1st century A.D., recovered its significance (*CIRB* 31, 35).

A gold stamped pendant 3.4 cm in diameter dated to the late 4th–early 3rd century B.C. and having an image attributed as that of Aphrodite Urania on a swan deserves special attention. It was found in the excavations of the Elizavetovskoe fortified settlement in the Lower Don basin. Below the wing of the swan there are three stars (Vakhtina 1988; Marchenko 1992, 185, fig. 6, 4). The quality of execution and its schematism testify to a local Bosporean workmanship. However, the composition harks back to subjects widespread in Classical art and, especially popular in the 4th century B.C. (see, e.g., Knigge 1982, 161ff; 1985, 287ff). Of recent finds I will mention the mould for terracottas in the shape of Aphrodite sitting on a swan, found in house Y1 of Athenian Kerameikos with the materials of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (Knigge 1993, 129, 133, Abb. 10; Schöne-Denkinger 1993, 153–8, Taf. 27, 1; 28). No less important is the above mentioned clay mould from Larissa, 9.7 cm in diameter and dated to the 4th century B.C., kept in the Karamanolis collection (Fig. 8). It was probably used for manufacture of mirror reliefs or amulets (Knigge 1985).

The reliefs may have been stamped with matrices. An example of a matrix used for impressing comparable reliefs is a bronze matrix acquired in Egypt (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art). Stylistic analysis dates it to the 2nd or the 1st century B.C. and it is attributed to a workshop in the region of Smyrna (Reeder 1987). On the side B of the matrix (Fig. 9) there is a composition 7.4 cm in diameter for stamping medallions with a carriage harnessed to a pair of lions containing two female figures with Hermes in front of the carriage (Reeder 1987, 424–5, fig. 2; 427, fig. 4).

The composition and separate elements of the Kurchanskaya disc derive from articles, dating not earlier than the beginning or even

the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.: the silver medallion from Kerameikos, the mould from Larissa as well as Attic votive reliefs of the late 4th century B.C. Examples of the medallions found in Pelinna and on Delos prove that a reduced and slightly modified version of the subject was reproduced in the 2nd century B.C. and continued in use until the 3rd century A.D., to judge from the images on a silver stamped diadem kept in Hamburg (Bracker 1974, 79–80, No. 49, Abb. 37) and gold medallions from the eastern Crimea and Bloomington Museum (Goroncharovskii 1993, 80–4, figs. 1–2; *cf.*, *Cat. Bloomington* 1995, No. 60.D). Separate elements of the Kurchanskaya relief find parallels on the medallions and relief compositions of the Calenian gutti, of the Hellenistic period. The use of the composition with the train of Kybele until the 2nd–1st centuries B.C. is shown both by the medallion from Ai-Khanoum and a similar composition on the bronze matrix from the Metropolitan Museum allegedly of Asia Minor workmanship. Given the use of numerous details which are attested only on 4th century B.C. monuments, the Kurchanskaya disc had a prototype of that period. In contrast to the medallion from the Kerameikos, the Kurchanskaya medallion is a *phalera* which was fixed to its backing by rivets along its edge; on its reverse it has loops, similar to those on *phalerae* from late 2nd–early 1st century B.C. Sarmatian burials. The date of the Kurchanskaya *phalera* is also confirmed by the decoration of its outer frieze. How was it that a 4th century B.C. composition continued to be reproduced at least two hundred years later? The answer lies with the bronze matrix from the Metropolitan Museum of Art: with the help of such matrices, as well as plaster casts of toreutic works of various epochs, collected and preserved in the workshops of toreuts (see, *e.g.* Reinsberg 1980; Burkhalter 1984), it was possible to reproduce the subjects chosen by clients. Such plaster casts spread through the north Pontic area, as the find from the Late Scythian settlement Kara-Tobe in the north-western Crimea, and dating to the middle of the 1st century A.D. indicates (Vnukov, Kovalenko and Treister 1990).

The models of transformation. Analysing the 2nd century B.C. *phalerae* from the south of Eastern Europe I have already suggested that the manufacture of a series of ornaments by Sarmatian toreuts after Syrian or Asian Minor prototypes took place during the Sarmatian participation under Gatal in a political union with the Pontic king Pharnakes I (Polyb. 25. 2) or during the Sarmatians' sojourn in Asia Minor in the army of Mithridates Eupator (App.

Mithr. 18–21, 112). This view is consistent with recent schemes of interpretation of the imported finds in the Sarmatian burials (Raev, Simonenko and Treister 1991; Sergackov 1994, 267; Treister 1994, 201–2, n. 209; 1996a, 341; Simonenko 1994, 119). The suggestion that weapons of the La-Tène type penetrated into the north Pontic area steppes in the late 2nd–early 1st century B.C. mainly *via* Asia Minor (Treister 1993) helps explain the appearance on the *phalera* with sphinx from Yanchokrak (Fig. 10) (Shchukin 1994, 161, fig. 58) of a shield with a typical Celtic umbo characteristic to the phases of La-Tène C1 or C2 (as attributed by Shchukin), which could hardly be associated with contacts with Przeworsk culture (Shchukin 1994, 149).

However, if we accept the Parthian origin of the Leiden, Paris and Stara Zagora *phalerae*, why should we, given the parallels mentioned above, reject the possibility that the *phalera* found in Severskaya was manufactured in the Kuban basin, with subjects already popular and probably widespread among the Sarmatians, decorative patterns adopted from Seleucid toreutics and its style imitating that of the group of *phalerae* manufactured in Parthian workshops. It is also quite possible that Sarmatians could have seen such *phalerae* in Asia Minor. For instance, it is quite possible that the *phalerae* with the dedication of Mithridates Eupator, now in Paris, originated from the temple of Artemis Tauropola at Comana Pontica (Drexel 1915, 16–8; see about the temple also: Saprykin 1996, 116). Were these *phalerae* dedicated as war trophies—such dedications were more numerous at sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period than previously (see, *e.g.*, Launey 1950, 901–14), or, less probably, as own old arms (*cf.* Pritchett 1979, 249–51; Treister 1996a, 364–6)? Most probably *phalerae* of the Parthian type were captured by troops of Mithridates VI not from the Parthians (with whom Mithridates had friendly relations given his anti-Roman policy) (Sallust. *Hist.* 6; Saprykin 1996, 194–5, 200, 203), but from the Sarmatians, who had acquired them earlier in Central Asia. An example of the historical context for such a development is provided by events in the Crimea of 110s B.C. (Shchukin 1994, 144: 109 B.C.; Saprykin 1996, 132–3 [with references]: 113–111/10 B.C.) when Roxalani headed by King Tasiyas (who supported the Scythian King Palakos in his expedition against Chersonesus) were defeated by Mithridates' general, Diophantes (Strabo 7. 3. 17).

North Pontic craftsman could also have seen the prototype of this article in one of the temples, where old arms and horse harnesses

might have been stored for centuries either as a dedication of arms by the victors or as spoils of war (Pritchett 1979, 286ff; Treister 1996a, 262–4). Another possibility is war booty, when Sarmatians robbed old votives from the temples. A fine example of this is a late 5th century B.C. silver phiale with a dedication to Apollo Hegemon in Phasis, found in an early 1st century A.D. Sarmatian burial in the Kuban basin (Tsetskhladze 1994 with references), probably taken when Sirakes and Aorsi participated in the campaign in Asia Minor during 48–46 B.C. of Pharnakes, son of Mithridates VI, to reconquer his father's kingdom (Shchukin 1992, 107; cf. Sergackov 1994, 272). The likely location of the sanctuary, in which the prototype of the *phalera* from Kurchanskaya could have been stored for centuries is that of Aphrodite Urania at Apaturum (mentioned above).

It is likely that the owner of the Kurchanskaya *phalera* and perhaps even the craftsman who had used a composition going back to the 4th century B.C. (the procession of Aphrodite Pandemos or Aphrodite Urania) had but a very slight idea of its original meaning and understood it rather in the context of Sarmatian mythology. In the Alanian-Osetian religion the souls of the dead were carried into the nether world on a goat; a staircase is also associated with the link between the two worlds (Yatsenko 1992, 195). Thus, this *phalera* is a very peculiar example of the transformation of a rare Greek Classical subject by a later north Pontic toreutic.⁷

To whom did the Severskaya *phalera* belong: to the representative of a local Maeotian tribe influenced by the Sarmatians (Smirnov 1953, 41), or to the Sarmatians of the Sirakes tribe (Yatsenko 1992, 192) or to the Aspurgians (Shchukin 1994, 145)? Who owned the *phalerae* from Tsemdolina—a prominent local Maeotian, whose tribe was assimilated by the Sirakes (Malyshev and Treister 1994a, 35; 1994b, 66–8)? Did the piece from Kurchanskaya belong to the Aspurgians (Desyatchikov 1973, 86) or to the Sirakes (Yatsenko 1992, 192)? Given the archaeological evidence it is impossible, at present, be certain (Shchukin 1994, 145). It seems that similar mythological images were common to this nomadic tribes.

⁷ In this connection note the use of the same subject—namely the central part of the composition: Aphrodite on a goat—in the decoration of the 2nd–3rd century A.D. open-worked buckles with side hooks of originally Sarmatian type, originating mainly from the territory of eastern Crimea and Chersonesus (Bilimovich 1962, 43–5, figs. 1–5; Treister 1996b, 120–1, fig. 37).

The *phalerae* from Severskaya and Kurchanskaya are practically contemporaneous, but the level of craftsmanship is quite different. The craftsman of the Kurchanskaya *phalera* is much more skillful. It seems that in the late 2nd century B.C. there was no long tradition of toreutic workmanship among the Sarmatians; thus, we cannot speak about some general peculiarities of the antropomorphic Sarmatian art oriented towards Classical and Hellenistic Greek prototypes. The styles and level of stylisation depended a great deal on the personality of the craftsmen, serving the needs of one or other Sarmatian tribe. However, the level of execution of the Kurchanskaya *phalera* is much more elaborate and varies from what we know about the Sarmatian antropomorphic art of this period (*cf. e.g.*, the *phalerae* from Krivaya Luka; see in general Yatsenko 1992). It may be that the piece was ordered by a Sarmatian from a workshop in one of the Bosporan cities, most probably in the Asiatic part of the kingdom, and the client had chose a Classical composition to be inserted in the ordinary type of framing.

J. Boardman has (1994, 106–7, figs. 4.38–9) again associated the *phalerae* with Greek-style subjects (the pieces with elephant from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great and the pair with a stretched griffin from Novouzensk) with the workshops of Bactria. Bactrian manufacture is ascribed by Mordvinsteva to the find of 1981 in barrow 4 excavated in 1981 3 km to the north of the village of Volodarka, Priuralskij district, Ural region (Kushaev 1981, 440–1, fig. 1; Mordvinsteva 1996b; 1996c, 159; mentioned: Pfrommer 1993, 9). However, the absence of detailed typological and stylistic analysis of the Volodarka find forces me to undertake it within this paper. In this connection it seems quite useful to analyse once more *phalerae* with elephants.

Phalerae with war-elephants (Fig. 11) (Spitsyn 1909, 29, figs. 74–6; Smirnov 1909, 18, pl. CXX, fig. 47; Rostovtzeff 1926, 248, n. 31 = 1993, 43; 1941, 433, pl. LIII, 1; 1942, 297; Trever 1940, 48–9; Lukonin 1967, figs. 38, 40; Barnett 1968, 48–9, pl. XIII, 2; Goukowsky 1972, 492–3, fig. 11; Scullard 1974, 244, pl. 12; Ivanov *et al.* 1984, No. 24, fig. 28; Pfrommer 1993, 9 with references in n. 27 on p. 71, fig. 4; Boardman 1994, 106–7, fig. 4.38; Abdullaev 1995, 165–6, fig. 1; *Cat. Vienna* 1996, 126). The Bactrian origin of these *phalerae* was first propounded by Y. Smirnov (1909, 18) and later maintained by Trever (1940, 45–8). In 1926 Rostovtzeff (1926, 248 = 1993, 43) stated that

the find in Russia or in Western Siberia of two plaques with war-elephants on which there is shown a warrior in a typical Macedonian-Bactrian helmet, testifies undoubtedly the ties of Russia with Bactria and Indo-Scythia.

However, later he attributed them as "Early Hellenistic Bactrian or Syrian work" (Rostovtzeff 1941, 433, pl. LIII, 1). We can trace the certain evolution of Rostovtzeff's view of the origin of elephant *phalerae* from Bactria to Syria:

Miss Trever regards all these pieces of toreutic art as products of Bactrian artists. I expressed the same opinion years ago, following a suggestion of J. Smirnov. I am now a little less positive. The two *phalerae* with war elephants (nos. 1 and 2)—Greek in style and composition—are not necessarily Bactrian. The Seleucids used Indian war elephants as much as did the Bactrian Kings. The only detail which suggests Bactrian origin is the form of helmet worn by one of the occupants of the tower on the back of the elephant. This form of Macedonian helmet was worn, as we know from coins, by some Bactrian Kings. But the same form of helmet may have been used in Syria also. We know nothing of the equipment of the Seleucid army (Rostovtzeff 1942, 297).

V.G. Lukonin (1967, figs. 38, 40) defined the pieces as Eastern Hellenistic work of Graeco-Bactrian style (?); later on as manufactured in Eastern Iran (?) in the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C., although belonging

to the circle of Graeco-Bactrian art, which is testified by the Bactrian (or more generally—Seleucid) shape of the helmet of one of the drivers, the western pattern on the saddle and the figure of the Indian driver (Ivanov *et al.* 1984, No. 24).

The question is whether the craftsman was "certainly thoroughly familiar with war-elephants and their military equipment" as suggested by Rostovtzeff (1941, 433) or even may be associated with real historical events—thus, P. Goukowsky (1972, 492) maintained that

C'est sans doute ainsi que nous devons nous représenter les éléphants qu'Euthydème livra à Antiochos III lors de l'*anabase* orientale du Séleucide, ou ceux qui accompagnèrent Démétrios l'Euthydémide dans sa conquête de l'Inde.

Although parallels to the subject are well known in Early Hellenistic South-Italian vase-painting (Goukowsky 1972, 489–91, n. 62, fig. 8) and on the Calenian dish (Rostovtzeff 1941, 432), it is better compared with images of Indian war-elephants on the terracotta from Myrina

in the Louvre (Rostovtzeff 1941, 432, pl. LII, 2; Goukowsky 1972, 490–1, fig. 9) and the gem, most probably commemorating the victory of Antiochos I over the Galatians in 275/4 B.C., in the National Library, Paris (Goukowsky 1972, 490–1, fig. 10). The elephants on the *phalerae* discussed and on the Myrina terracotta wear large bells under their necks; Rostovtzeff (1941, 432) compares them with images on the coins of Seleucus I. Images of Indian elephants on Seleucid coins first appear on those of Seleucus I dating to *ca.* 303/02 B.C. (Babelon 1890, pl. II, 9, 14–5) associated with the Indian campaign of Seleucus I and his acquisition from Chandragupta of five hundred war elephants (Newell 1978, 20–1; group C). On the reverse of his coins of *ca.* 300–299 B.C. (Babelon 1890, pl. III, 1–6) Athena is depicted holding a shield and standing in a chariot drawn by four horned elephants (Newell 1978, 23). Later we see elephants on the coins of Antiochos III struck in *ca.* 205–203 B.C., after his triumphant return to Babylonia in the spring of 205 B.C. from his widely-heralded successes in Parthia, Bactria and modern Afghanistan. With him, he brought untold treasure and 150 coveted war elephants, secured from the rulers of Bactria and India (Polyb. 11. 34). No wonder that in many of his mints, especially the eastern ones, a series of commemorative coins was struck, bearing for their reverse a massive Indian elephant (Newell 1978, 95, 218–9; pls. XX, 2–3; XXX, 11; XLVII, 9–16). The bronze coins of Antiochos III, minted at Ekbatana in *ca.* 205–200 B.C. show an elephant, surmounted by its Indian *mahout* (Newell 1978, 220, 222, pl. XLVIII, 2–11), whose figure is reminiscent of those on the elephant *phalerae*. In later Seleucid coinage we see elephants on the mintage of Antiochos VI Dionysus (145–142 B.C.) (Babelon 1890, pl. XX, 10). However, on Bactrian coins Indian elephants are also found, first on the coins of Antimachos I Teos (*ca.* 185–170 B.C.) (Mitchiner 1975/76, I, 75, type 130; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 10, No. 13, B). On these as well as on coins with an elephant's head minted by Demetrios I (*ca.* 200–190 B.C.) (Mitchiner 1975/76, I, 60, type 108; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 5, 14–6) there are large neck bells. The motif of the elephant is one of the most widespread in the later Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian coinage.

Pfrommer (1993, 10) maintained that the provenance of elephant *phalerae* “should definitely be sought within Russian central Asia”, basing his suggestion on analysis of the “arrow-shaped ornament” on the tower on the elephant's back. This pattern has been earlier

briefly analysed by Trever (1940, 49), who stated that the pattern reflected the shape of the windows for archers, known on the Parthian sites of Assur; as a parallel she mentioned a steatite object from the excavations of Parthian Nisa in the shape of a fortress wall with similar pattern, dating to the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. Citing parallels in the architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris and the Kushan site of Surkh Kotal, Pfrommer (1993, 71, n. 31) states that “the motif is typical of architectural decoration in the former Seleucid sphere of influence, but not of Seleucid architecture as well” and “it may have been adopted from the decorative repertoire of the minor arts, in which it is already to be encountered in Achaemenid times” (Pfrommer 1993, 10, 71, n. 32). Noteworthy is the opinion of C. Hopkins (1972, 135–7), that the motif was brought to the West by the Parthians.

Indeed, the decoration of a crenellated tower (*thorakion*) on the *phalerae* with three arrows and two rosettes each composed of four triangles, finds parallels in Khoresmian, Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan fortification. The arrowheads on the *phalerae* realistically show the windows slits designed for archers (see reconstruction: Lapirov-Skoblo 1967, 281, fig. 112), although some, especially in the later period have a purely decorative function. Such windows are characteristic for the Khoresmian fortresses of Dzhanbas-kala, Koi-Krylgan-kala and Kanga-kala of the 4th–2nd centuries B.C. (Tolstov 1948, 20, fig. 28; Lapirov-Skoblo 1967, 279–82, figs. 111, 113; Pugachenkova 1976, 140). This feature is known in the Hellenistic fortification wall of Samarcand (Aphrasiab) in Sogdiana (Chichkina 1986, 74, figs. 289–90, 294–6, 301; Leriche 1986, 87) and P. Leriche (1986, 94) has even mentioned this detail in connection with the elephant *phalerae*. Since the late 3rd–early 2nd century B.C. such windows (*meurtrières*) were used in Graeco-Bactrian architecture (see, in general Leriche 1986, 94), e.g., in the fortification wall of ancient Balkh (Bactra I) (Le Berre and Schlumberger 1964, 76, pls. XXXIV–IX; Pugachenkova 1976, 140; Pougatchenkova 1986, 59–60, fig. 279), which successfully withstood the well equipped army of Antiochus III in 207/06 B.C. Arrow-shaped windows were widespread in the Late Bactrian and Kushan periods, given the studies at Kukhnakala and Kushan fortresses at Dilberzhin, Bactra-II, Surkh Kotal, Khalchayan, Toprak-kala and on the reliefs representing fortifications from Dalversin-tepe, Gandhara and Qunduz (Pugachenkova 1976, 141–7, figs. 80–1, 83–6; 1978, fig. 60; 1979, 47–51, figs. 51–2, 54–5; 1982, 143–4, fig. 148; Fussman 1983, 20, Abb. 2, 31, Abb. 9; Pougatchenkova 1986, fig.

286). On the merlon from Surkh Kotal (Schlumberger 1970, fig. 52; Pugachenkova 1979, 48, fig. 51) and on the relief from Qunduz (Pugachenkova 1979, 49–51, fig. 55c) one can see patterns similar to those composed of four triangles on the *phalerae*.

The helmet of one of the elephant drivers, defined as "Macedonian" by Rostovtzeff, is designated as Boeotian in modern classification (Waurick 1988, 159–63). Indeed, helmets of this type were often represented on portraits of Graeco-Bactrian kings, from Eucratides I (ca. 170–145 B.C.) to Hermaios and Apollophanes in the second half of the 1st century B.C. (Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 68, J–Q). However, the Syrian kings Alexander I Balas (152–144 B.C.), Antiochus VI (145–142) and the usurper Tryphon (142–139 B.C.) are also shown in helmets of the Boeotian type (Waurick 1988, 161–2, Abb. 31–3). However, the helmets of this type vary, sometimes considerably, in detail. Thus, for example, on the coins of Tryphon (Babelon 1890, pl. XXI, 1–3) the helmet with a high cone on top differs greatly from that on the elephant *phalerae*, while the helmet on the coins of Alexander I Balas (Babelon 1890, pl. XVIII, 1–2) is rather similar to most of those represented on the coins of the rulers of Bactria and Indo-Bactria. In general, the helmet discussed looks close to the type found on Bactrian coins—on some coins, for example, those of Heliokles I, ca. 145–130 B.C. (Mitchiner 1975/76, I, 162 types 286–7; 164, type 290; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 26, No. 23, A, B) and Menander I Soter, ca. 155–130 B.C. (Mitchiner 1975/76, I, 124–5, types 217–8; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 30) the surface of the helmet is decorated with numerous cones. The first appearance of such a helmet on a 20 stater gold coin of Eucratides (Mitchiner 1975/6, I, 91, type 175; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 16, No. 25; *Cat. Vienna* 1996, No. 125) as well as on his silver and bronze coinage (Mitchiner 1975/76, I, 91ff, types 176–9; 181–94; Smirnova 1992, 94–9, Nos. 60–165) is associated with the new legend *basileos megalou eukratidou*, belonging to the third period of his coinage after his Indian campaign (Tarn 1951, 207–12; Narain 1957, 62; Mitchiner 1975/76, 67; Smirnova 1992, 89, 91). It is suggested that "Eucratides must have achieved his success in the Paropamisadae before the year 162, the date of Timarchus' revolt" (Narain 1957, 62). According to W. Tarn (1951, 212), "Eucratides' time in India should . . . fall between the years 165 and 160." V.A. Smith (1964, 237) dated the Indian campaign of Eucratides to ca. 160–156 B.C. The recent study by O. Bopearachchi (1990, 55–63) of coin issues of Menander and Eucratides allows him to place the

conquest of the north-western India by Eucratides to between 155 and 150 B.C.

Noteworthy is an engraved profile image of a hyppocamp on elephant rugs of the *phalerae*. The spread of the motifs of the sea *thiasos* in the first centuries A.D. on stone disks from Taxila and Tadzhikistan (*Cat. Zurich* 1989, No. 45), as well as on reliefs from Gandhara, and Han mirrors (see, e.g. Trever 1940, 48; Boardman 1986; 1987, 82ff; Invernizzi 1989, 154–5, n. 81; Treister 1994, 193) has been mentioned already. Noteworthy is the recent chance find at the fortified settlement of Gyaur-kala of a new type of coin of Eucratides I with a similar image of a hyppocamp.⁸ The spread of such motifs in Hellenistic Parthian Mesopotamia is shown by the circular terracotta mould with the image of Nereide on a hyppocamp in Seleucia, in a level dated by a tetradrachm of Antiochus IV, 173–2 B.C. (Valtz 1988, 27, fig. 21; Invernizzi 1989, 150, fig. 90); and the reliefs from Hatra and Palmyra (Invernizzi 1989, 149, n. 70; 151). Use of a motif very similar to that on the *phalerae* on the lid of a silver gilt bowl from the burial of a 1st century A.D. Sarmatian chieftain in Kosika in the Lower Volga basin should be noted (Treister 1994, 192–3, fig. 12). It was most probably executed by the Sarmatian craftsman under the influence of Late Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean and Parthian art.

Suggesting the influence of Seleucid toreutics on the elephant *phalerae*, Pfrommer (1987, 138, Anm. 907) once compared the belted garland on the *phalerae* with that on the silver medallion formerly in Czartoryski collection in Cracow, which was found in Syria and is dated by him to the late 3rd century B.C. Later, however, the belted garlands on the elephant *phalerae* and the pieces from the Getty Museum (Pfrommer 1993, Nos. 30–1) were used in support of arguments suggesting an Iranian or Bactrian origin of the *phalerae* (Pfrommer 1993, 12). However, the details of the strongly schematised belted garland of the *phalerae* especially with the rows of zigzags and dots, find rather close parallels in the Gandhara art of the first centuries A.D., primarily on the reliefs with putti carrying such garlands, e.g. from the Museum of Peshavar and from Taxila in Karachi (Pugachenkova 1982, 150, fig. 154; 162, fig. 165; Bromberg 1988, 74, fig. 9) or from Lahore Museum (Bromberg 1988, 75, fig. 10) and from Butkara (Bromberg 1988, 78, fig. 14) which are usually compared

⁸ I should like to thank N.M. Smirnova for this information.

with similar images on Roman sarcophagi of the 2nd–3rd centuries, but are earlier. These motifs are ascribed a Bactrian origin (Pugachenkova 1982, 151–2) and were probably brought to Gandhara when the Kushans moved down into Gandhara in the 1st century A.D. (Bromberg 1988, 70–3). That is indirectly confirmed by similar belted garland on two silver repoussé roundels from Taxila reported to be found in the Late Parthian level II (Marshall 1951, 613, No. 14a–b, pls. 187, 189). They bear features, which allow to regard them as a link between the 2nd century B.C. Bactrian *phalerae* and the 1st century A.D. roundels executed in the so-called “gold-turquoise animal style” (Treister and Yatsenko 1997/98).

Goukowsky (1972, 492) suggested that the *phalerae* were used to decorate war-elephants. From analysis of the arrow-shaped ornament and stating that “the Seleucids and the other Hellenistic armies apparently did not use *phalerae* of this eastern type, and since nothing is known of any Parthian war elephants”, M. Pfrommer (1993, 10) came to the conclusion that “the only possible area of origin remaining for the elephant *phalerae* is Bactria”, which “already had traditionally close contacts with the nomadic peoples of Central Asia during the period of Graeco-Macedonian rule”, although some time earlier he defined the *phalerae* as “seleukidisch geprägten Arbeit” (Pfrommer 1987, 138, Anm. 906). Discussing the possible date of the *phalerae* Pfrommer (1993, 10) made the following assumptions:

- 1) “It seems far more likely that the Graeco-Bactrian armies used Indian war elephants than that their nomadic successors did. That could mean, however, that the *phalerae* were produced for the Graeco-Bactrian cavalry and thus demonstrate the introduction of the *phalera* fashion into the Graeco-Bactrian repertoire”; 2) “If we take the size of the elephant *phalerae* into consideration, a date earlier than the middle or the late second century B.C. should be ruled out”; 3) “If the St Petersburg pair are seen as evidence of the eventual takeover of the Bactrian world by nomadic overlords who did indeed use war elephants, a first century B.C. date is possible”.

This analysis allows me to draw the following conclusions. Both the subject with its ethnographic details and the garland pattern framing the composition point rather to Bactrian, than Seleucid or Parthian realia, thus the war-elephants shown on the *phalerae* represent animals that once belonged to the Bactrian army. The correlation of the chronologically significant details with parallels in the coinage (the bell around the elephant’s neck, the figure of the *mahout*, the

helmet, the image of hyppocamp on a rug), rules out the manufacture of the *phalerae* earlier than the reign of Eucratides I, that is *ca.* 160s B.C. Such attention to detail by craftsmen seems really to commemorate a definite historical event. Given the examples of the elephant images on Seleucid coinage, it would likely be a Bactrian war-elephant taken as a trophy by the Seleucids; however, the framing of the *phalerae* rather indicates Bactrian manufacture, while the constant use of elephants on Bactrian coinage enables the image on the *phalerae* to be identified as a war animal in the Bactrian army and adopt Pfrommer's idea that the *phalerae* were manufactured for the Graeco-Bactrian cavalry.

That is corroborated by the use of *phalerae* with the images of war-elephants in the Kushan period, given the silver *phalerae* from Pendshab in the British Museum (see, *e.g.*, Rostovtzeff 1926, 257, n. 47, pl. 7 = 1993, 49, n. 47, pl. 7; Dalton 1964, pl. 28, figs. 199–200; Goukowsky 1972, 496, figs. 14–5; Bernard 1985, 77, n. 46, pl. III, 9). However, the manufacture of such *phalerae* (which could have been used as *insignia*), may well have had a commemorative meaning, like the issue of gold 20 stater coins minted on certain historical occasions. However, I cannot agree with Goukowsky's association of the *phalerae* with the Bactrian campaign of Antiochus III or the Indian campaign of Demetrios I. The cutters of coin dies and toreuts could have been the same craftsmen. The very high quality of coins minted in the reign of Eucratides may indicate the contemporary level of toreutics in the state. I believe that the elephant *phalerae* may have been a reward given to a high Bactrian officer for his participation in the Indian campaign of Eucratides⁹ (Strabo 15. 1. 3; see about his campaigns: Narain 1957, 58–70).

Phalerae from Volodarka (Fig. 12). The subject and composition on this *phalerae* find their prototypes primarily in articles of South Italian manufacture of the 4th century B.C.: on the Calenian gutti of *ca.* 400–375 B.C. (Pagenstecher 1909, 97, No. 191; Jentel 1976, 385–7, pl. 65; Lochin 1994, No. 163b); Apulian red-figure vases of *ca.* 330 B.C. (Lochin 1994, No. 154–5); Canosan flasks of *ca.* 300 B.C. (van der Wielen-van Ommeren 1986, 219, No. 20, 226, fig. 20); as

⁹ E. Zejmal (*Cat. Vienna* 1996, No. 126) has recently come to similar conclusion, dating the *phalerae* to the second half of the 2nd century B.C. and suggesting the following: "Daher ist es möglich, daß auf dem Elephanten Eukratides selbst oder ein anderer gräko-baktrischer König dargestellt ist". This suggestion has been already expressed much earlier by R.D. Barnett (1968, 48).

well as on the mosaic from Olynthus of ca. 380–370 B.C. (Lochin 1994, No. 158). All these examples represent Bellerophon riding to the right. The tondo composition with Bellerophon and Chimaera to the left, comparable with that on the second *phalera* from Volodarka, occurs on an Attic red-figure *epinethron* of ca. 430 B.C. from the National Museum in Athens (Lochin 1994, No. 153). However, on most of the compositions Bellerophon is wearing a *petasos*, and in one case a Phrygian helmet (Lochin 1994, No. 155); neither *petasos*, nor helmet are shown on the *phalerae* from Volodarka. Mordvintseva (1996b, 154) has already mentioned some other details—like the absence of a spear, typical nomadic soft boots of Bellerophon, etc. She has also compared the belted garland framing on *phalerae* from Volodarka with similar patterns on *phalerae* and toreutic works of the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C. (Mordvintseva 1996b, 155). However, the belted garland motif varies—on the piece from Volodarka it looks much more schematised and far from the prototype in the Classical tradition (Pfrommer 1987, 38; 1993, 36). I would not make comparisons with the pattern on the medallion from the de Clercq collection in the Louvre, possibly of the second half of the 3rd century B.C. (Hoffmann, Davidson 1965, No. 93, fig. 93, 93b; see also Barr-Sharrar 1987, 122, H 1, pl. 64) as Mordvintseva does. The pattern is the same, the level of stylisation absolutely different. The same is true of the pattern on the pyxis in Boston (Oliver 1977, No. 21) as well as on the lion *phalerae* from Fedulovo (Marazov 1979, 55, fig. 32; *Cat. Leningrad* 1985, No. 34; Treister 1996b, 107 with references, figs. 26–7) and *phalera* from Akhtanizovka (Gorbunova and Saverkina 1975, No. 101; Marazov 1979, 51, fig. 28; *Cat. Leningrad* 1985, No. 48). It varies rather significantly from the heavily stylised pattern on the 2nd century B.C. silver vessels from the Fleischman collection (*Cat. Malibu* 1994, No. 114) and Artyukhov barrow: the pyxis and unguentarium (Maximova 1979, 84, No. 7, 9, figs. 27 below left; 29; *Cat. Leningrad* 1985, Nos. 40–1) and the bronze mirror with handle from the same burial (Maximova 1979, 90–1, fig. 31). The latter demonstrates a rather similar design with double belts although the garlands are composed not of rhomboids but of herring-bone pattern. A much closer comparison with the belted garland motif on the *phalerae* from Volodarka is the pattern on a conical silver bowl from Treasure I of unknown provenance in the Getty Museum, dated to the 2nd century B.C., possibly to its first half (Pfrommer 1993, No. 24). According to Pfrommer (1993, 43)

The Iranian origin of number 24 is emphasized by the garland decoration that runs around the inside. It can be compared with another cup in the British Museum that was allegedly found in Mazandaran in Iran.

Even more important is the comparison between the *phalerae* from Volodarka and a pair of *phalerae* with the images of a lion attacking a stag, originating from the same Treasure I (Fig. 13) (Pfrommer 1993, Nos. 30–31), but mentioned by neither Pfrommer, nor Mordvintseva. These *phalerae* attributed as Parthian and dated to the 2nd century B.C., or even the late 3rd century (Pfrommer 1993, 13), have a very similar framing of a belted garland¹⁰ and broad strips along the edge. As on the *phalerae* from Volodarka, the composition (the hoofs of the stags) partly overlaps the framing. The difference is the rather small size of the *phalerae* from Getty Museum—15.0–15.2 cm, compared with 24.6–24.7 cm of the *phalerae* from Volodarka and from the Siberian collection (Mordvintseva 1996c, 157, fig. 2; cf. Ivanov *et al.* 1984, No. 24), however, this is hardly a chronological feature (Pfrommer 1993, 9–10; cf. Mordvintseva 1996c, 166). Pfrommer (1993, 46) came to the conclusion, that

the workmanship of both the silverware and of the harness ornaments can be attributed exclusively to provincial Hellenised workshops and demonstrates the preference of their former owners for Greek craftsmanship—consistent with the “philhellenos” on Parthian coins. Provinciality and misunderstandings of Greek forms allow us to identify the artists with the indigenous subjects of the newly Parthian ruling classes.

He suggested (Pfrommer 1993, 20) that

only an area under Seleucid as well as under nomadic central Asian influence can be regarded as the place of origin for the horse trappings. The area that most closely fulfills these conditions is north-western Iran (the former satrapies of Parthia and Hyrcania), which was occupied by the Parthians in the decade between 240 and 230 B.C.

At the same time, M. Pfrommer (1993, 12) stated that “an Afghan origin is not entirely out of the question”.

¹⁰ The spread of the motif of belted garland among the Sarmatians is proved by a heavily stylised version of this pattern decorating the so-called gold flat crampon, possibly a part of a buckle (?), or a handle of a box (?), originating from the same burial at Severskaya, in which the *phalera* discussed has been found (Smirnov 1953, 30, pl. VIIa; Anfimov 1987, ill on p. 190).

Some remarks about the origin of *phalerae*. Treasure I at the Getty Museum is also of crucial importance for the genesis of the *phalerae*, for which an Asian Minor origin has been supposed (the pieces from the collections in Paris, Leiden and Stara Zagora) and for that from Severskaya. I have already traced the framing on the Severskaya *phalera* to Seleucid tradition. Let me also stress the find in Treasure I of *phalerae* similar in the decoration of the framing, the dotted treatment of the surface, the complete gilding of the front and the style. The pieces (Fig. 14) are attributed to a workshop of Hellenised Parthian Iran (Pfrommer 1993, Nos. 32–3). The composition of this pair of *phalerae* is reminiscent of the first pair (Pfrommer 1993, Nos. 30–1) with addition of three small lizards and perhaps less skillful treatment of the animal figures, their proportions and motion.

I agree with Pfrommer (1993, 11) who assumed that the two pairs represent the work of different craftsmen. Analysing this subject Pfrommer (1993, 11) states that

the composition of numbers 30 and 31 follows the Greek type of an attacking animal group, a motif that appears in more or less canonical form from as early as the fifth century B.C.

combined with “clear echoes of Achaemenid and central Asian animal style motifs in the portrayal of the stag”. Pointing to the lesser quality of the second pair of *phalerae*, Pfrommer (1993, 12) suggests that the composition “no longer strictly follows a Greek model” and

the analysis of this second pair also reveals ties to the Scythian art of the steppes, as in the case with the first pair, although the ties of the second pair are of a different kind and more limited.

It seems that both craftsmen may have had the same prototype for the composition, and the differences should be explained by their different origin and/or skill. In this case we have these two traditions in the decoration of *phalerae*, which can be easily separated given the peculiarities of their framing and technical details of execution.

The first group, which is represented by pieces Nos. 30–1 from the Getty Museum, the pieces with elephants and the pair from Volodarka, is characterised by a more realistical treatment, broad strips and frames in the shape of belted garlands and partial gilding of the figures and framing. To it perhaps should be added the *phalerae* from Novouzensk in Samara region (Spitsyn 1909, 29, fig. 79; Smirnov 1909, 18, pl. 124, fig. 56; Trever 1940, 48–50; Nos.

3–4; pls. 3–5 bottom; Rostovtzeff 1926, 245 = 1993, 43; 1942, 298; Barnett 1968, 49, pl. XIII, 1; Ivanov *et al.* 1984, No. 25, fig. 29 [Eastern Iran?, 3rd–2nd centuries B.C.]; Pfrommer 71, n. 25 with numerous references; Boardman 1994, 106–7, fig. 4.39 [Bactrian]; Mordvintseva 1996a, 12 [Graeco-Bactrian, 2nd–early 1st century B.C.; *Cat. Vienna* 1996, No. 127: Bactrian: 2nd–1st centuries B.C.) also with a broad strip along the edge decorated with running wave pattern and partial gilding. The absence of belted garland is compensated by the curved thin body of the griffin. The group corresponds (except for the Getty pieces) to group 3, Mordvintseva's classification (1996a, 11–2), attributed as works of Graeco-Bactrian style, manufactured in several or even one centre.¹¹

The second group, represented by pieces Nos. 32–3 from the Getty Museum and the *phalerae* from Leiden, Paris and Stara Zagora, is characterised by a narrow slightly concave rim, rather primitive, naïve representations, frequent use of heraldic compositions, overall gilding and decoration of the fronts with dotted pattern. It seems that pieces in this group had a longer life, at least until the time of Mithridates VI, with possible imitations in Sarmatia. The Treasure I presents a close parallel to one more type of Sarmatian *phalerae*: those pieces which, according to M. Pfrommer (1993, Nos. 34–5), follow *phiai* *mesomphaloi* of Greek type. As a close parallel, although with a different pattern on the rim, let me mention the silver *phalera* from the late 2nd–early 1st century B.C. burial of Antipovka in Voronezh region (Raev, Simonenko and Treister 1991, 472–4, fig. 4) with the helmet of Etrusco-Italic type, once again pointing to Asia Minor as the possible route of penetration into the Sarmatian steppes. If, indeed the vessels were the prototypes of these *phalerae* the find from the 1st Prokhorovskii Kurgan of the two silver Achaemenid dishes with Aramaic inscriptions, *i.e.*, “the bowl of Athromithr's”, which had been remade as *phalerae* with the three-loops arrangement perhaps already in the 3rd century B.C.¹² This find once again points

¹¹ Mordvintseva's group 3 also includes *phalerae* from Sidorovka with griffins, comparable with those on the plaques from Novouzensk, as well as the piece found on the shore of the Ishim river.

¹² Mordvintseva (1996c) is dating the bowls to the 4th century B.C. basing on the date of the burial. Abka'i-Khavari (1988, 106–7, 125–6, Abb. 6, F3c15–6), whose general publication on the Achaemenid metal bowls became unknown to Mordvintseva, is dating them to the 3rd–2nd centuries not only because of the Aramaic inscriptions but also basing on the peculiarities of the bowls' shapes.

to Iran as the place of origin of these pieces of which the *phalerae* later have been done. Mordvinsteva (1996c, 159) hesitated to answer the question, of whether the dishes were remade by the Sarmatians, or were taken by them already refashioned as *phalerae*. In the latter case, the mode for such a construction of horse harness could have originated in either Iran or Bactria, Mordvintseva (1996c, 159) maintains. It seems, given the later parallels mentioned above, that the dishes from Prokhorovka were refashioned by the Sarmatians themselves, while Parthian workshops created at least some specimens of the several types of *phalera* used by the nomads.

I have already given numerous arguments in favour of the Parthian origin of some types of *phalerae*. Another is the technique of partial gilding used for the manufacture of the first group of objects, which was widely used in the Late Hellenistic toreutics of Syria, Parthia and Armenia (see, e.g., Fehr 1969; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1973; Oliver 1977, No. 44a; Harper 1987; Moorey 1988; *Cat. New York* 1990, Nos. 137–9; Pfrommer 1993, 21–6, Nos. 1–19, 22, 24, 37, 66, 71, 73, 127; *Cat. Malibu* 1994, Nos. 114, 115, A–B; Treister 1994, 174–5). Noteworthy are the dotted Aramaic inscriptions with Parthian names, or designations of weights (corresponding most likely to the Parthian drachma), on many such vessels (Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1973; Oliver 1977, Nos. 41–2; Pfrommer 1993, Nos. 2, 3, 12–5, 17, 71, 73); or even Greek inscriptions dated with the year probably of the Seleucid era (140 = 172 B.C.) (*Cat. Malibu* 1994, No. 115).

I am far from suggesting that all *phalerae* with the Greek mythological subjects from Sarmatian burials were of Parthian, Asia Minor, Bosporan or Sarmatian manufacture. There are still features, especially on the elephant *phalerae*, pointing to Bactria as a probable place of origin, or at least as the source of the motifs or details. The problem is that practically no examples of Late Hellenistic toreutics have been found in Bactria itself (*cf.* Pichikyan 1991, 134–5), although local toreutic workshops undoubtedly existed, given the very fine quality of coins minted by its rulers, as well as the finds of plaster casts at Ai-Khanoum and Begram (Hackin *et al.* 1954; Bernard 1974, 109; Bivar 1990; Pichikyan 1991, 255–6; Taddei 1992; Boardman 1994, 107, 120–1, fig. 4.58). In general terms Bactrian metalwork is considered more wholly classical than that in a Parthian context (Boardman 1994, 107). A rare example, already mentioned, is a silver gilt medallion with a carriage of Kybele found in the temple at

Aï-Khanoum. However, it dates most probably to the first half of the 3rd century B.C. and has features, which reflect the cultural relations of Central Asia with Syria. A bronze *phalera* from the vicinity of Dushanbe with the bust of Dionysus, originally completely gilded, dates to the later period, 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. (*Cat. Zurich* 1989, No. 26; mentioned: Pugachenkova 1979, 86; Pfrommer 1993, 71, n. 27; Boardman 1994, 107, 331, n. 81) and its construction differs totally from that of the *phalerae* discussed. Partial gilding, characteristic primarily of Seleucid and Parthian production is also attested on a pyxis from Tillya-Tepe (Sarianidi 1985, No. 33), although it may not necessarily be of Bactrian manufacture. Nevertheless, the view has also been expressed that the technique of partial gilding spread to Bactria and recently Pfrommer (1993, 54–5, 57, Nos. 75–6) attributed such silver bowls from the Treasures kept in the Getty Museum to 1st century B.C. workshops, which preserved elements of Graeco-Bactrian art even after the collapse of the kingdom under the assaults of nomadic peoples. One of the bowls attributed to these workshops (although with features derived “from the special Seleucid type”) was gilded all over (Pfrommer 1993, 55, No. 67), similar to the decoration of the second group of *phalerae*. I believe that there was no great difference in the technical practices of the toreuts working in Late Hellenistic Bactria and Parthia. This is also confirmed by analysis of the bowl from Nihavend, allowing Pfrommer (1993, 57) to state that

it might be that the common traits of this late Hellenistic repertoire go back to the Seleucid and Bactrian traditions of the second century B.C., which perhaps continued to be used after the collapse of Hellenism as a political power in the Indo-Greek as well as the Partho-Iranian area. On the other hand, in view of the similarity of some later details, a certain amount of exchange must have taken place.

Pfrommer (1993, 13) also maintained that

regardless of whether the workshops involved were in the Bactrian or Parthian regions, the disks owe their existence to that interdependence of nomadic ideas and Greek traditions of form that M. Rostovtzeff postulated with so much foresight for central Asia and Bactria.

Pfrommer (1993, 11) seems to associate the fashion for *phalerae* with Bactria, suggesting that it “simultaneously reached Iran in the wake of the Parthian invasion”. However, this does not correspond well with the realia, if we adopt his dating of the elephant *phalerae* as

significantly later than the pieces in the Getty Museum. The general view on the *phalerae* of the two groups discussed points rather to their manufacture in Parthia. What do we know about the craftsmen manufacturing *phalerae*? Can we exclude the work of a toreut originating from Graeco-Bactria in Iran? There could have also been an exchange of plaster casts, representing various compositions, between distant workshops, with the customer making a deliberate choice of the subject he liked. Of key significance is the find of Parthian coins in Kampyr-tepe, which may support the view that north-western Bactria was included in the pre-Kushan period in the eastern fringes territories of the Arsakid empire (Pugachenkova 1995, 34; cf. finds of Graeco-Bactrian coins in the 2nd century B.C. hoards from Persia: Rostovtzeff 1941, 1539, n. 149).

I think that the proposed data of ca. 150s B.C. of the elephant *phalerae* indicates that the three-looped *phalerae* were most probably of Graeco-Bactrian origin, but soon such *phalerae* were manufactured in Parthia. I agree with Pfrommer's (1993, 11) conclusion, that "Greek and Hellenised craftsmen provided the formal stylistic means while the nomadic patrons determined the type of object and the iconographic theme to be used". The secondary use of the Late Achaemenid silver bowls as *phalerae* by the Sarmatians, probably already in the 3rd century B.C. indicates their need of such objects. Perhaps they ordered or even looted some of them on the eve of the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, under the reign of Eucratides. Much more significant is the role of the Parthian workshops, where the majority of the *phalerae* discussed were manufactured in the middle or third quarter of the 2nd century B.C., most probably in the reign of Mithridates I's son Phraates II (138–128/27 B.C.) and his uncle and successor Artabanus II (128/27–123 B.C.), both of whom died in the struggle with the nomads (Debevoise 1938, 35–8; Colledge 1967, 30–2; Fischer 1970, 35, Anm. 58; 58, Anm. 121 with references; Bivar 1983a, 38–9; 1983b, 191–4; Bernard 1987, 767; Habicht 1989, 372). Noteworthy is that Saka mercenaries, were hired by Phraates for the war against Antiochus VII of Syria (Justin XLII. 1–2, 1). They were probably an advance group of this horde of Sacaraucae (Saca Rawaca) and Massagetae, whom Phraates attempted to quiet for a time by a subsidy (Debevoise 1938, 35–6). When Phraates refused to pay them they began to ravage the Parthian territory as far west as Mesopotamia (Joan. Antioch. fr. 66, 2 [FHG,

IV, 561]). Artabanus II inherited the problem of the Sacae, to whom he may have paid tribute (Joan. Antioch. fr. 66 [FHG, IV, 561]). He died after he received a wound in an offensive movement somewhere in the region of Bactria against the Tochari (Debevoise 1938, 37–8). It may be that the *phalerae* discussed were received as part of the tribute.

Soon we find the bearers of these *phalerae* in the steppes of the North Pontic area and even in the Crimea, when the Roxalani met the troops of Diophantes. Perhaps already as early as 110 B.C. two of the *phalerae* taken as trophies from the defeated Sarmatians were dedicated to the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Comana Pontica. With the westward penetration of the Sarmatians, some of the *phalerae*, manufactured in Parthia, may have reached the north-western and western Pontic area. There is no doubt that *phalerae* of Parthian manufacture were imitated by the Sarmatians who settled in the Kuban basin; these imitations were probably executed by Sarmatian craftsmen. While some of these craftsmen used compositions from Oriental prototypes (cf. the *phalerae* from Voronezhskaya [Anfimov 1986, 208; *Cat. Tokyo* 1991, No. 65] and Novouzensk: see above), others used already popular Classical subjects which had parallels in their own mythological tradition, combined with techniques and ornamental patterns borrowed from Parthian prototypes. The events of the late 2nd–early 1st century B.C. allowed some Sarmatian tribes to participate in the military campaigns of Mithridates VI in Asia Minor. This period saw the production of a large series of *phalerae*, decorated mainly with floral patterns and with characteristic framing. Some of them were manufactured by Sarmatian craftsmen; others may also have been made in the workshops of the Bosphoran cities, and a Sarmatian client might select a subject borrowed from an old votive object, stored in a local sanctuary for several centuries, to be framed with a pattern, familiar to them. Such a reconstruction of a development of three-looped Hellenistic *phalerae* seems to correlate well with the ethno-political history of the Sarmatian tribes in the 2nd–1st centuries B.C., reconstructed on the base of the data of narrative and archaeological sources (see, e.g., Skripkin 1990, 199–203; Shchukin 1994, 145–6).

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23. THE SILVER ARYBALLOS FROM VANI

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The silverware found at the ancient city-site of Vani is as varied as it is full of interest (*Vani* VII, 89–91). A silver aryballos discovered in 1969 in the rich burial No. 11 of around the middle of the 5th century B.C. is outstanding for the quality of its workmanship and decoration (Georgian State Museum, Tbilisi, Inv. No. 10–975: 101) (Figs. 1–2). It has a spherical body, and is decorated at top and bottom with languettes, or ‘tongue’ ornament. A procession of sphinxes is incised on the frieze around the belly of the vessel. The mouth of the aryballos is hemispherical, akin to those on lekythoi, and the handles are in the form of birds. The underside is decorated with a quadruple lotus. The aryballos was found with its own lid, which was originally attached to one of the handles by a chain. The height of the vessel is 9 cm; the diameter of the mouth 3.5 cm, and of the body between 7.5 and 8 cm (*Vani* I, 24; *Vani* VII, 90, No. 404).

Aryballoi were usually spherical or hemispherical in form, and served as vessels for carrying oil. They were often carried dangling from the wrist on a string. They were common in Greece from the second half of the 7th century B.C. onwards. There are two main types: the earlier has a broad disc-like mouth, the later a narrow, hemispherical mouth rather like those on lekythoi. The first may be called the ‘Corinthian’ type, and the second the ‘Attic’. The Corinthian type was not, however, confined to Corinth, but also appears in Etruscan imitations of Corinthian, as well as in Laconian, Boeotian, East Greek clay aryballoi and in faience. Corinthian aryballoi were imported into Attica, and aryballoi of Corinthian shape are represented on Attic painted pottery from the middle of the 6th century in black-figure and earlier red-figure. Some 20 years before the end of the 6th century, the Corinthian type disappeared from Attic wares, making way for the Attic type (Beazley 1927–28, 194–7).

As we have already noted, the Vani aryballos is an Attic type lekythos-mouthed vessel, considered by O. Lordkipanidze (*Vani* VII, 90, No. 404) to be the product of an Attic workshop. In his view, the sphinxes’ heads, with their cropped hair and forelocks, and doubled,

rounded wings, seem to evoke the Attic type, represented on two red-figured rhyta in the British Museum depicting sphinxes. One of them is the work of the well-known Attic master Sotades, who flourished in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., while the other has been attributed to Pistoxenos. However, the Vani sphinxes have their forepaw raised, fashioned like a human hand and fingers, which is quite unusual for Attic and other Greek representations of sphinxes. A sphinx with a raised human hand seems to be depicted on one of the Euboean black-figured lekythoi (*Vani* I, 24).

Although K. Machabeli does not give a stylistic analysis of the aryballos, she notes briefly in her catalogue of silverware that the influence of Oriental prototypes is felt in the graphic ornamentation of the vessel (Machabeli 1983, 94, No. 11), and an observation made by J. Boardman at the 1987 Vani symposium is interesting:

The famous decorated aryballos from Vani seems to me to have more in common with the Greco-Persian silverware of Anatolia, possibly from Lydia, than with mainland Greece, and related to the comparably decorated silver and silver-gilt objects from the northern shore of the Black Sea, such as the Kelermes rhyton (Boardman 1990, 197; [and Boardman 1994, 218—Editor]).

Such are the different views currently existing on the Vani aryballos. In order to express my own position, the object requires close analysis.

First, the images of the sphinxes: they are incised; the heads of some of them are elongated and some rounded; their noses are large; the hair of their heads is executed by means of dots; their bodies and necks are covered with rows of thin, horizontal lines; their wings are formed of double lines indicating feathers, and are rounded, bent towards the head and slightly pointed. All the sphinxes have their right forepaws raised, and their S-shaped tails are also raised. The bodies of the sphinxes seem to be somewhat heavy and to be coarsely fashioned. The proportions of various features differ considerably: the sphinxes' ears vary in size, some being larger and some smaller. In some cases the tail touches the wing, while in others there is some distance between wing and tail. Similarly, the pointed wing tip occasionally almost touches the head. The contours of the bodies of the sphinxes are not the same either, nor are the shapes of the raised hands. The tips of the tails vary in thickness.

The frieze of sphinxes is bordered above and below by vertical

rows of tongues with small five-leaved palmettes between them. Such 'tongues' constitute one of the most common Greek ornaments (Maximova 1956, 223). It is often used in the design of Rhodian-Ionian pottery, especially its 'orientalising' group, which unites the workshops of different centres of the Asia Minor littoral, largely those of northern Ionia (Kopeikina 1982, 25). However, there are no palmettes like those on the Vani aryballos between the 'tongues', but arrow-like triangular features. The same technique is used in the decoration of the Kelermes silver mirror and silver rhyton (Maximova 1956, 223; 1954, 287). On the Vani aryballos palmettes are drawn between the tongues and, while the contours of the tongues are drawn more or less precisely, the same cannot be said about the palmettes. Varying in size and shape, they are not placed in the same space between the 'tongues' with the same precision, especially the palmettes of the lower row. The upper palmettes are generally larger. It is noteworthy that the middle leaf of the five-leaved palmettes is much longer than the others, thus giving the whole motif a triangular form.

The bottom of the aryballos is adorned with an image of a quadruple lotus (Fig. 3). This is a very old ornamental motif, borrowed from Assyrian art (Kopeikina 1982, 9). H. Payne once noted that the quadruple lotus is an adaption of lotus flowers and 'cones' arranged to fill a square field (1931, 147). Similar ornamental motifs occur in Rhodian-Ionian vessels, adorning the bottoms of dishes, or less frequently the undersides of oenochoe-like vessels (Kopeikina 1982, 9-10). The same ornamental device also occurs on architectural decorative details, for example at Perachora and Sardis (Payne 1940, 146).

The pattern of the quadruple lotus flower on the Vani aryballos is also carelessly drawn. The 'cones' placed between the flowers are of different sizes, and the number of petals on the lotus-flowers also differs: one has 13 petals, another 11, and the other two 10.

On the basis of this analysis of the Vani aryballos, I believe it is possible to ascribe the decoration of the vessel to a craftsman reared in the traditions of Near Eastern art. This is suggested in the first instance by the negligent drawing, the details of uneven size, and the disproportional representations of sphinxes, all of which are alien to Greek art. Works of Greek craftsmen are invariably characterised by clear, well-defined and ordered compositions (Maximova 1954,

284). Greek artists usually made designs with care, elaborating the postures of the images, foreshortening and distinguishing minor details such as eyes, paws or feathers. Departure from such strict canons is unusual for the Attic school.

The second point to stress is the way in which the ornament is applied. In Attic drawings fur is not shown by means of small incised score-marks. The technique is, however, typical of work from Near Eastern centres; for example, the excavations of Hasanlu fortress (by Lake Urmia) yielded a gold cup on which the fur of the animal figures had been rendered by means of broken lines. In the excavators' view, the technique and style of manufacture of this cup point to the existence of a new, local, toreutic school at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

Over a dozen specimens of gold- and silverware, made according to a similar technique, were found at the Marlik necropolis. These were made a little later than the Hasanlu cup (Lukonin 1987, 66–7). Certain techniques are characteristic of almost all vessels: low and high relief, broken lines to render the fur and mane, ornamental motifs such as complicated rosettes adorning the undersides, or guilloches (Dandamaev and Lukonin 1980, 62). The Marlik monuments are usually associated with the culture of the Kingdom of Mana (from *Vani* I, 20). Hasanlu of the periods V and IV is considered by R. Dyson as one of the centres of the Kingdom of Mana (from Dandamaev and Lukonin 1980, 63). From Mana, this new technique of treatment of jewellery and metalware spread to the Middle East, the Caucasus and subsequently to the whole Mediterranean region by the 8th century B.C. (from *Vani* I, 20).

Seen against this background, the Vani aryballos does not seem to be the product of an Attic workshop. Its manufacture in some centre of Ionia cannot be ruled out, given the considerable influence of Near Eastern art in the region. The decoration of the aryballos is strongly reminiscent of the 'orientalising' group of Rhodian-Ionian pottery: 'tongues' drawn with the same double outline, and with awkward figures. Similar techniques are used by the artisans who made both Rhodian-Ionian vessels and the Vani aryballos: for example, the division of the hind legs of the incised animals by means of oblique lines (Maximova 1954, 287). Then, the treatment of the wings is also distinctive: they are not fastened directly to the sphinx's shoulder blades, growing out of them organically, as is characteristic of Attic sphinxes, but they appear to cover the sphinx's breast

with feathers. The latter kind of representation occurs on artefacts from the East Greek world (Maximova 1954, 288). On the Vani aryballos, however, the wings of the sphinxes have double rows of lines to render feathers, whereas on Rhodian-Ionian pots only one line of wing feathers is in evidence. The closest parallels for the way in which the wing feathers of the Vani sphinxes come in two rows, and for the manner in which the wing tip curves towards the back of the sphinx's head, are to be found in Achaemenid art. There, two modes of rendering wings coexisted: one straight and the other curved towards the head (Tiratsyan 1968, 196). The shape of the wings of the sphinxes on the Vani aryballos appears to be a stylistic peculiarity of Achaemenid art (*Vani* VI, 44).

One more detail of the aryballos should be noted, namely the handles with images of birds. Generally speaking, bird images are fairly widespread, occurring both in the Greek world and in the East. In the present instance, however, it would appear that the image of a duck or goose on the Vani aryballos possesses an Achaemenid quality: the body is shown in profile and the head is turned back, a posture characteristic of ancient Iranian art (Tiratsyan 1968, 194; 1964, 70; Negahban 1964, 29).



Fig. 1. Silver aryballos from Vani.

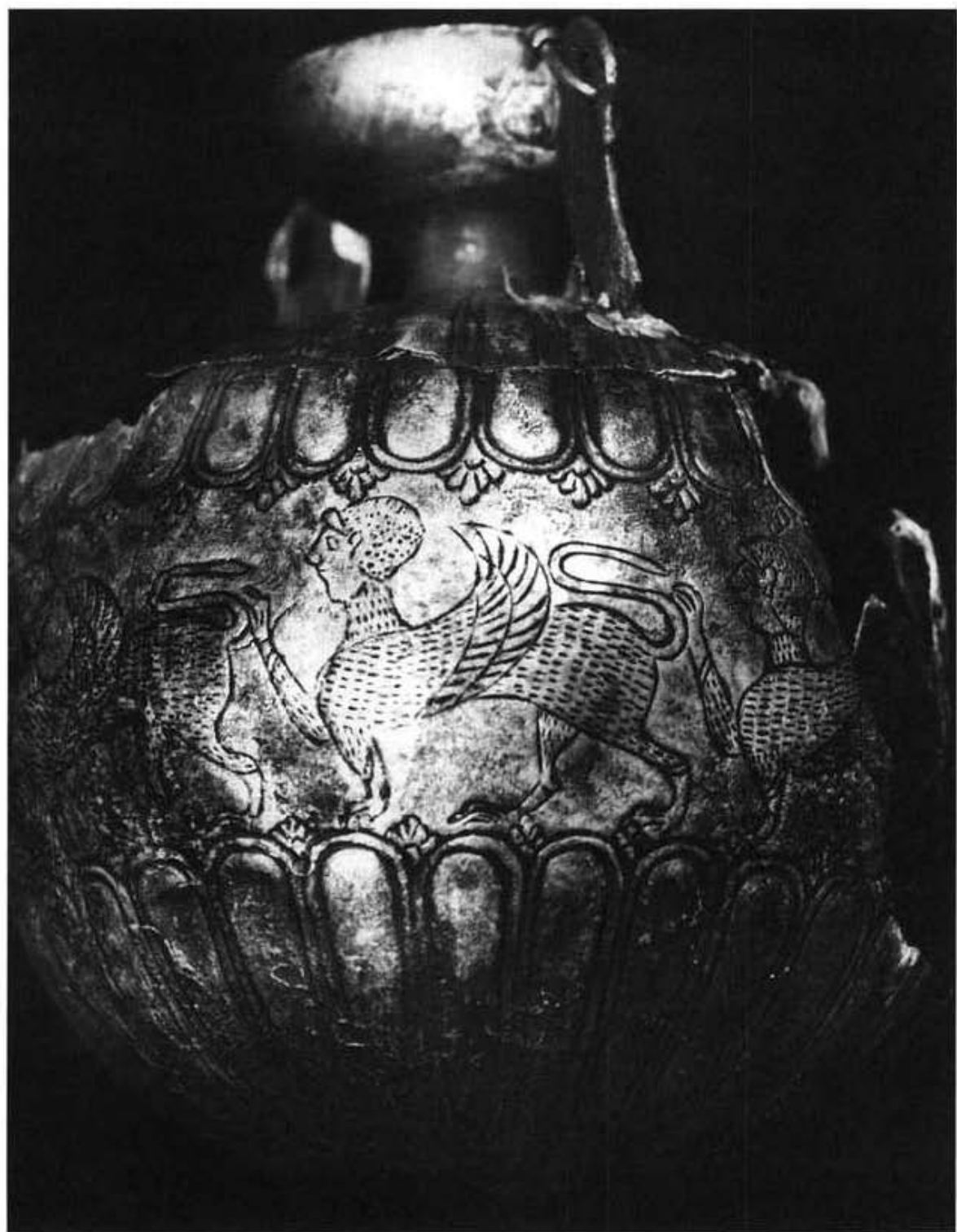


Fig. 2. Detail of the decoration of the aryballos from Vani.



Fig. 3. Bottom of the aryballos from Vani.

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Editorial Note. This article was recommended and its English edited by Mr M. Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Unfortunately, an up to date bibliography with Western publications on the subject was not added. I would recommend the following: Özgen, I. and Öztürk, J., *Heritage Recovered. The Lydian Treasure* (Istanbul 1996) (see esp. 121–5 for decoration); Cook, R.M. and Dupont, P., *East Greek Pottery* (London 1998); Boardman, J., *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London 1998); Galanina, L.K., *Die Kurgane von Kelermes (Steppenwölker Eurasiens Band I, Moscow 1997)* (parallel text in Russian and German), etc. According to these latest studies, the shape and decoration of this silver aryballos from Vani are Greek-Anatolian, which was itself very influential on Achaemenid metalwork.

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